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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 247 11 January 1980

While Carter Stews, Soviet Army Rolls Back Afghan Mullahs

Hail Red Army!

The effective deployment of thousands of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is one more stinging humiliation for American imperialism in the Near East. The Carter administration saw 25 years of U.S. foreign policy in the region blow up in its face with the Muslim seizure of its once seemingly omnipotent Teheran embassy and its staff in November. The Soviet high command watched as Khomeini's Iran slipped into near-total chaos, as U.S. aircraft carriers lined up in the Persian Gulf, as the Soviet-allied regime in Kabul was threatened by a reactionary jihad (holy war). Seeing Washington at an impasse with the ayatollah, the Kremlin bureaucrats seized the time to quell the uprising by the mullahs and khans (religious and tribal leaders).

Anti-Soviet opinion around the world—from the White House to the Chinese Great Hall of the People, from "non-aligned" neo-colonies like Zambia to the Spanish and Italian Communist Parties—railed against "Soviet expansionism" which had "trampled on the national sovereignty and integrity of Afghanistan." The imperialist media pulled out the stops to build sympathy for "freedom fighters" battling sophisticated tanks and planes with sticks, stones and chants of "allah akbar." But in the military confrontation pitting the Soviet soldiers backing the nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) against feudal and prefeudal forces aided by imperialism, Marxists side with the Russian tanks. Hail Red Army!

The pretext of Soviet troops in Afghanistan was exploited by President Carter and his Dr. Strangelove national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, to translate the Cold War rhetoric of their anti-Soviet "human rights crusade" into action. On January 4 Carter got on nationwide TV to announce that the U.S. was going to engage in economic warfare against the USSR: 17 million tons of grain already ordered by the Soviet Union would not be shipped; sales of high technology products, such as advanced computers and oil-drilling equipment, would be cut off; four Coast Guard cutters were dispatched to Alaska to protect the fish from Russian aggression; scheduled openings of consular facilities were stopped, as were any new cultural and economic exchanges.

Wide World

Michel Setboun

More than the U.S.-backed Islamic tribesmen bargained for: Soviet jet transport lands troops in Afghanistan.

Over the Teheran embassy crisis Carter pledged not to use food deliveries as an economic weapon against Iran. But against the Soviet Union, which needs American grain in order to increase meat production and improve the diet of its population, the United States uses nutritional blackmail in the hopes of fomenting social discontent. Washington has obtained pledges by other wheat producers to hold the line on exports to the USSR and intends to turn billions of bushels of surplus grain into "gasohol." Carter/Brzezinski have decided to spend billions to send their message: Starve for human rights!

Carter's vague references to a "new Munich" notwithstanding, the U.S. didn't wait for Soviet troops to roll across the border or land at Kabul airport to begin fulminating about "Moscow aggression." Using the flimsiest excuse (e.g., Russian forces that had been in Cuba for the last 15 years), the fanatical anti-Russian Pole Brzezinski launched his own jihad against the USSR, a holy war in which he has the blessing of the Polish pontiff in the Vatican, "John Paul" Wojtyla. Ever since someone told him that Russians are Communists, "Zbig" has been anti-Communist, too, but willing to latch onto anything anti-Soviet, including "Communist" China.

And so this week Secretary of Defense Brown was dispatched to Peking to deepen the anti-Soviet U.S./China alliance, already twice tested militarily: over the South African invasion of Angola and the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. Now the Pentagon

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U.S. Hounds CIA Foe

Give Back Philip Agee's Passport!

On December 22, escalating an eight-year vendetta to silence ex-CIA agent Philip Agee, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance revoked the passport of the outspoken opponent of the U.S. spy agency. Attempting to justify this outrageous violation of Agee's rights, the State Department claimed that his activities "are causing or are likely to cause serious damage to the national security and foreign policy of the United States." The government is ludicrously trying to link Agee with the takeover of the American Embassy in Teheran, asserting that his statements about the CIA intensified anti-American sentiments and encouraged the attacks on the American embassies in Iran, Pakistan and Libya.

The action taken against Agee is extraordinary; this is the first time the Carter administration has revoked a U.S. citizen's passport. Even the *New York Times* is questioning the legality of such a move. In an editorial January 7, it points out that Agee has yet to be accused of violating any law, and cautions the State Department that "The Supreme Court made clear two decades ago... that citizens who haven't broken the law can't be denied passports under the statutes in the books." But the CIA desperately wants to get Philip Agee.

The CIA and its cohorts have hounded Agee from country to country. He has been deported from Britain, France, the Netherlands and Norway. With his U.S. passport now revoked, Agee faces deportation from West Germany, where he currently resides in the city of Hamburg with companion Angela Seixas. The West German government threatens him saying his residency permit there is valid only with a passport, while the American government has ominously offered Agee a one-way identity pass to the U.S.

Agee's exposés of the CIA's crimes have made him no small thorn in the side of U.S. imperialism's Murder, Inc. His tireless research into the CIA's activities provides a valuable service to working people and the left. The 1975 publication of Agee's book *Inside the Company: A CIA Diary* documented the extensive provocations of the CIA in Latin America (where Agee was a high-level operative). In 1978, Agee and journalist Louis Wolf published *Dirty Work: The CIA in Western Europe*, in which they revealed the names and last known assignments of more than 700 CIA agents who have been under diplomatic cover.

Terence Spencer

Philip Agee

The activities of Agee are obviously driving the CIA crazy. Agee's attorney Melvin Wulf elaborated on the long-time campaign of harassment against Agee to a *WV* reporter: "You only have to use your imagination. It's the work of the CIA from beginning to end." He further speculated that there is probably "a whole Philip Agee task force at [CIA headquarters in] Langley" trying to "make his life miserable."

The CIA may well want to do more than just make Philip Agee's life miserable. Human life is very cheap for the professional assassins and bloody torturers of the CIA, who trained and set up the shah's hated secret police, the SAVAK. The murderous CIA must not be allowed to silence Philip Agee!

The bourgeois press has made much of the timing of the State Department's move against Agee with his suggestion that the CIA's secret files on Iran be exchanged for the hostages being held at the embassy. Agee argued that for the U.S. this would be an expedient way to gain freedom for the hostages, and that the Iranians would have a much more conclusive case using the files than anything the shah or hostages would have to say at a tribunal. Marxists are indifferent to the fate of the hostages, but it is indicative that *both* sides have turned down Agee's proposal. The CIA would surely sacrifice the hostages (including its own agents) to keep its full files on Iran secret.

The fanatic Islamic followers of Ayatollah Khomeini at the embassy have also rejected Agee's suggestion. Khomeini is much less interested in a real tribunal of crimes of the CIA and the shah than he is in diverting attention from the reactionary nature of his own regime through stunts like the embassy seizure. Furthermore, full CIA files would undoubtedly document the arms the U.S. sent to Khomeini after the fall of the shah, arms used to butcher the national minorities in Iran today.

The revocation of Agee's passport recalls the McCarthyite witchhunt of Communists, liberals and homosexuals in the '50s. Then passports were routinely denied to U.S. citizens to restrict the travel rights of "subversives." Recently the INS has been ordered to enforce a statutory ban on the admission of homosexual visitors to the U.S.—a law passed in 1952 as part of the draconian McCarran-Walter Act. The INS has also started a dragnet search for "illegal" Iranian students to deport them. Already 12 have been deported, 55 have left voluntarily and over 6,000 have been found to be "out of status" and potentially deportable.

The campaign against Agee exposes once again that Carter's "human rights" crusade is only a banner of deceit and hypocrisy behind which U.S. imperialism polices and plunders the oppressed of the world, propping up reactionary regimes from the shah to Pinochet. We look forward to the day that the working class opens up the CIA's secret files in the course of socialist revolution, to use them in workers tribunals to finally bring the CIA killers to justice.

Stop the witchhunt of Philip Agee! Open the secret CIA files on Iran! Not the courts of the fanatic mullahs, but workers tribunals to try the crimes of the shah, CIA and Khomeini! ■

PDC Telegram

6 January 1980

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99 Canal Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10013

Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

The Partisan Defense Committee vigorously protests secretary of state Cyrus Vance's revocation of the passport of noted author and journalist Philip Agee for the "crime" of suggesting that the CIA's secret files on Iran be exchanged for the hostages held in the U.S. embassy Teheran. This gross violation of democratic rights recalling the McCarthyite witchhunt is the latest episode in an 8-year vendetta against this former CIA agent. Agee has exposed some of the murderous crimes and grisly "dirty work" done in the service of U.S. imperialism's policy of installing and backing the most reactionary regimes from Teheran to Santiago. For this valuable service to working people and the oppressed, the imperialists have hounded and harassed Agee, deporting him from four western European countries.

The PDC demands Agee's passport be restored, that restrictions on his right of travel and residence be immediately lifted and that the U.S. government stop its ominous campaign to silence this courageous foe of CIA crimes.

200 N.J. Postal Workers Protest Death on Conveyor Belt

JERSEY CITY—Chanting "Unsafe Conditions—We Had Enough—No Cover-Up," 200 militant postal workers demonstrated in front of the County Municipal Building in a hailstorm January 7, as Congressional hearings into unsafe working conditions in the Post Office's Bulk Mail Center were set to begin. Many came in response to the death of mailhandler Michael McDermott, who was crushed to death December 15 between the rollers of a conveyor belt at "the Bulk." Only two weeks after his death, postal worker Frank McGhee sustained neck injuries in a similar accident, barely escaping with his life.

As the hearing was about to begin, court cops initially excluded the postal workers who were jammed into the hallway outside. But the angry, chanting crowd quickly forced a change to a larger hearing room, where they heard, among other testimony, an emotional plea from McDermott's wife for the safety of his fellow workers.

The rally, sponsored by the Postal Workers Defense Committee—a rank-and-file group supported by the pro-Peking "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters"—centered on demands around giving the federal government's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) authority to enforce safety conditions in the post office. Noticeably missing was any criticism of New York Metro Postal Union head Moe Biller. For all his militant rhetoric, Biller has done no more about the abominable conditions at the Bulk center than he has in the fight to rehire the 200 postal militants who lost their jobs after the July 1978 contract strike. And across the river at the Morgan station in Manhattan, finally opened last year, the mails continue to pile up due to mismanagement and unsafe conditions while Postmaster General Bolger blames the workers and threatens further speedup.

WV Photo

Militant postal workers demonstrate for job safety and amnesty for strikers at N.J. facility.

Postal workers must not look to any agency of the bosses' government, but to their own strength—if necessary, using strike action. Instead of relying on OSHA investigations, unionists must fight for elected union safety committees with power to strike to ensure safety on the grueling production lines. Without these, postal workers will continue to be sacrificed for Bolger's murderous speed-up machine. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 247 11 January 1980

Walkout Over NY Phone Workers' Deaths

"Ma Bell Kills"

At 6:30 a.m. on December 21 scores of angry unionists, outraged over the recent deaths of two co-workers, rallied in sub-freezing weather outside the giant American Telephone and Telegraph overseas communications (Long Lines) center in lower Manhattan and appealed to their fellow operators to stay out of work. A caravan of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 1150 members circled the block, a coffin lashed to the roof of the lead car, while pickets covered each entrance to the phone building. As they marched, the demonstrators, mostly women, many of them black, chanted "Ma Bell kills!"

The militants assembled in response to a locally sanctioned "emergency 24-hour traffic [operators'] meeting" called to protest mounting grievances and the "Job Pressures and Harassment [which] have contributed to the death of two of our brothers and sisters" (Local 1150 leaflet). Catherine Daily, aged 62, was literally harassed to death. Daily was sent home early on December 13 for "plugging out" her position to make time to properly fill out a service ticket required by company regulations. Deeply upset over her first suspension ever in 36 years of service, Daily put in the next day for retirement and AT&T retaliated with merciless harassment. "The super yelled at her like a little kid," a worker on Daily's tour told *WV*. Riding home on the subway, she dropped dead of a heart attack December 14.

Joe Burnsby, aged 23, was enrolled in a phone company "counseling" program for workers with emotional problems. Friends of Burnsby told *WV* that the "counseling" really amounted to company threats and that the troubled worker was anxious to quit the program. On November 9, shortly after a "counseling" session and after being harassed by management on his day off when he picked up his paycheck, Burnsby was killed when his car smashed into a tree at high speed.

What began as a 24-hour protest demanding the "removal" of Catherine Daily's supervisors and the settlement of accumulated local grievances—most importantly, Ma Bell's attempt to rip up the contract by suspending seniority rights for Christmas scheduling—became a three-day defensive battle against company reprisals. Though "emergency meetings" are contractually permitted, management stated that any Long Lines employee who participated in the job action would be subject to discipline. The operators, however, were determined that they would not go back to work under threat of suspension. A management offer to exempt some operators from disciplinary measures due to "confusion" was unanimously rejected at a meeting on December 21.

Phone workers with symbolic coffin protest company harassment that led to two workers' deaths. WV Photo

The union stated that more than 600 out of 880 operators stayed out of work. But though the Christmas holidays, with heavy telephone traffic, presented a favorable opportunity for successful militant action, the officials of Local 1150 were reluctant to press their advantage. And needless to say, there was no help from International president Glenn Watts. CWA members from the clerical and plant departments in the targeted building outnumber those in traffic, yet none of these workers were called out in solidarity with the operators. Union officials stressed that the picket lines were "informational" so that management, as well as scabbing operators, could go in to work under police protection despite the increasing anger of the pickets. The 1150 tops even pulled down the picket line at one point as a show of "good faith" to management. Then on December 23 local officials caved in to a court order and sent the operators back to work.

At a union meeting later that week, Local 1150 president Gary Whaley hailed the court-ordered "settlement" as a victory since the judge ruled that rank-and-file operators could not be disciplined for involvement in the work stoppage, and that the company must immediately proceed to arbitration on the scheduling issue. But Local 1150 officials may well be victimized, Catherine Daily's tormentors are still on the job, and the contract issues are in the hands of pro-company arbitrators. As one operator told *WV*, "Two people died. It's a tragedy but everything's the same."

The Local 1150 operators did not win their demands. But the staging of a three-day job action without suffering wholesale suspensions *is* significant nevertheless in an industry where the bosses traditionally answer *any* militancy with massive retaliation. Nor was the job action by New York phone workers an isolated case; in several local strikes over recent months CWA members have demonstrated their willingness to take on the company.

Ma Bell will continue to treat its employees like dirt until the union wins a decisive victory over the company. Decades of sellouts by the no-strike Beirne/Watts International have only emboldened the arrogant bosses. CWA members must look to the program raised by the class-struggle opposition in the union, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), for a strategy to win against the company: for a militant, nationwide strike in 1980 to end speedup and absenee control; for a big pay hike—smash Carter's wage controls; for jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, and the unlimited local right to strike. ■

CWA Members Back Jane Margolis Suit

The unprecedented lawsuit of Jane Margolis, a union official and phone worker militant who was dragged by U.S. Secret Service agents from the floor of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention in Detroit last July, is already winning significant backing from elected officials and rank-and-file members of the union. Margolis is a member of the executive board of CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco.

CWA members, outraged over the feds' invasion of their convention, have initiated the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harrassment (UCASSH) to support and publicize the case. Committee members told *WV* that UCASSH has received formal membership endorsements from CWA locals in Chicago and Portland, Oregon, as well as a $250 contribution voted by the Portland membership.

Individual militants from locals in several areas of the country have likewise declared their support. These include officers, executive board members and stewards in New York, Los Angeles and Michigan. On January 2, the executive board of Sacramento, California Local 9412 endorsed the lawsuit as have over 20 stewards in Margolis' own local. CWA members there have donated close to $700 to cover legal expenses. So far UCASSH has raised nearly $1,100 and hundreds of dollars more have been pledged.

Margolis, an elected delegate at the CWA convention last summer, was seized by the U.S. president's secret police and handcuffed like a common criminal. The Secret Service threatened her with arrest and imprisonment and deprived her of legal counsel, all in an effort to silence her criticisms of Jimmy Carter, who was about to address the union gathering.

State repression against the working-class movement is, of course, nothing new. On December 7 Margolis, a leading spokesman for the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus in the CWA, spoke at a Spartacist League forum in the Bay Area. She stated: "From the mass trials of the IWW, to the deaths of Sacco and Vanzetti, to the trials of the Trotskyists and the Teamster organizers of Local 544 for opposing the [U.S.] intervention in the imperialist war, to the Taft-Hartley law, the story of labor is all the same."

Just last month, the head of the Secret Service admitted that his agents interfered with protestors from the International Association of Machinists who dogged President Carter during his summertime riverboat tour of the Mississippi. "We would like to begin to pry the lid open on the dirty tricks against the union movement," Margolis said at the forum.

Margolis has retained San Francisco attorney Charles Garry to handle the legal case. The million-dollar lawsuit, which challenges in principle the government's "right" to disrupt and control the trade-union movement, merits the support of every defender of working-class rights. But whereas the state has unlimited funds with which to carry out its anti-labor mission, militants who take on the government must rely on their friends and supporters for financial assistance. And funds are urgently needed! UCASSH spokesmen informed *WV* that expenses have already run over $5,000 and the total cost is expected to reach $20,000 or more. ■

Donations should be sent to:

Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment

P.O. Box 12324
San Francisco, CA 94112

Parity Committee: Son of Mitterrand Meets Son of Perón

LAMBERT-MORENO: THE MOST ROTTEN BLOC

For the last three years the Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno has been charging around the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) looking for an issue to provoke a split in this chaotic gang of renegades from Trotskyism. After breaking with the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) over the latter's "State Department socialist" line on Portugal in 1975, he flirted for about a year with the USec majority headed by Ernest Mandel, then decided to set up his own Bolshevik Faction (BF) in 1978. Decked out with an abstract leftist platform accusing Mandel of tailing Eurocommunism and the SWP of neo-Kautskyism, Moreno began swashbuckling through Latin America, capturing clots of militants in several countries with lightning raids and bureaucratic expulsions. He then headed for Europe, hoping to grab a piece of the perennially crisis-ridden USec sections on the Old Continent by presenting an efficient, well-financed machine always on the move with a new campaign to win the eye of the masses. And scouring the globe for hot spots, Moreno finally found his vehicle: the struggle against Nicaraguan tyrant Somoza led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

But it didn't turn out exactly as expected. Moreno first dreamed up the Simón Bolívar Brigade (BSB) as a publicity apparatus to make a name for the BF and as a pressure group to push the FSLN to the left. But soon after the U.S. puppet dictator fled in late July, the Morenoite-led BSB got into hot water with the Sandinista tops. After little more than a week of organizing unions and urging local militias to hold onto their arms, the Brigade got the ax from the new junta. On August 17 the BSB was rounded up and herded onto planes for Panama, where several of the brigaders were beaten by the National Guard. That might have been the end of the episode, except that SWP and Mandelite representatives in Managua publicly endorsed the deportations. Moreno may have lost his chance for a big-time operation in Nicaragua, but he got his pretext to split the USec. In a series of *diktats* the United Secretariat ordered the BF to cease operating and expelled leaders of the allied Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT); in turn the BF and LTT walked out with their troops—not even bothering to show up at the "11th World Congress" to protest the expulsions.

Following the rupture of the United Secretariat in October there has now arisen a competing international conglomeration which claims the allegiance of "a majority of the organizations, tendencies and militants who can legitimately claim to stand for the Fourth International." Moreno has teamed up with Pierre Lambert's French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), the Lambertist LTT and the OCI's satellites in the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI) to form the "Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International." The Parity Committee directs its fire at the USec's liquidationist policies on Nicaragua and in particular against the SWP's "Castroite leadership." These are compared to the 1951-53 revisionist offensive by Michel Pablo, then head of the International Secretariat. In their joint declaration establishing the Parity Committee, the OCRFI/BF/LTT call for:

> "...a common, international discussion of all those elements, forces and organizations which place themselves on the terrain of the Transitional Program, with a view to reconstructing and recomposing the International and its organizations in a reunified Fourth International."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 3-10 November 1979

This discussion is to be organized around a "democratic conference open to all forces which claim to be Trotskyist."

Fake-Trotskyist Musical Chairs

Increasingly under the ascendancy of the reformist American SWP, currently led by Jack Barnes, the USec committed *crimes* against the workers' cause in Nicaragua, including alleged fingering (which has not been denied) of the Simón Bolívar Brigade to the FSLN. For organizations that call themselves Trotskyist, the SWP/USec's string of betrayals is truly breathtaking: political support to a class-collaborationist government, advocating popular-front alliances with capitalist forces, calling for imperialist "aid" to the "revolutionary" ruling junta, opposition to "risky" nationalizations and "irresponsible" union demands, praise for disarming the masses, approval of bourgeois repression against the left, and ordering the dissolution of both USec sympathizing groups in the country. But this was no accident, to be blamed on the perfidious nature of Peter Camejo or the shameless SWP. Such groveling capitulation before the bonapartist Sandinista "revolutionary leadership" is the inescapable result of the basis on which the United Secretariat was founded.

Class Struggle

Sandinista commanders with Fidel Castro in Havana.

The USec was formed in 1963 by the SWP and the European lieutenants of Pablo on a program of political support to the alleged "natural Marxist" Fidel Castro and his bureaucratically deformed workers state in Cuba. But while both sides rejected the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and the necessity of an independent proletarian vanguard, the components of the USec were divided by clashing opportunist impulses on very different national terrains. So in the face of every major upsurge in the class struggle this pseudo-Fourth International has collapsed. A dispute over Latin American guerrillaism sparked a decade-long faction fight during the late '60s and early '70s. In 1974-76 the USec was admittedly on the verge of a split over Portugal and Angola, as SWP minority and Mandelite majority found themselves on opposite sides of the barricades. But despite subsequent dissolution of the factions, and even though Nicaragua was (on both sides) more an excuse than a cause, Moreno's determined drive managed to rip out an estimated 25-30 percent of the USec membership.

Although on the single issue of policy toward the victorious FSLN in Nicaragua the Parity Committee stands to the left of the United Secretariat, the new Morenoite/Lambertist bloc offers no alternative for would-be Trotskyists. In fact, this marriage of convenience is even more incompatible than the USec itself: the OCI is a staid social-democratic organization with a pronounced case of Stalinophobia, while Moreno is an adventurer setting out to build a personal international with a program of infiltrating all manner of

"Third World" nationalist-bonapartist regimes. Thus before the Sandinistas took power, the OCI's man for Managua (Fausto Amador) was attacking the FSLN from the right as "adventurists" for organizing a second offensive to topple Somoza, while Moreno's BSB was based on the single demand of "support for the struggle of the Sandino people." Moreno the political chameleon spent years masquerading as a Peronist in Argentina, then switched to Castroism, then social democracy and now is on a leftist kick; Lambert's reformism is consistent—like the SWP he cheered the counterrevolutionary drive by the CIA-funded Portuguese Socialist Party in 1975. Here is the fake-Trotskyist rotten bloc of all time.

So much so that even the USec feels it can get away with accusing the Parity Committee of being an unprincipled combination! In response, OCI/OCRFI spokesman Stéphane Just brags that "We do not intend to *mask* the differences which exist among us." Thus even after the advertised "open conference," "We will each keep 'our own physiognomy and our own political positions'" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 10-17 November). And in an interview in the same issue of the OCI paper, Moreno admits that "for now it [the Parity Committee] is a united front...." Yet Just/Moreno both call on the components of the Parity Committee "to fight for the construction of revolutionary parties"—on whose positions? Clearly what is intended is that both sides will continue to build their own satellites, so that when the inevitable split comes, they will just pick up their pawns and leave. Meanwhile the LTT is rapidly losing its "own physiognomy" (its political positions were always borrowed, first from the SWP and later the OCI). The French LTT, organized in the Ligue Communiste Internationaliste (LCI) since the expulsion/walkout from the USec, has set up a "permanent contact committee" (LCI Circular No. 1) with the OCI; and the *Lettre d'Informations Ouvrières* of 11 December reports that "the OCI and LCI consider themselves segments of the same revolutionary workers party."

The bankruptcy of both sides in the USec split is revealed by the fact that what comes out of it is two blocs, each composed of a reformist and a centrist element. Moreno and Lambert are no more united politically than Mandel and Barnes. In fact, during 1976-77 it was Barnes/Lambert vs. Mandel/Moreno, and before that it was Barnes/Moreno/Lambert against Mandel & Co. in the perpetual game of fake-Trotskyist musical chairs. For the OCI this is a continuing methodology which has already borne its fruits: the Parity Committee formula was the same federalist program on which the ill-fated OCRFI was built...and on which it foundered. For years Lambert had unresolved differences with his major bloc partner, Guillermo Lora's Bolivian POR, over the latter's participation in a "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" with nationalist general Torres, and further differences with Lora's Argentine followers of Politica Obrera over their tailing after Perón. Then last January the OCI broke with most of its Latin American allies. The charge: capitulation to bourgeois nationalism, particularly Peronism (surprise!). Now Lambert is at it again with a re-edition of the OCRFI. It is the "unity" of the lowest common denominator, not the Bolshevik program.

What About Cuba?

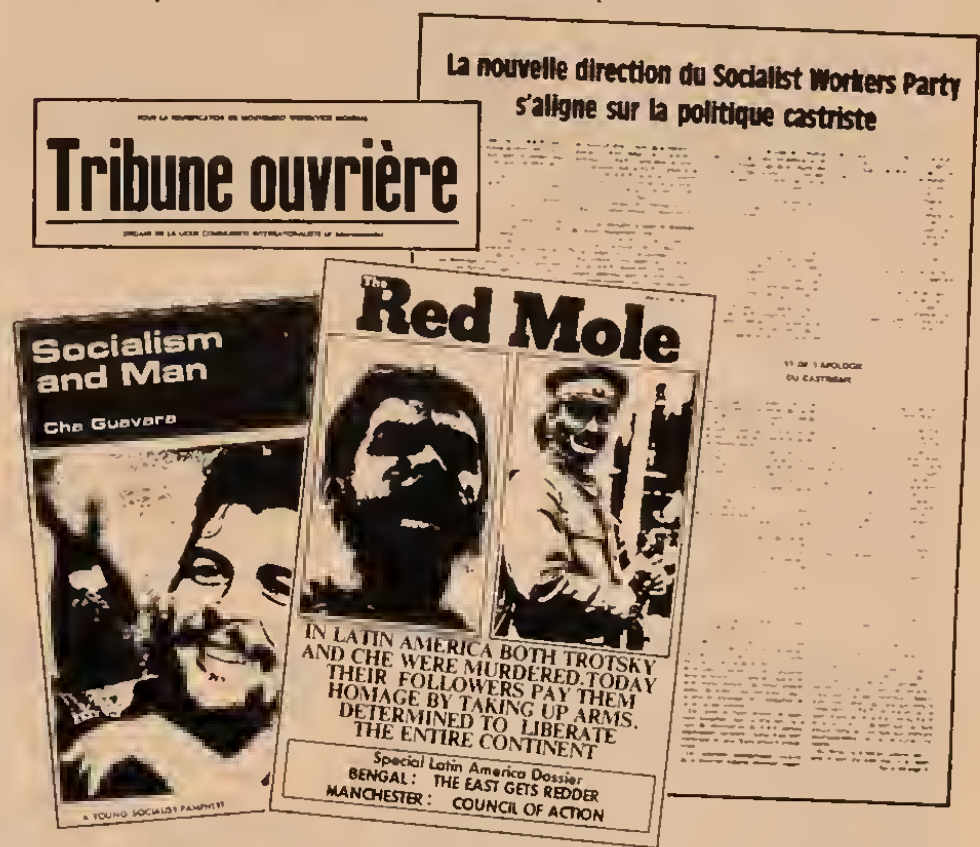
In their statements since the USec split, the Parity Committee leaders have taken great pains to portray themselves as consistent fighters against Pabloism. According to Nahuel Moreno, "Even if the Nicaraguan revolution was the detonator for the current crisis," its origins go back to "the terrible crisis in the Fourth International caused by the Pabloist deviation in 1951-53" of ordering deep entrism in the Kremlin-loyal CPs. He also accuses Pablo/Mandel of "one of the greatest crimes in the history of the workers movement" by giving critical support to the bourgeois Bolivian government in 1952. And in a resolution presented at the showdown meeting of the United Secretariat last fall, the Bolshevik Faction noted that the SWP's position on Nicaragua was to "apply Pablo's tactic toward the Algerian FLN" (*Lettre d'IO*, 10 October). Not only politically supporting the FLN, Pablo entered it and himself became a technical adviser for the post-independence bourgeois Ben Bella government.

In order to combat the political program which gave rise to the USec's present capitulation to the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, it is crucial to analyze its origins. Entrism "sui generis" in the pro-Moscow Stalinist parties, Bolivia 1952, Algeria 1964—these are all Pabloist betrayals as is the SWP/USec line toward the FSLN. LTT leader C. Némo also cites Mandelite support for Latin American "focoism" (Guevarist guerrillaism), subsequent chasing after "new mass vanguards" in Europe and fostering illusions in Eurocommunism. But why these particular examples—isn't something missing? What we have here is self-amnestying by means of a selective presentation of history. Moreno leaves an important gap in his supposed unrelenting struggle against Pabloism—namely the "reunification" of 1963 and subsequent years. And there's one example he doesn't cite—the most relevant one, in fact—Cuba.

The parallels between events in Nicaragua today and the early years of the Castro regime are inescapable. The basic forces involved are the same: a victorious guerrilla army in shaky alliance with domestic bourgeois liberals, facing a United States temporarily reluctant to intervene directly. (But where Castro was forced to adopt increasingly radical measures in the face of imperialist hostility, Carter seeks to conciliate the new regime—which in turn directs its main fire at those who want to go beyond the capitalist limits it has imposed on the anti-Somoza revolution.) The SWP is right to stress the fundamental identity of its line then and now. Today Barnes okays the expulsion of the BSB and offers the FSLN advice on how best to get rid of "ultralefts," while Mandel tags along; Sandinista left-winger Jaime Wheelock remains the USec's darling despite his anti-Trotskyist tirades. And back in the early '60s—when the Castro regime banned the Cuban POR newspaper, arrested their leaders and smashed printing plates for Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*, while Guevara denounced Trotskyism as a tool of Washington—then, too, the SWP (*and Moreno*) remained silent or even excused the bureaucratic repression.

Cuba is a key issue for Trotskyists because there for the first time a radical petty-bourgeois leadership without previous connections with Stalinism (unlike in China, Vietnam or Yugoslavia) took power and expropriated essentially the entire bourgeoisie, instituting a collectivist economic system. This raised basic questions for the theory and program of permanent revolution. The response of the SWP, and the basis for forming the United Secretariat, was to throw the "old Trotskyism" out the window: the peasantry could replace the working class as the leading force, and where previously a Leninist-Trotskyist party was deemed necessary now the "blunted instrument" of a guerrilla band would do. (The fact that what resulted was a bonapartist regime counterposed to workers democracy, which in foreign policy necessarily followed the Stalinist-nationalist line of conciliating imperialism, was of no concern to the Pabloists.) Moreno also took this tack; if anything, prior to 1968 he was even more enthusiastically pro-Castro than his SWP mentors. Lambert, however, answering with a knee-jerk pseudo-orthodoxy, blindly denied that there had been a social revolution in Cuba. For two decades the OCI called Castro's regime a "phantom capitalist state."

So coming from opposite directions the Lambertists and Morenoites both found themselves saddled with positions on Cuba which made it difficult to do battle with the SWP/USec over Nicaragua. (Barnes/Mandel could at least claim consistency in their opportunism.) As a result, in the past few months both the OCI and Bolshevik Faction have come out with documents which for the first time characterize Cuba as something approximating a deformed workers state. Yet both make the shift furtively. The BF has a convenient lapse of memory—ignoring Moreno's previous support to the USec position—simply stating that Castro & Co. are a "leadership with a petty-bourgeois bureaucratic policy placed at the head of a workers state which never managed to degenerate because it was born deformed..." ("Resolución sobre América Latina," September 1979). The OCI, however, wants to hold onto its old position with one hand, labeling it one variant—"plausible at the time it was formulated"—which was not realized. Instead, "Another variant took shape: the constitution of a workers state resembling the workers states which were bureaucratic from the beginning" (*La Vérité* No. 588, September 1979). It took them only 19 years to figure it out!



Parity Committee supporters attack SWP's "new" Castroite leadership (top), but as IMG's Red Mole and SWP pamphlet show, USec Castroism wasn't born yesterday.

The Spartacist Spectre

The Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency had been calling for a change in the USec position on Cuba for some time, and thus could not dismiss the importance of the question as lightly as the BF and OCI try to. But their claim that "The New Leadership of the Socialist Workers Party Lines Up With Castro's Policy" (*Tribune Ouvrière* No. 1, November 1979) is patently absurd: the SWP has supported Castroism since 1960! This is a bald attempt by the LTT leaders to excuse their own role as disciples of SWP leader Joe Hansen in the misnamed Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF), which attacked Mandelite/Guevarist guerrillaism from the *right*. Ditto for Moreno, who was part of the LTF leadership until splitting from it in 1975. What about the mid-1960s when Moreno called for "developing a technical apparatus strictly subordinate to the discipline of OLAS," Castro's stillborn "international" (see our *Moreno Truth Kit* for the facts); and when Hansen claimed that OLAS' call for continental guerrilla war "echoed the Bolshevik tradition" (see "For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba," *WV* Nos. 223 & 224, 19 January/2 February 1979)?

Above all, the various components of the Parity Committee seek to avoid confronting both the program and the struggle of the international Spartacist tendency. The iSt alone has put forward a coherent Trotskyist position on the Cuban question and from its origins as the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP has consistently fought to politically destroy the Pabloist liquidators. The RT was unique in analyzing, at the time, the origins of the Cuban deformed workers state and its meaning for the Trotskyist program (see "Cuba and Marxist Theory," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8). In opposition to the SWP leadership's resolution, "For Early Reunification of the Trotskyist Movement," which became the founding document of the United Secretariat, the Revolutionary Tendency presented a counter-resolution to the June 1963 SWP convention, which states:

> "13. The Cuban Revolution has exposed the vast inroads of revisionism upon our movement.... Thus Trotskyists are at once the most militant and unconditional defenders against imperialism of both the Cuban Revolution and of the deformed workers' state which has issued therefrom. But Trotskyists cannot give confidence and political support, however critical, to a governing regime hostile to the most elementary principles and practices of workers' democracy, even if our tactical approach is not as toward a *hardened* bureaucratic caste.
>
> "14. What is true of the revisionists' approach toward the Castro regime is even more apparent in regard to the Ben Bella regime now governing Algeria on the program of a 'socialist' revolution in cooperation with French imperialism.... As revolutionaries our intervention in both revolutions, as in every existing state, must be in accordance with the position of Trotsky: 'We are not a government party; we are the party of irreconcilable opposition' (*In Defense of Marxism*). This can cease to apply only in relation to a government

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Chrysler and the Bankruptcy of Social Democracy

Fraser's Answer: "Socialism" for the Bosses, Wage Cuts for the Workers

Chrysler gets bailout. Dodge Main closed down. 5,000 workers get the shaft.

WV Photo

Some months ago when United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser was trying to convince the Carter administration to buy out one-third ownership of Chrysler, he described it as a "dose of socialism." Various phony socialist groups agreed, each one appealing to the capitalist government for slightly more far-reaching schemes to save the failing company. In massive lobbying throughout the fall, the union begged for subsidies to the bosses. And in mid-December Congress responded to their pleas. Chrysler got a bailout to the tune of $1.5 billion in loan guarantees. The UAW chief got a seat on the board of directors. And auto workers got the shaft.

Already they had a substandard contract shoved down their throats, breaking the Big 3 pattern for the first time, with plant closings certain anyway. At present over 32,000 Chrysler employees are on indefinite layoff, fully half the company's production workers. And on January 1 the historic Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck was closed down for good, throwing several thousand mainly black and Arab workers onto the streets of Detroit where chances of finding a decent job are virtually nil. Now, under orders from the government, the UAW is negotiating an even worse contract with further wage and benefit cuts totaling over $400 million. This is Doug Fraser's "dose of socialism": billions for the bosses, wage cuts for the workers.

Fraser's scheme of partial nationalization of bankrupt industry combined with trade-union participation in management was seen within the confines of the American labor movement as unusual and somewhat unprecedented. In fact, there was nothing at all novel about Fraser's program; it was lifted in its entirety from the arsenal of European social democracy. The big business press is playing up the UAW chief's accession to the Chrysler board as the first seed of "co-determination" (West Germany's famous *Mitbestimmung*) in the U.S. For the American workers movement Fraser's response to the Chrysler bankruptcy does pose something new, and it is the job of revolutionary Marxists to expose and combat such social-democratic reformism.

The particular terms of the Chrysler bailout were so horrendous for auto workers that even the majority of the American left, which regularly tails the Solidarity House bureaucracy, were forced to offer some criticisms. But in their methodology the reformist "socialists" differed not one whit from Fraser. Where the UAW misleader called for one-third government ownership and one union rep on the Chrysler board, the fake left presented only more grandiose versions. The Stalinist Communist Party (CP), in its most respectful manner, suggested, "Nationalization would be an equitable solution of the Chrysler problem" (*Daily World*, 16 August). The eclectic Stalinoid Workers World group, somewhat more radical, demanded that the millions the government is giving to the Chrysler bosses be used instead to finance "workers control of the [auto] industry."

But the fastest-talking salesman for Chrysler nationalization is the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). According to the *Militant* (31 August) a Carter-financed born-again Chrysler would miraculously "provide jobs at decent wages" while producing "efficient, safe, inexpensive cars that don't pollute the environment" and also "socially necessary public transit vehicles and agricultural machinery." The SWP doesn't even like to use the term nationalization, much less expropriation, which smacks too much of socialism. In its political resolution adopted last August the section on partial nationalizations is presented under the rubric "public ownership," as if the big auto manufacturer were a municipal waterworks.

As against all the reformist hogwash, the Spartacist League has been unique in putting forward a program for militant class struggle. From the day Chrysler announced its intention to close the Dodge Main assembly plant, the SL called on auto workers to respond with militant plant occupations. And when Chrysler asked the Carter government for a billion-dollar subsidy, *WV* (No. 238, 17 August) responded with an article headlined, "Whatever Chrysler's Worth—Give It to the Workers!" Secondary headlines proclaimed, "No Government Handouts to the Bosses!" and "Answer Layoffs with Sitdowns!" We called on Chrysler workers to occupy the plants, seize the company assets and distribute their net worth to the employees without a dime to the stock and bond holders.

The nationalization of the losers of capitalist competition has nothing in common with the socialist expropriation of the means of production. Government takeover and subsidization of bankrupt firms, supposedly to "save jobs," is a standard reformist practice. In that most decaying capitalist country, Britain, it has become almost institutionalized under successive Labour governments. Nationalized industrial cripples, like the auto manufacturer Leyland, are then run in competition with more efficient private firms by resorting to massive subsidies financed by immiserating the working class as a whole.

Even more than in profitable private firms, these inefficient, state-owned operations have to resort to wage restraint, speedup and layoffs. Just two months ago British Leyland management announced the layoff of 25,000 workers and sacked the firm's most important trade-union leader to show it meant business. (Meanwhile, BL management is trying to climb out of the hole by importing Japanese technology—a new Honda car is to be built at Leyland's Cowley plant.) Were the American government to nationalize Chrysler (unthinkable in the present political situation), it would simply duplicate the experience of British Leyland. The end result would be similar to the bail-out scheme advocated by Chrysler head Lee Iacocca and Carter: handouts to the bosses—layoffs and wage cuts for the workers.

Moreover, the failure of Chrysler takes place in the context of international capitalist competition, in which the No. 3 auto manufacturer's domestic market was taken over by Japanese and German imports. Five years ago Fraser's predecessor, Leonard Woodcock, called on the government to impose quotas on foreign car imports. Fraser's support to a government bailout has the same fundamental character as Woodcock's more open protectionism: subsidizing the profits of American capitalists at the expense of the jobs of Japanese and German auto workers.

As revolutionaries we do not advocate bankrupt "socialism" à la Britain, which is necessarily bound up with national-chauvinist protectionism. We stand for the expropriation of all the basic means of production by a workers government as the basis for socialist economic planning.

Nobody wants Chryslers.

Yates/Business Week

The Collapse of Chrysler

What happened to Chrysler? In 1946 the company was the second largest domestic car producer, after General Motors. But profits were siphoned off into (a) excessively high dividend payments and (b) export of capital. Management continued to pay dividends right up to the time the company effectively declared bankruptcy! In 1978, when Chrysler lost $200 million, some $65 million was still paid out to shareholders. Dividends were maintained to preferred shareholders through even the third quarter of 1979. At the same time, the company had over $1 billion in long-term debt and was borrowing heavily against short-term credit. In short, on the edge of bankruptcy, Chrysler was borrowing money to line the pockets of its stock and bond holders. That is outright looting!

In an effort to increase profits Chrysler, like GM and Ford, invested heavily abroad. But by the time the slower-moving Chrysler management got into the overseas business, GM and Ford had already bought up the productive facilities. Chrysler was stuck with the losers and its foreign operations became a massive drain on the company's capital, preventing necessary investment and retooling of its U.S. plants.

Meanwhile, Chrysler's domestic operations were going to the dogs. Between 1968 and 1978, while GM and Ford roughly maintained their traditional shares of the domestic market and auto imports soared 70 percent, Chrysler's share declined by 40 percent. Then came the energy crisis engineered by the oil trust. That broke Chrysler. Having long relied on the demand of the American consumer for big cars, Chrysler found itself totally incapable of coming up with the large sums needed to down-size its product in line with shifting demand.

Even the business press recognizes that Chrysler is a case of exceptionally bad management. Here is how *Business Week* (20 August) analyzed the company's imminent bankruptcy:

> "Chrysler's new big cars came out in the fall of 1973, just months before the Arab oil embargo destroyed the market for

Chrysler and the Bankruptcy of Social Democracy

"If Chrysler is going bankrupt, let the workers seize the plants and hold them. Not piracy but mutiny."

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> "Chrysler's new big cars came out in the fall of 1973, just months before the Arab oil embargo destroyed the market for gas guzzlers. Chrysler reacted not by starting its biggest product overhaul in history, as GM did, but by laying off hundreds of engineers, setting back even further planning of future products.
>
> "Since then, Chrysler has made one untimely move after another."

A Revolutionary Program for Chrysler Workers

The central axis of the SL program for Chrysler has been for plant occupations and class-struggle mobilizations as against reliance on the government. The sit-down strike is not only particularly appropriate to counter plant closings, but it has important historical tradition in the United Auto Workers. Precisely because it challenges the sacred property rights of the bosses, this type of strike has a galvanizing effect on other sectors of the working class. The historic 1937 Flint GM sitdown sparked a wave of similar strikes in the successful battle to unionize basic industry. Factory occupations by Chrysler workers today to win even a small share of what the bosses have taken from them would do far more to inspire a real fight for jobs by the American working class than all the government bail-out schemes retailed by the bureaucracy and its reformist hangers-on.

Revolutionaries who aspire to lead the American working class to power have a responsibility to give an answer to the plight of Chrysler workers. We have put forward a perspective that simultaneously offers the workers much more than they can get from any bail-out scheme and represents a radical attack on capitalist property rights. If Chrysler is going bankrupt, let the workers seize the plants and hold them. "Not piracy but mutiny," as the *WV* article put it.

Faced with this attack on their sacrosanct property rights, the bosses will certainly respond by raising the armed fist of the state: police, National Guard, even the army. But these threats can be beaten back. With expensive machinery in the workers' hands, the bosses will hesitate to order an assault. And the labor movement can counterpose a superior force by dispatching "flying squads" of pickets (the beginnings of a workers militia), calling for spreading the strike industrywide and locally, and sparking militant actions elsewhere. Such a plant takeover in the Chrysler citadel would electrify Detroit, bringing thousands of fellow auto workers to the defense of the sit-downers.

And then? The more left-talking reformists would have the workers call on the government to nationalize the company. (The SWP and CP are such wet noodles that in calling for government/"public" ownership of Chrysler they don't breathe a word about factory occupations.) But in the absence of a general working-class upsurge posing the possibility of proletarian revolution, operation of such state-owned facilities according to the rules of the capitalist game will simply mean more wage cuts, speedup and layoffs, as at British Leyland. This hardly points in a revolutionary direction.

Instead of relying on the capitalist government—don't forget it's *theirs*, not ours—class-struggle unionists must wage a militant fight against the companies. If Chrysler isn't really bankrupt, then with workers determined to hold on to the seized properties, management may be in a mood to bargain. If the bosses plead poverty, then we have a proposal they will surely understand—a good old-fashioned *bankruptcy sale*. Only this time it will be the workers pounding down the gavel. As *WV* wrote:

> "...the workers ought to democratically elect a board to liquidate Chrysler. But not a cent to the Wall Street shareholders of Chrysler! Let the stocks, bonds and bank debts go down the tubes. All the money from the sale of assets should go to the Chrysler workforce including the foreign workers."

Der Spiegel

British Leyland protesters. Social Democracy in Britain: The wages of a working class impoverished.

Such a radical, anti-capitalist demand would have an enormous appeal not only among auto workers, but also broader sections of the population justly outraged at Chrysler's wealthy mismanagers asking for government handouts while their employees get wage cuts and dismissal notices.

Attentive readers of *Workers Vanguard* will note that we have not always raised this program. In an article last spring on the shutdown of Dodge Main (*WV* No. 232, 25 May), we wrote: "In the event of large-scale plant closings, militants would demand government takeover of the plants and nationalization of Chrysler without

continued on page 8

AP

Detroit, July 19: Only Spartacist League called for factory occupations against plant closures, mass layoffs.

Chrysler...

(continued from page 7)

compensation." This was a reflexive attempt to give immediacy to the socialist program of expropriation, but here it was incorrect. Our rejection of nationalization in this case is based on the specifics of the Chrysler situation and the politics of the American working class. This antiquated, looted and mismanaged firm was driven to the wall by superior domestic and foreign competition. Nobody wants Chryslers. Now accounting for only 10 percent of auto production, Chrysler is hardly vital to the American economy.

Everyone knows this government is not going to nationalize Chrysler. Therefore, any talk of nationalization could only serve as a left cover for a government bail-out scheme. This is just how Fraser used his proposal (now dropped) for one-third government ownership. To demand the nationalization of Chrysler is to propagate the reformist program of nationalizing the losers. We have no desire to foster illusions, particularly where none such now exist, that government takeovers can guarantee full employment or generally overcome the irrationalities of capitalism.

Partial Nationalizations and the Transitional Program

For workers to seize and sell off the assets of a bankrupt firm is not a tactic for all seasons and all places. Especially in a backward country and region, the failure of a big firm could be an economic catastrophe, forcing a large part of the industrial working class into permanent unemployment and impoverishment. British Leyland today is a case in point. Here the bankruptcy of a particular firm becomes a crisis point of the capitalist system in general.

Another situation is a wave of bankruptcies and plant closures during a deep depression as in the early 1930s. Here the capitalist system is obviously in crisis and socialism is directly posed. It was for this kind of situation that Trotsky in the 1938 Transitional Program presented the linked demands of the nationalization of closed-down businesses and workers control of production as a first step toward socialist economic planning under a workers state.

The Transitional Program poses the question of the expropriation of particular industries and firms in a limited and conditional way:

> "The socialist program of expropriation, i.e., of political overthrow of the bourgeoisie and liquidation of its economic domination, should in no case hinder us from advancing, when the occasion warrants, the demand for the expropriation of several key branches of industry vital for national existence or of the most parasitic group of the bourgeoisie."

So Trotskyists do stand for partial nationalizations? Yes, in exceptional cases.

Such an exceptional case is the oil industry in this country today. Big Oil is seen as extortionate not only by the proletariat, but by masses of the petty bourgeoisie and even sections of the bourgeoisie itself. There exists widespread support in the U.S. for the demand that the strategic fuel resources be ripped out of the hands of these parasitic monopolists. Unlike the conservative bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO and the fake-lefts, however, we understand that it is absurd to place confidence in Jimmy Carter and the capitalist parties to carry out this task. We point out that this vast concentration of private wealth and political power can only be expropriated by a working-class offensive that would shake capitalist America to its foundation.

The slogan of expropriating the oil trusts without compensation channels popular hostility to Exxon, Texaco, etc., toward a workers government and socialism. But the *indiscriminate* demand for nationalizing particular industries only fosters reformist illusions in the gradual socialization of capitalist society. Our tendency came to an understanding of this only over time. Some years past, incipient oppositional groupings in the UAW politically supported by the Spartacist League raised the slogan: "Expropriate auto under workers control!" In the course of discussions within the SL on the program and tactics for building class-struggle caucuses in the unions, we came to the conclusion that the slogan put forward for auto was incorrect.

To begin with, workers control means dual power at the point of production in a revolutionary situation; it is *not* some kind of utopian proletarian-democratic means of administering a nationalized industry under capitalism. That reformist conception of workers control is, predictably, espoused by the SWP: "The best guarantee that Chrysler will be run in the public interest is to entrust control over its day-to-day operations to the auto workers themselves" (*Militant*, 31 August). Oh happy little island of socialism in the rough capitalist sea!

But the demand to expropriate the auto industry is wrong in itself, quite apart from the confusionist appendage, "under workers control." Auto is a central pillar of American industrial capital, whose nationalization would be tantamount to the nationalization of American industry in general. Hence, the demand for partial expropriation of auto ultimately lends credence to the reformist schema of the piecemeal socialization of the economy.

This is, of course, the standard social-democratic program. It was clearly stated, for example, in the British Labour Party's 1960 programmatic declaration, especially designed to water down Clause IV of the party's 1918 constitution, which called for "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange":

> "It is convinced that these social and economic objectives can be achieved only through an expansion of common ownership substantial enough to give the community power over the commanding heights of the economy.... Recognizing that both public and private enterprise have a place in the economy, it believes further extension of common ownership should be decided from time to time in the light of these objectives...."
>
> —reproduced in Harold Wilson, *The Relevance of British Socialism* (1964)

In reality, nationalizations by imperialist governments are generally restricted to bailouts of failing companies, or they are quasi-military measures designed to better prepare for or prosecute a war. This latter was true to a substantial degree in Mussolini's Italy. During World War II, even in the U.S., the merchant marine was brought under the control and management of the government (although profits continued to go to the owners). There is nothing whatsoever progressive about such statification undertaken simply to better defend imperialist interests.

To summarize, for revolutionaries the demand for the expropriation of particular industries is an agitational demand to be raised *conjuncturally* when popular hostility is directed against a particularly exploitative industry or group of capitalists. Taken out of this context, this demand, like almost any other in the Transitional Program, can be given a reformist twist. For Trotsky partial nationalization was a bridge to workers power, not a means of improving capitalism:

> "Nationalization can signify as in England, the mines, in France the military industries, a voluntary agreement between the owners and government. The owners become participants in the nationalized property and many of them, in France for example, become richer than before, for they were saved from bankruptcy.
>
> "That is why we can use, I believe, the alternatives in our agitation, the words expropriation and nationalization, but underline the word *expropriation*. We can say to the miner, you wish nationalization. Yes, it is our slogan. It is only a question of conditions. If the national property is too burdened with debts against the former owners, your conditions can become worse than now. To base the whole proceedings upon a free agreement between the owners and the state signifies ruin of the workers. Now you must organize your own government in the state and expropriate them."
>
> —"Conversation on the Slogan 'Workers and Farmers Government'," *Writings, 1938-39*

Under the impact of great events which radicalize the workers, mass reformist parties may adopt a *paper program* of widespread or even complete nationalization. Four years of slaughter in the trenches and the influence of the Bolshevik Revolution caused the British Labour Party in 1918 to adopt its famous Clause IV. Similarly the Great Depression and the victory of fascism in Germany produced sharp leftward motion in social democracy. In 1934 the Belgian Workers Party adopted the "De Man Plan" for the general nationalization of industry. In 1935 the social-democratic-led French General Federation of Labor (CGT) came out for nationalizing "certain key industries."

Such programs and plans seek to channel the socialist aspirations of the working class into a parliamentary-reformist path. Trotskyists do not dismiss the calls for general nationalization sometimes put forward by mass reformist organizations. Rather we point out that these programs can be realized only through revolutionary class struggle, which the bureaucratic leaderships adamantly oppose. Thus, Trotsky sharply criticized the CGT for its failure to put forward any concrete measures to implement its nationalization plan (factory committees, workers control, etc.) and concluded:

> "Either the plan is transformed into a plan for the conquest of power by the proletariat, for the establishment of a workers and peasants government, or the people will put it down as null and unworkable."
>
> —"From the CGT's Plan to the Conquest of Power," in *Writings, 1934-35*

The British Experience

If Trotsky used the demand for expropriation as a transition toward a workers government, the British experience has been the Chrysler bailout writ large. Successive Labour governments have nationalized whole sectors of bankrupt industries, operating them through heavy subsidies extracted from more productive sectors of the economy. This social-democratic policy has proved no more of a step toward socialism than traditional Tory "free enterprise." It has simply perpetuated an ossified industrial structure with an increasingly impoverished population. In 1946 the standard of living of the British working class was still the highest in Europe; today it vies with southern Italy for being the lowest in Western Europe.

British capitalism, which had been in a state of decline for decades, emerged from World War II with its empire looted and in the process of disintegration. Industries vital to the economy, such as the mines and railroads, were bankrupt and falling apart. The first post-war Labour government was swept into power in 1945 with almost a two-to-one parliamentary majority. The working class had enormous illusions that this government would implement socialist measures. But the Labour ministers wasted little time in reassuring the more jittery sections of the ruling class that this was not the case. In November 1945, the conservative *Economist*, which had bitterly opposed Labour in the elections, was able to write:

> "An avowedly Socialist Government, with a clear Parliamentary majority, might well have been expected to go several stages further. There is nothing in the list about the land... ocean-going shipping... merchant shipping... or petroleum, which in its domestic aspects, might be thought the most obvious target of all.... The program ...is almost the least it could do without violating its election pledges."

In fact, the Labour Party clearly stated in its 1945 electoral program that it intended to nationalize only the most inefficient and failing industries. These were distinguished from "many small businesses rendering good services" as well as "big industries not yet ripe for public ownership." The bankrupt British bourgeoisie was more than happy to dump its money-losers on the government. With the exception of iron and steel, all the nationalizations undertaken by the 1945-51 government were broadly accepted by the capitalist class. In fact, almost all of the nationalizations were carried out on the basis of findings and recommendations made by special investigative commissions dominated by Tories.

In short, Labour Party policy boiled down to bailouts for the bosses and austerity for the working class. Staggering amounts of compensation, totaling over £2 billion, were paid out for dilapidated and rundown properties: £1 billion for the railways and canals alone; £164 million to the hated coal operators; £58 million for the Bank of England. Meanwhile, the government engaged in ruthless strike-breaking activities. In 1945 troops were called out against dockers who wildcatted for higher wages and a reduction in the workweek from 48 to 40 hours, while the following year troops were again mobilized against striking London transport workers. All wings of the Labour Party, including the "left" leader Aneurin Bevan, supported these anti-working-class actions.

Summarizing the effect of three years of social-democratic government in Britain, Arne Swabeck of the then-revolutionary SWP wrote in the *Fourth International* of March-April 1946:

> "Such state intervention has become wholly reactionary. It tends to aid monopoly capitalism; and it serves the purposes only in maintaining capitalist relations of production as a whole.
>
> "Within the nationalized industries, saddled with a crippling burden of exorbitant compensation and expensive management set-ups, the revenues must come out of surplus value produced by the workers.... To workers this means more speed-up, greater intensity of exploitation under more severe austerity, and a generally reduced standard of living.
>
> "The crucial question of which class benefits from the nationalizations is here made singularly clear."

The political and economic context in which the post-war nationalizations in Britain were carried out is fundamentally different from that in the U.S. today. Whole sections of the economy genuinely vital to national existence—the railroads, mines, overland transport, gas, electricity—were bankrupt. The issue posed *directly* in Britain was the need for a workers government to fully expropriate the bourgeoisie and set up a planned, collectivized economy. Such an outcome, in fact, was an objective possibility. Soldiers had voted more heavily for Labour than almost any other section of the population and in 1945 the British army was far from a reliable instrument to defend capitalist interests.

Had there been a militant defense of the living standards of the working class, particularly in the key sectors of the proletariat employed in the nationalized industries, it would quickly have exploded the entire social-democratic bailout integral to the stabilization of British capitalism. The result would have been a confrontation militarily posing the question of state power. However, the trade-union bureaucracy working hand in glove with Labour Party leaders succeeded largely in stifling such struggle.

Those who call for the nationalization

of Chrysler, look to Labourite Britain. There you have the result of three decades of nationalizing the Chryslers. This policy has not only impoverished the working class but now provides a most favorable environment for the growth of fascism. Thatcher's aggressive anti-working-class policies express the desperation of a capitalist class which can no longer afford social-democratic reformism. And for millions of petty bourgeois and even many backward workers, Leyland, the mines, the docks are labor-based socialism in practice. And if that's socialism, then they're against it. The fascist National Front appeals to the widespread feeling that something radical must be done to halt the rot of British society, a rot that definitely includes nationalized industrial cripples like Leyland.

Fight Social-Democratic Reformism!

Since the late 1930s American social democracy has been extremely weak, basically acting as advisers for various sections of the trade-union bureaucracy, which, however, firmly support the Democratic Party. This parasitic relationship was disturbed by the Vietnam War. The rabidly chauvinist, central Meanyite bureaucracy became more hawkish than the bourgeois liberals. But with the revived Cold War atmosphere and rightward drive of the Democrats toward ever greater austerity for the workers, the social democrats have regained some favor among the union bureaucracy. It's a sign of the times that 17 AFL-CIO building trades unions, backbone of the Meanyite machine, took out an ad in the newsletter of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) congratulating it for "firm and militant support of the American labor movement" (*Democratic Left*, September 1979).

Unlike the Meanyite building trades, the Reutherite UAW has a real, if somewhat atrophied, social-democratic tradition. There is a certain ideological continuity between Reuther's call in 1945 for a union-run "reconversion" of the American economy and Fraser's proposal for the one-third nationalization of Chrysler. But when Reuther approached the capitalist government to co-partner the post-war economy, the U.S. had just emerged supreme victor in World War II. Its technological and productive resources far surpassed those of its capitalist rivals. Today Chrysler, on whose board the UAW president sits, is composed of aging and dilapidated plants, its market taken by superior and cheaper Japanese and German autos. Social-democratic reformism in the U.S. today means nationalist protectionism. The ultimate capitalist answer to "protecting" Chrysler's jobs is a new imperialist war and another Hiroshima.

The social democrats—particularly fake Trotskyists like the SWP—disguise their collaboration with the imperialist state with talk about "economic democracy," "workers control," "workers management," etc. So the SWP calls for nationalization under workers control, to be implemented not even by a reformist party like the British Labourites—but by Jimmy Carter and the capitalist Democratic Party! Everyone knows all such talk is hogwash—what's really involved is simply government subsidies to bankrupts.

In the mouths of America's social democrats and fake-lefts such slogans as expropriation, workers control and workers management are bandied about to better sell the standard reformist schemes. As opposed to the SWP et al., we have no interest in conning American workers to take the ruinous road of British Labourism. To the reformist call for nationalizing Chrysler, we counterpose: Seize the plants! Whatever Chrysler's worth—Give it to the workers! Forward to a workers government! ■

Hail Red Army...

(continued from page 1)

wants the People's Liberation Army to channel arms to the reactionary Afghan rebels through their mutual military client, Pakistan. With unprecedentedly forthright bellicosity, Brown's toast at a state banquet Sunday called on Peking to join American imperialism "with complementary actions in the field of defense as well as diplomacy." Now most of the cards are on the table.

Both Egypt's Sadat and Israel's Begin have offered the U.S. military bases in order to get in on the gravy train of the grand anti-Soviet united front. Before it's over Israel may be sending rabbis (only Orthodox, of course) as military chaplains to the anti-Russian Muslim forces. And seeking to enlist the Muslim world in his crusade, in particular Ayatollah Khomeini's Persian theocracy, Carter ended his television speech not with the usual appeal to the "free world" but with a denunciation of the attempt by "a powerful atheistic government to subjugate an independent Islamic people" (*New York Times*, 5 January).

This was Brzezinski's message as well, speaking December 30 on ABC's "Issues and Answers": "I think every sober-headed Iranian, even the most anti-American ones, ought to ask themselves, what do the events in Kabul portend for Teheran." But the appeal is falling on deaf ears, and ironically it was Brzezinski's own attempt to sign up Khomeini's prime minister Bazargan that led to the embassy takeover which has stymied U.S. plans. With Carter protecting the shah and brandishing his military might against Iran, Washington's call on Khomeini's regime for a common front against "godless Communism" is doomed to fail..

SALT Shelved

Unlike the crazed Polish irridentist Brzezinski (and the new Polish pope), President Carter is a cynical bourgeois politician in the narrowest sense: while serving his class he tries to say without too many guffaws what he thinks will get him re-elected. Last month he ran for re-election against the ayatollah and his alleged ally, Edward Kennedy, and for the Christian god. This month Carter is running against Brezhnev and for god. Many folks will think, especially after the *Playboy* interview, that he's long overplayed the god game.

The administration is seeking to exploit the temporary climate of "national unity" generated in the U.S. by the seizure of the embassy hostages in Teheran to massively escalate the American war machine. Now there will be a massive weird subway system in the West, the size of a small state, to move around MX mobile missiles. Carter demanded that NATO allies including West Germany accept deployment of 572 nuclear missiles in West Europe targeted at the USSR. And he "compromised" with "hawks" in Congress who wanted a 5 percent increase (above inflation) in the Pentagon budget—settling for 4.5 percent—over and above the $20 billion increase in the next fiscal year.

Each escalation in American armament was palmed off as appeasing opponents of SALT. Clearly "Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty" means billions for more nuclear missiles, bombers, ships, etc. And these weapons are not being built to liberate hostages held by Islamic "students" chanting, "Carter is a dog." They are aimed at the USSR. With the Soviet army operation in Afghanistan, all the claptrap about "détente," SALT, etc.—by which the imperialists seek to negotiate the disarmament of the Soviet degenerated workers state—has been put into mothballs.

Of course, this counterrevolutionary diplomatic farce would not have gotten this far were it not for the class-collaborationist, pacifistic illusions of the Kremlin bureaucracy in "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. But even as hamhanded intransigence by employers sometimes forces even conservative union hacks to call a strike, so the septuagenarian Stalinist leaders in Moscow got fed up and did the obvious thing. Recognizing that (as American analysts have long admitted) Afghanistan has no strategic importance for the U.S., the Soviets took the opportunity to shore up the secular left-nationalists in Kabul and in the process extended their defense perimeter by several hundred miles around the eastern flank of Iran. As for SALT, it was obviously dead and only the impotent and frustrated Jimmy Carter could see "withdrawing" it from Senate consideration as a "warning" to Moscow.

Afghanistan and the Soviet Union

U.S. imperialism has tried to portray the Soviet military operation in Afghanistan as akin to its invasion of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. In Hungary the Kremlin suppressed a working-class political revolution. In Czechoslovakia it clamped on a bureaucratic stranglehold and cut short potentially revolutionary ferment. Both invasions were neither in the interests of the international working class nor of the defense of the gains of the October Revolution. Afghanistan is entirely different.

Commanded by a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy which has usurped political power from the Soviet workers, the lives of Red Army soldiers have often been squandered for counterrevolutionary ends: from the Sino-Soviet border war to supporting the blood-drenched, genocidal bonapartist Derg in Ethiopia. But the Red Army in Afghanistan, the Russian support to the heroic Vietnamese and the Soviet-backed Cuban defense of Angola against the U.S.-instigated South African invasion in 1975-76 are three instances since the end of World War II where Russian military action has clearly aided the liberation of the oppressed and the defense of the Soviet state against imperialism.

Afghanistan and Russia share a common border of over 1,000 miles. Like most backward regions, Afghanistan is a mosaic of peoples none of which has been able to compact a modern nation and many of which extend into the Soviet Union or other neighboring countries. Out of an estimated population of 17 million there are more than 250,000 mullahs—a tremendous weight on the skimpy social surplus of this barren land. Some 70 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture, but two-fifths of them are landless. While 15 percent of the people are urbanized, there are only two factories in the whole country.

The enormous burden of the Islamic priest-caste in Afghanistan, as in Iran, is rooted in barbaric social institutions which are in turn conditioned by extreme economic backwardness. Marxists point out that social progress can be measured by the position of women, and what really drove the Afghan mullahs into opposition was the attempt by the Kabul regime to restrict (not even outlaw) bride price. For centuries women have been sold like chattel slaves. For most men the bride price was a lifetime's savings or a lifelong debt to money lenders who charged usurious interest rates and gave the mullahs their cut in donations. For men without means, no money meant no sex—not with women, anyway. These days the clergy are telling young villagers to buy a rifle and go fight the "kaffir" (infidel) government; if you can't afford both a gun and a wife—well, bite the bullet.

Clearly within the framework of Afghanistan alone there was no solution to national and social oppression. These questions are linked, historically as well as socially, to the fate of the Russian Revolution. The extension of the October Revolution to Afghanistan in 1921 was prevented only by the presence of British imperialism in India. And one need only look at the gains that women have made in the Soviet East to see what proletarian liberation of these pre-capitalist areas meant. The October Revolution proclaimed the full equality of women, and Bolshevik cadres in the Asian regions where the mullahs held sway struggled, often at the cost of their lives, to draw women out of enforced seclusion. Even though this work suffered with the Stalinist political counterrevolution, nevertheless women in the Muslim areas of the USSR have vastly more social gains and real equality than in *any* bourgeois Islamic country.

Although the Stalinist bureaucracy is imbued with Great Russian chauvinism, its conduct is conditioned by the fact that Russians are a minority people within the Soviet state—albeit the predominant minority. In order to integrate the peoples of diverse national and ethnic backgrounds who make up the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy retained a democratic-national heritage. In contrast, the Chinese bureaucracy can and does resort to a policy of ruthless Sinification. The contrast between the USSR and China is clearest in their shared borderlands. For example, the Mongolians living in Outer Mongolia (a Soviet satellite) do not suffer anything like the national oppression of Mongolians living in China's Inner Mongolia, before that token of

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Corrections

The article, "Spartacists Oppose Police Trap at Bay Area Anti-Nazi Demo" (*WV* No. 242, 26 October 1979), reported that several hundred would-be anti-fascist demonstrators led by various New Left collectives, Progressive Labor and the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party voluntarily walked into a fenced-in enclosure erected at Heather Farm Park in Walnut Creek, October 13, under the watchful eye of hundreds of riot cops. We have since been informed that the RCP was not among the groups which walked into this temporary concentration camp.

In the article, "Split in the United Secretariat" (*WV* No. 243, 9 November 1979), several lines were dropped from the second paragraph of the fourth column at the top of page 6. The paragraph should have begun, "Thus the stage was set for the extraordinary LCR congress which began November 1 in the Paris suburb L'Hay-les-Roses."

In *WV* No. 246, 28 December 1979, the article "Queen of Spies?" referred to British monarch Elizabeth II as "a nasty Hessian Queen." In fact, the Windsor "royal" family descended from George I, who was of the German house of Hanover.

Hail Red Army...

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regional autonomy was abolished during the "Cultural Revolution." And an estimated 200,000 Turkic-speaking people from Sinkiang, seeking to escape the oppressive chauvinism of the Han Chinese, have fled to the USSR since 1961.

The Soviet regime is particularly sensitive regarding its Muslim borderlands, where it has often made the greatest efforts to grant local and national autonomy in order to maintain the loyalty of peoples related to the rest of Central Asia. Muslim peoples number 50 million in the Soviet Union and they dominate six of the 16 republics of the USSR. Notably many of the soldiers of the Soviet army units in Afghanistan are recruited from Uzbeks and Tajiks. And if "fiercely independent Afghanistan" is about to suffer such horrendous national oppression at the hands of the Soviets, why indeed can Moscow use Muslim-derived troops without fear? Obviously because they know they're better off than they would be under the Afghan mullahs or Khomeini. Reportedly one reason why the Soviet army deployed substantial forces in Afghanistan was the feeling that the Kabul regime was being too high-handed and insensitive to the problems of carrying out reforms and consolidating a centralized governmental authority in backward areas with diverse peoples and was thereby fueling the reactionary Islamic insurgency

"Poor Little Independent Afghanistan"?

With Peking criminally supporting the Afghan reactionaries, it was to be expected that their loyal followers would toe the line. If they supported the CIA/South African/Chinese-backed nationalists in Angola, then hailing these feudal reactionaries should come as second nature. And indeed, recent issues of the *Call*, organ of the Communist Party/"M-L," contain a series of reports entitled "With the Rebels in Afghanistan." If these press agents for the mullahs really want to carry out the Peking line, perhaps they should consider forming a brigade to go to Afghanistan and fight with the Islamic reactionaries. Carter might even pay for the trip—but they probably only need one-way tickets, because if the Soviet army didn't give them what they deserve, the fanatically anti-communist tribal gangs would do the job. Recall the reports of 30 Russian tourists slaughtered by a gang of mojahedeen (holy warriors) and the massacre of 25 Soviet military officers by mutinous troops last February—some skinned alive, others castrated and dismembered.

Incredibly, an ostensibly Trotskyist group has taken the same line as Brzezinski, Pope Wojtyla and the Peking bureaucracy, and it is not—as might be expected—the wretched reformists of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who consider any attack upon Khomeini's bigoted autocratic theocracy to be "racist" and "pro-imperialist." Instead it was the British International Marxist Group (IMG) which last week published a back-page headline on its paper, *Socialist Challenge* (3 January) demanding, "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan!" The author is IMG leader Tariq Ali, leading Pakistani spokesman for the fake-Trotskyist international rotten bloc called the United Secretariat (USec).

According to Tariq Ali:

> "The decision of the Soviet Union to send troops to remove Hafizullah Amin, General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, replaced him with Bahrak Karmal and occupy parts of the country must be condemned on every count. It disregards the rights of the people of Afghanistan to determine their own future. It tramples on the rights of the PDPA, limited though these were, to choose its own leaders and it will aid the most reactionary and backward-looking forces in Afghanistan."

Tariq Ali overlooks the fact that *every* PDPA leader, including Amin, called for Soviet military aid. The nationalists had attempted to consolidate power with an army and officer corps that was built up by the Daoud dictatorship and the monarchy. Since its equipment and training came from the Soviet Union, the army (relative to the rest of Afghan society) had undergone a certain radicalization and was not without pro-Soviet leanings. This facilitated the almost bloodless PDPA-led "revolution" of April 1978, which was backed by the Afghan army. But as the left-nationalist PDPA regime in Kabul became bogged down fighting a prolonged tribal insurgency, the army began to disintegrate—with significant forces going over to the Islamic insurgents and taking their Soviet weapons with them.

Unlike the British parliament, which is apparently Tariq Ali's frame of reference, in some countries politics are more direct. Regimes are often made and unmade by who arrives at the presidential palace with more tanks, or even more elementary, who is quicker on the draw. Such was the fate of the now-terminated president of South Korea. Colonel Mengistu in Ethiopia, a hero of Tariq Ali's American comrades of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), got "elected" by being the one who stepped over the corpses on the way to the door of the Derg's chambers. Likewise, Amin became president by killing the former president Nur Mohammad Taraki, the leader of the "April [1978] Revolution" and the historic Communist leader of his people (like Tito, Ho Chi Minh or Sen Katayama). If this is an exercise of the PDPA's right to choose their leaders, it certainly is "limited." And now Karmal has been installed by the Soviet forces who had earlier backed Amin and Taraki.

The impressionistic centrists are ever so sensitive to petty-bourgeois radical opinion, especially in "Little England." And if Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher decrees that the Queen's realm is "distressed" over events in Britain's former sphere of influence, then by osmosis the distress reaches the editorial offices of the IMG. In the U.S. Afghanistan awakens no great passions, but for Britain it is memories of Empire, the Khyber Pass, the gateway from Russia to the Indian subcontinent. The historic rivalry between the British and tsarist

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Russia over Afghanistan was called by Kipling the "Great Game."

Defend the Soviet Union!

From a military point of view the Soviet intervention may or may not have been wise, though certainly it is deeply just to oppose the Islamic reactionary insurgents backed by imperialism. There can be no question that for revolutionaries our side in this conflict is with the Red Army. In fact, although it is surely uncalled for militarily, a natural response on the part of the world's young leftists would be an enthusiastic desire to join an international brigade to Afghanistan to fight the CIA-connected mullahs. Most of the fake-leftists cannot see this, however—just as they cannot understand how workers are beginning to speak of particularly oppressive bosses as "ayatollahs"—because they support the analogous movement, Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution," next door in Iran.

The IMG's response to Red Army troops in Afghanistan is reminiscent of the response of the Burnham-Shachtman petty-bourgeois opposition in the Trotskyist American SWP on the eve of World War II, which denounced the Soviet invasion of Baron von Mannerheim's Finland after the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Will these "Trotskyists" who today shed tears for "poor little independent Afghanistan" still pay lip service to the duty of revolutionists to unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack or domestic counterrevolution as they make a beeline for the "state-capitalist" followers of Tony Cliff's British SWP? They are certainly preparing the way thoroughly, no doubt recalling that Cliff's own definitive exit from Trotskyism was his opposition to the Stalinist "invasion" of "poor little South Korea."

And what about the lickspittle American SWP, which as much as called the Spartacist tendency CIA agents when we refused to join the Ethiopian colonels' war against the Somali people and which labels us "pro-imperialist" propagandists when we tell the truth about clerical reaction in Iran? In Afghanistan, the CIA and Khomeini are on the same side of the barricades, and massive Red Army support to the Kabul regime against the American and Pakistani-aided Islamic tribal revolt poses the Russian question pointblank. Will the SWP again pretend it thinks imperialism's strategic aim of capitalist restoration in the USSR is beside the point, as it did during last year's Vietnam-China conflict?

In *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* (1940), a collection of his writings against the Shachtman opposition, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon noted acidly:

> "Year in and year out in innumerable articles, documents, theses, speeches, the leaders of the opposition have been promising and even threatening to defend the Soviet Union—'In the hour of danger we will be at our posts!'—but when the hour drew near, when the Soviet Union almost began to need this defense, they welched on their promise."

By giving unconditional military support to the Soviet army and PDPA Afghan forces we in no way place political confidence in the Kremlin bureaucracy or the left-nationalists in Kabul. While the Moscow Stalinists apparently presently intend to shore up the PDPA regime, and if anything limit the pace of democratic and modernizing reforms, the prolonged presence in Afghanistan of the Soviet army opens up more far-reaching possibilities. Speaking on the national and colonial question at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, Lenin foresaw that "...with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system, and through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage." Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!

Today, such an outcome would be at worst a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Only a proletarian political revolution in the USSR can truly restore the Red Army and the Soviet state to its internationalist and revolutionary mission. And only Trotskyist parties armed with the program of permanent revolution can lead the colonial masses to their complete emancipation. Only the overthrow of the imperialist powers by their working classes can lay the basis for the world socialist order which can lift the deeply oppressed and backward regions like Afghanistan out of their poverty, isolation and obscurantism, establishing the genuine social equality of all peoples. But the liberation of the Afghan masses has begun! ■

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Rotten Bloc...

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genuinely based on workers' democracy.

"15. Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the *proletarian* leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism no matter what pious wish may be concurrently expressed for 'building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries'."

—"Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," *Spartacist* No. 1, February-March 1964

Here is a program to fight Pabloism which provides real direction in arming communists for the test of Nicaragua. And it wasn't written yesterday.

Reforge the Fourth International!

Would-be Trotskyists in and around the United Secretariat now face hard choices. If they remain with the USec they must clearly be prepared to endure, endorse and carry out further betrayals on the order of Nicaragua or worse—including turning in their own comrades. If they support Barnes they had better have strong stomachs—strong enough to swallow the SWP's pro-imperialist "neutrality" during the South African invasion of Angola. If they follow Mandel they may, like the British IMG, end up joining Jimmy Carter supporting Islamic reactionaries against Soviet troops in Afghanistan. And whether Mandelites or SWPers, they will find themselves chanting "allah akbar" and hailing the "progressive" Khomeini in Iran while the ayatollah's executioners mow down Kurds, Arabs, oil workers and women (and of course put their own comrades on death row). These are the standard wages of Pabloism.

But what of those who turned their backs on the USec to follow the Parity Committee? Moreno, it's true, looks pretty left in Europe today—hard against Eurocommunism, for a "Trotskyist party" in Nicaragua, "fight Pabloism"—and no doubt his Bolshevik Faction has attracted genuine leftists disgusted with the USec's record of sellouts. But Moreno is above all a charlatan. A reformist in Argentina, he now appears as a centrist. From Moreno the Peronist, the Castroite, the Maoist, the social democrat, we come to Moreno the heroic guerrilla and intrepid fighter against Pabloism! But offer him a cabinet post and he'll come full circle. He criticizes Mandel/Pablo/Lora over Bolivia, yet Moreno politically supported Perón against left-wing guerrillas. In Panama, where thousands of leftist students demonstrate against the dictator Torrijos (a friend not only of Fidel Castro, but also Chase Manhattan) whose troops beat BSB members, the Morenoites call for supporting his supposed, "progressive" struggle against imperialism. And of course there are the financial scandals—like what happened to all the money for Hugo Blanco's peasant organizing in Peru?

Moreno, who criticizes Mandel for capitulating to the Eurocommunists, is now aligned with the OCI, politically somewhere to the right of Willy Brandt. Join up with Lambert and you better like being ideological front-men for the CIA! In France the Lambertists voted for the popular-front candidate, Socialist leader François Mitterrand, for president. In Portugal they backed the SP of Mário Soares when he was receiving CIA money and in league with fascists burning down CP offices. In Germany they call for a "national constituent assembly" and "unconditional reunification"—i.e., for liquidation of the social/economic gains of East Germany through a *capitalist* reunification. So Stalinophobic is the OCI that for it "Eurocommunism" was a plot hatched in Moscow; the class character of the Kremlin bureaucracy is defined simply as "bourgeois," even though it rests on the property forms established by the October Revolution; and internationally the USSR is supposedly in an unbreakable "Holy Alliance contracted by the bureaucracy with imperialism," established at Potsdam and Yalta and unaffected by such vicissitudes as even the Cold War.

The unprincipled character of the Parity Committee is indicated by its very name. Here is what Trotsky had to say about such diplomatic combinations:

"The idea of 'parity of formations,' that is, of tendencies, is inherently absurd and vicious. The tendencies are not equal in numbers; but what is more important is the different ideological and political value of the tendencies. There are right and wrong tendencies, progressive and reactionary ones. Adventurists, who hold nothing sacred, may well accommodate themselves with all the possible tendencies. But Marxists are obliged to mercilessly fight the unprincipled tendencies and not to make alliances with them on an equal basis. The parity of tendencies means the parity of Marxism, centrism, adventurism, etc."

—L.D. Trotsky, *The Crisis of the French Section*

In the contemporary Lambert/Moreno version, the components of the bloc can't even agree on a name expressing a common goal. It's not immediately apparent what the differences are between "reconstruction" (OCI), "reorganization" (BF) and "reunification" (LCI) of the Fourth International. Clearly all three formulations are intended to leave the door open to maneuvers with elements of the USec leadership. Just as clearly, they stand in sharp contrast to the perspective indicated by the iSt's slogan "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International." As we wrote in our "Letter to the OCI/OCRFI":

"Our slogan implies that a very fundamental process must be gone through; that it is not possible simply to fit together existing bits and pieces, perhaps with a little chipping here or there, in order to get the edifice back together again."

—*Spartacist* No. 22, Winter 1973-74

There is also the "open conference" announced by the Parity Committee as a forum to debate the fundamental issues facing ostensible Trotskyists. A number of European left-of-the-USec centrist organizations will grab for this the way a drowning man grabs a lifesaver. Unable to elaborate a coherent program among themselves on such basic issues as popular fronts, the class nature of Castro's Cuba, Pabloism and the Fourth International, some hope that the Argentine *caudillo* can in bonapartist fashion bring them together before they go under for the last time in the pseudo-Trotskyist swamp. In the meantime the conference has apparently become rather less open. By mid-November the OCI was restricting attendance to those "who justly claim to stand for the continuity of the Fourth International." This explicitly includes the USec ("The United Secretariat of the Fourth International is invited to participate...") and we leave it to our readers to figure out just who might be excluded by the OCI "justly."

The Lambertists have already given a hint, with their usual means of expression. On November 13 an OCI goon squad outside a meeting hall in Paris physically attacked a sales team of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sympathizing section of the iSt (see "How the Lambertists 'Answer' Trotskyists: Gangsterism and Slander," *WV* No. 246, 28 December 1979). Shortly thereafter, LCI leader Némo singled out "sects...like the Spartacists" which "do nothing but maintain the divisions in our movement for the sole profit of the bureaucratic apparatuses" (*IO*, 17-24 November). And in the second issue of *Tribune Ouvrière* (24 November) the LCI defends the SWP against "Spartacist provocateurs who characterize the SWP as reformist." In "justification" of their slander and gangsterism the Lambertists have lately been saying that the Spartacist tendency is outside the bounds of the workers movement.

Who are their authorities for deciding, George Meany and Zbigniew Brzezinski? Those are the people who inspire the OCI line! But if the iSt is to be dismissed as "provocateurs," whose agents are we supposed to be? The Kremlin's, say the Lambertists, pointing to our opposition to the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, support to Cuban troops in Angola against South Africa, and refusal to make common cause with Jimmy Carter on behalf of Soviet dissidents. U.S. imperialism, says the SWP, because we refuse to back Khomeini in Iran and support the Somalis' right to self-determination against Soviet/Cuban-backed Ethiopia. Funny they can't agree. This kind of agent-baiting on the basis of political positions is a hallmark of Stalinism, but actually common to all reformists—it is their favorite way of trying to dismiss revolutionaries. Thus the Russian Mensheviks retailed the tsarist slander that Lenin was a German agent; and the German social-democratic bloodhounds labeled Luxemburg and Liebknecht Russian agents.

The LCI claims that we proclaim ourselves the Fourth International. On the contrary, we have stated frankly that the iSt is a tendency fighting to reforge the world party of revolutionary socialism. And as an important component of our struggle to build fighting propaganda groups, we have used the tactic of revolutionary regroupment through a process of splits and fusions with forces breaking from revisionism and seeking the road to authentic Trotskyism. In the aftermath of the revolutionary ferment in Portugal during 1974-76, the international Spartacist tendency put forward as a principled basis for such regroupments a draft declaration by Trotskyists expelled or driven out of the USec (see *WV* No. 143, 4 February 1977). Centering on the struggle against popular frontism, for a Leninist party and for soviet power in Portugal, its nine points included:

- No political or electoral support to popular fronts; for conditional opposition to workers parties in open or implicit class-collaborationist coalitions;
- Uphold the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution; for proletarian leadership of the national/social struggle;
- For military support to petty-bourgeois nationalist forces fighting imperialism, but absolutely no political support to such forces; for Trotskyist parties in every country;
- For unconditional defense of all the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism; for political revolution against the bureaucracies; no political support to competing Stalinist cliques and factions;
- Against violence within the workers movement;
- For communist fractions in the unions, based on the Transitional Program;
- For the communist tactic of the united front from above; for the tactic of regroupment to unite subjective revolutionists in the vanguard party; for intransigent exposure of centrism;
- Rejection of the claims of ostensibly Trotskyist internationals to speak for the Fourth International, destroyed by Pabloism in 1951-53;
- For the reforging of a democratic-centralist Fourth International which will stop at nothing short of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today we must add that it was this program which prepared the iSt to *uniquely* put forward a revolutionary perspective in Iran, demanding "Down with the shah, Down with the mullahs" when virtually the entire left was praising Khomeini; and likewise led us to demand military victory to the FSLN-led insurgents in Nicaragua while calling not for a bonapartist Sandinista regime (as Moreno did and the SWP/USec now do) but for a workers and peasants government and a genuinely independent Trotskyist party. Events such as the Chinese invasion of Vietnam have demonstrated the Marxist political capacity of the Spartacist tendency, which a decade ago predicted the present anti-Soviet imperialist alignment with the Maoist regime. Our modest but real industrial implantation has enabled us to carry out exemplary communist work in the unions as well as the recent demonstration of 500 black workers and Trotskyists in Detroit against fascist provocations. And internationally the iSt was able last year to hold its first delegated conference, which demonstrated the political solidity and combativity of our tendency.

Not rotten blocs of Pabloist betrayal, nor personalist "internationals" of footloose adventurers. Finish the struggle announced by the then-revolutionary SWP's 1953 "Letter to Trotskyists Throughout the World": "The lines of cleavage between Pablo's revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally." For the Rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Spread the Strike–Shut Down Thatcher's Britain!

British Steel Workers Go Out

LONDON, January 6—More than 100,000 steel workers threw up picket lines throughout Britain last Wednesday morning to begin the country's first national steel strike in more than 50 years. The last time the British steel industry was shut down was the general strike of 1926. Today on the picket lines, in Britain's factories and shops, and also among the politicians at Westminster, the talk is of an industrial showdown on the scale of 1926.

From the Midlands to Yorkshire, from Wales to Scotland, every plant of the nationalised British Steel Corporation has been shut down by the 90,000-strong Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) and the smaller National Union of Blastfurnacemen (NUB). While the leadership of the skilled trades unions criminally called for scabbing during the first days of the strike, these workers too are now threatening to go out. Flying steel worker pickets and blacking [hot-cargoing] by dockers and railwaymen have stopped all movement of raw materials and finished products to and from the mills. Flying pickets in Yorkshire and Wales have begun to extend the strike to private steel operations despite the opposition of their national leadership, which ordered ISTC men back to work in these plants. Shutting down all private steel production is a key to victory.

Spartacist Britain

Llanwern, South Wales, steelworker pickets: Thatcher government wants to eliminate two-thirds of the jobs.

While the ISTC and NUB leaders seek to limit the strike to the single issue of higher pay, there are growing demands in the ranks that the fight must also be against the massive redundancies [layoffs] and plant closures management is threatening. British Steel wants to chop *one-third* of the entire workforce! In South Wales, particularly hard hit by the proposed closures, the unions have gone far beyond the national leadership by calling for regional general-strike action especially including the miners and railwaymen (see below).

The strike was precipitated by an insulting 2 percent pay offer in the face of a 17 percent inflation rate. Even ISTC general secretary Bill Sirs, a "moderate" on the far right wing of the British trade-union bureaucracy, couldn't buy this.

Management claims the nationalised company simply has no money. That's true—British Steel is broke. A combination of grossly incompetent management, antiquated industrial plant and a major downturn in the British and European markets for steel in the past few years has brought BSC to the point where it is losing £1 million a day. West German firms can produce a ton of steel in almost half the time the British can. So even with the real wages of its workers *falling*, BSC has been losing money hand over fist. But the workers must not pay for capitalism's failure.

Stop Tory Anti-Labour Offensive

For years the steel union leaders have accepted "sacrifices" in order to "save British steel," negotiating substandard pay agreements and going along with tens of thousands of redundancies. But finally BSC and the rabid Margaret Thatcher and the industry secretary Keith Joseph pushed things too far. The steel strike follows hard on the heels of a series of major attacks on the British workers and poor, from massive social service cuts to new draconian immigration restrictions to the provocative sacking of Derek Robinson, the leading shop steward at British Leyland, to a new bill introduced in Parliament last month which, among other provisions, threatens to illegalise secondary and flying pickets.

To date, these attacks have gone unanswered by the trade-union movement. Yet the unions have shown in 1972 and again in 1974 that they have the power to defeat even the most far-reaching and vicious anti-working-class measures like Heath's Industrial Relations Act and the three-day-week nationwide lockout.

The steel strike is far and away the most important industrial showdown to date under the Thatcher government. The bureaucrats have lost no time in showing that they intend to sabotage an effective fight. Nonetheless, this strike can and must be turned into an all-out offensive to smash *all* Tory/employer attacks.

- Every steel mill and factory must be shut tight, including the private companies.
- Union blockades must cut off the stockpiles which employers built up in preparation for the strike.
- Area and national strike committees must be elected to supervise picketing and oversee all aspects of running the strike.
- All foreign steel and raw materials must be blacked for the duration of the strike. (This tactic should not be confused with the call which unions have raised for protectionist import controls on foreign steel and coking coal.)

Steel workers have potential allies throughout the working class. Leyland workers have a huge wage claim and must still fight the Robinson sacking. Railwaymen too have lodged their claim and, along with the dockers, are already engaged in blacking in support of the strike. As for the miners, they stand to lose thousands of jobs as well, if BSC's proposed redundancies go through.

Bring them all out! Make this not just the first steel strike but the first *general strike* since 1926! If the whole country were shut down by the industrial might of the working class, this would show the government that *none* of its attacks will be tolerated. Indeed, with militant class-struggle leadership prepared to see the fight through to the finish, a general strike could bring down the hated Thatcher government and find the road toward actually putting the working class in power.

Thatcher must go! But the real alternative is a *workers government* based on independent organisations of the working class, not a government of Callaghans and Benns gracing the benches of Westminster. The fight for such a government requires a new revolutionary leadership of the working class. Only under a socialist planned economy, within a Soviet United States of Europe, can Britain's decrepit industrial plant be rebuilt and put to socially productive use.

And that is not a utopia, the stuff of Sunday speeches and "Clause IV socialist" dreams. The seizure of proletarian power is a burning *necessity* for a Britain which is sinking ever deeper into the quagmire of capitalist anarchy and decay. ■

General Strike Called in Wales

LLANWERN/PORT TALBOT, South Wales, January 2—Gathered around charcoal-burning stoves to protect them from the cold, the pickets' mood was bitter and determined. They know the devastation British Steel management is threatening to wreak will be particularly severe in Wales. Here the nationalised company plans to eliminate *two-thirds* of the remaining steel jobs. The entire industry of this area, which has a long and proud tradition of trade-union organisation and militant working-class struggle, will be shattered if BSC and Thatcher have their way.

Faced with the angry response of the ranks, the Welsh Trades Union Congress has called for a general strike throughout Wales beginning on January 21 against the BSC redundancies and plant closures. Welsh miners, steel workers and railwaymen have formed a new "triple alliance" to head the strike action. They have not called for a Britain-wide general strike. Yet trade unions in at least five mining areas outside Wales have announced that they will be joining a day of strike action on January 21.

Scandalously, the national leaderships of the striking steel unions have not endorsed the Welsh TUC decision. They argue that a struggle against closures and redundancies cannot be limited to Wales. Yet their response is not a fight for a national general strike. Rather, the steel union leaders have sought to limit the BSC strike to the single issue of pay.

Welsh steel workers understand that their action will come up against the armed fist of the state. One older worker told us that he wouldn't be surprised if Thatcher called out the army and police to break the strike, just as Churchill did in 1919 and 1926. But, he said, they would defend their picket lines by any means necessary.

This strike must be won if the workers of South Wales are to have a future. Don't let *any* job be sold down the river! Occupy plants threatened with closure or mass redundancy and demand work sharing on full pay! All out on January 21, not just in Wales and not just in steel! Make this the launching pad for a nationwide general strike!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 248 25 January 1980

Red Army Mops Up Afghan Reaction

Carter's Cold War Frenzy

The people running this country are crazy. The American government is talking as if it's about to start World War III over Afghanistan—or at least a vicarious form of it around the Olympic games. Why? The Soviet Union comes to the aid of its allies in Kabul and suddenly Washington has visions of Russian "empire-builders" swarming down the Indus to Karachi, the Persian Gulf, Aden, Suez.... The staid Brezhnev suddenly fomenting revolution among the Kurds, Turkomans, and above all Baluchis.... It's positively demented. Trouble is, Jimmy Carter not only says but really believes this stuff.

In the nineteenth century, when British expeditionary forces engaged in the "Great Game" with imperial Russia over the Khyber Pass, Afghanistan was deemed to be the key to South Asia. Not in the age of the jet plane and ballistic missile. When Kabul signed a treaty of friendship and military cooperation with the USSR a couple of years ago, level heads cautioned against alarmism about the "Russian menace":

> "Instead of being a strategic highway to India, as the Victorians feared, Afghanistan looks more like a footpath to nowhere."
>
> —*New York Times*, 8 December 1978

This is the view held by all relatively intelligent politicians and statesmen today. But not by Jimmy Carter. His politics are *insane*.

Somebody had to clean up Afghanistan and try to drag it toward the 17th century. Discounting his liberal hauteur, Alexander Cockburn, writing in the *Village Voice* (21 January), caught the flavor of the place:

> "We all have to go one day, but pray God let it not be over Afghanistan. An unspeakable country filled with unspeakable people, sheepshaggers and smugglers, who have furnished in their leisure hours some of the worst arts and crafts ever to penetrate the occidental world.
>
> "I yield to none in my sympathy to those prostrate beneath the Russian jackboot, but if ever a country deserved rape it's Afghanistan. Nothing but mountains filled with barbarous ethnics with views as medieval as their muskets, and unspeakably cruel, too."

There's an old saying that any fool can rule in a state of siege. Carter's found that out over Iran and thinks it'll get him re-elected. First he pretends the "Marxist"(!) Teheran embassy kidnappers are modern-day Barbary pirates and dispatches the *USS Kitty Hawk* and a flotilla from the Seventh Fleet to rescue the hostages. Then he keeps the Navy circling around in the Indian Ocean for two months. And now he declares he has nothing against Iranians—if they would only let the embassy staff go and unite against atheistic Communism, Khomeini can have billions.

The Georgia mafia discovered that the ayatollah was a good target, but he believes in religion. Brezhnev is a better punching bag to run against for U.S. president—and for that they're ready to blow up the world! These guys are sitting on more hydrogen bombs than we care to think about. New York entrepreneur Crazy Eddie would be better in the White House than Jimmy Carter.

Mad Dogs on the Loose

In the space of less than a month analysts from *Pravda* to the *Wall Street Journal*, officials from the Kremlin to the Pentagon have announced the advent of a new Cold War. Even before the first Red Army soldier's boot hit the runway at Kabul airport, Washington was proclaiming the death of détente. Recalling the "rollback" threats of cold warrior John Foster Dulles, Carter's maniacally anti-Russian "national security adviser" Zbigniew Brzezinski demands that the U.S. "contain Moscow's expansive drives." American officials make it clear that this is no passing phase: the *Washington Post* (6 January) headlined, "U.S. Moves Against Soviets Called the Start of a Global Drive." And *Business Week* (21 January) has published a special report on "The New Cold War Economy: A Strategy to Answer the Soviets":

> "From the Pentagon to corporate board

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Let 'em Go to Moscow

Break Carter's Olympic Boycott

Soviet gymnast Nelly Kim

So Jimmy Carter says he will pull American athletes out of the Olympics! And for what? To "punish" the Soviets for coming to the aid of an Afghan government beset by bands of Islamic tribalist reactionaries armed and backed by the CIA. In his Cold War frenzy Carter is liable to pull any crazy stunt—remember when he kidnapped a Soviet jetliner at JFK airport last August?! The National Gallery in Washington even canceled an exhibition of paintings from Leningrad's famous Hermitage art museum. And to really sock it to the Russkies, the U.S. president now threatens to pick up his marbles and leave the Olympics.

Carter's sore because he is stymied over the Teheran embassy crisis and can do nothing to stop Red Army successes in Afghanistan. An American boycott of the Moscow games, however, will do next to nothing to directly hurt the USSR. Beyond being a gesture of imperialist frustration, Carter's proposal to set up a "Free World Olympics" is an attempt to see how far he can push the American people into an anti-Russian frenzy. But if American farmers

continued on page 11

Mobilize Bay Area Labor Against Klan/Nazi Attacks

OAKLAND—Bay Area trade unionists are demanding a vigorous mobilization of the labor movement to combat Klan and Nazi attacks. On January 7 delegates from several union locals along with representatives of socialist organizations attended a conference called by Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) to organize a Bay Area-wide rally protesting the Greensboro massacre and demanding that all charges be dropped against the anti-Klan protesters in North Carolina. Unfortunately, the ILWU officials who chaired the January 7 planning meeting frittered away the opportunity by unsuccessfully attempting to exclude socialist organizations from delegate status and ended up adjourning the meeting without taking a single concrete step to organize a rally.

In recent weeks Bay Area Nazis held a public rally under massive police protection in Walnut Creek, and even more ominously on December 8 some 15 Ku Klux Klan thugs equipped with rifles, shotguns, pistols, knives and riot helmets staged a racist show of force at the Federal Building. The Klansmen, exploiting extensive TV coverage, denounced a federal hearing which was considering awarding grants to "improve relations" between the police and the black community. The Klan action was obviously arranged with the connivance of the cops with whom the fascists checked their guns upon entering, picking them up on the way out.

The appearance of Klan hoodlums openly flaunting their weapons on the streets of San Francisco only poses more urgently the need for an effective labor counterattack. The Local 6 initiative was undertaken as a result of a resolution by the Militant Caucus of the ILWU for a mass labor/black/Latino mobilization in November following the Greensboro massacre. But in the several weeks following passage of this motion the ILWU tops sat on their hands, leaving it to the Militant Caucus and supporters of the "Longshore Militant" newsletter in Local 10 to press the fight. These militants and other anti-racists circulated a petition which received 500 signatures from union members demanding that the anti-Klan rally be held.

However, the ILWU bureaucracy does not want a militant demonstration of thousands of working people. Pressured by strong anti-Klan sentiment in their own membership, the union tops have been forced to at least make a show of opposing the fascists, but their real strategy is to rely on the bourgeois government. Not only have they dragged their feet in calling the rally but they opposed the petition's call for the right to armed self-defense and the need to build workers defense guards.

A key proposal made earlier by the ILWU leadership was to invite Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson as a central speaker for the anti-Klan rally. But the Democratic Party politicians who have regularly been breaking the strikes of Bay Area workers since 1974 are not about to protect them from fascist violence. Lionel Wilson's cops are the same racist, trigger-happy thugs that have declared open season on blacks in Oakland! And the leniency and complicity of the San Francisco cops toward the armed KKKers who marched down the city streets stand in stark contrast to the years-long campaign of frame-ups, arrests and cold-blooded murder mounted against the Black Panthers after that group marched to the Sacramento state capitol carrying rifles and shotguns to protest against proposed gun-control legislation.

Instead of hammering out an effective strategy to rid the Bay Area of the Klan menace, ILWU officers LeRoy King and Joe Figueiredo who presided over the planning meeting directed their fire at leftist militants. A Spartacist League (SL) spokesman intervened, correctly pointing out the absurdity of denying representation to the left, including the Communist Workers Party (CWP), whose comrades were shot down in North Carolina. The SL pointed out that Local 6 bureaucrats were simply caving in to the lies broadcast by the big-business press, which claimed that "violence on the left" was equally responsible for the Greensboro massacre. Finally, Jane Margolis, an official delegate from the CWA (phone workers), put forward an amendment that all labor-socialist organizations should have voice and vote. The delegates voted this up, 10 to 6.

WV Photo

November 10 Detroit labor/black rally against Greensboro massacre shows how to fight Klan terror.

Once they discovered that they did not have control over the meeting, King, Figueiredo & Co. did everything in their power to disrupt it. They then claimed that there was not sufficient representation from the labor movement. This was simply a lie. At the meeting were official delegates from unions including two locals each of the ILWU, CWA and SEIU, as well as locals of the Retail Clerks and of the Letter Carriers, representing 20,000 workers. Also present were officers, stewards and members from unions representing another 30,000 workers. If these unions did not have official status, it was the fault of the Local 6 leaders, who did not notify them of the meeting! Many of the trade unionists present heard about the meeting only through word of mouth; the broad attendance testified to the widespread desire of Bay Area labor to stop the Klan and Nazis.

Acting as a transparent left cover for the ILWU chiefs were supporters of the Communist Party (CP) such as Joe Figueiredo. In the planning meeting Figueiredo backed LeRoy King at every crucial juncture, including the attempt to exclude socialist organizations. And certainly the CP has at no time distinguished itself from the Local 6 bureaucracy's policy of relying on the capitalist politicians. Thus it sought unsuccessfully to stop the Nazis in Walnut Creek by begging the city council to ban the fascist demonstration. Similarly, Figueiredo favored the proposal to invite Lionel Wilson as guest speaker.

Despite the disruptive tactics pursued by the ILWU leaders and their Stalinist lackeys, union militants have vowed to continue the fight to organize against the Klan threat. At an East Bay division meeting of Local 6 on January 17, after the bureaucracy abruptly adjourned the meeting, the Militant Caucus urged members to remain in their seats and discuss the Klan issue. Of the 100 members who stayed, a majority voted overwhelmingly for a motion demanding that ILWU officers reconvene the public planning meeting for the anti-KKK/Nazi rally within a week, and that labor-socialist organizations agreeing with the demands adopted by Local 6 be seated with voice and vote. The resolution also recommended that the rally be held February 2 to coincide with the scheduled march in Greensboro.

Klan and Nazi provocations must not go unredressed! Implement the Local 6 motion without further delay! No reliance on the racist cops and capitalist parties! Only a militant labor/black/Latino mobilization can drive the fascist vermin out of the Bay Area! ■

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California Warehousemen Debate Iran Boycott

OAKLAND—Some 125 warehousemen attending the January 17 membership meeting of the East Bay division of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 heard a debate over the ILWU International-sponsored boycott of all shipments to and from Iran. The union members, many of whom had come to demand strike sanction against an Emeryville plant, received the debate with intense interest, reflecting the concern aroused by threats of war in the Near East and against the Soviet Union.

Supporters of the reformist Communist Party spoke against the proposed boycott and came out in support of the Iranian Khomeini regime, at the same time expressing "concern for the hostages" being held in Teheran. They accused Carter of warlike moves against Iran and the USSR, but completely skirted the issue of Afghanistan and the need for socialists to raise the call to defend the USSR. Bob Mandel, Militant Caucus spokesman and Local 6 general executive board member, also opposed the boycott, but his speech stood in sharp contrast to the reformists.

Mandel denounced the Iranian mullah regime for its oppression of national minorities, women, the labor movement and all those who drink liquor or engage in sexual practices not to its taste. Opposing American intervention in Iran, he asserted that Carter would intervene militarily in Iran, not to defend the workers movement and the oppressed, but to protect U.S. oil interests and for strategic anti-Soviet reasons. Mandel said unionists should feel no concern for the hostages, many of whom were undoubtedly linked to the CIA and military intelligence.

Mandel forthrightly defended the Soviet army against the Islamic counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan. He pointed out the similarities between Khomeini's policies and those of the Afghan Muslim feudalists, who have bragged about killing people for the "crime" of teaching school! American workers, he said, have no interest in supporting a war in Iran or a war against the USSR. After 20 minutes of debate, the International bureaucracy's motion for a shipping boycott of Iran was put to a vote. It carried, but only by about 35 to 20, with some 70 abstentions. ■

ILWU Militants Say:

Load the Grain!

A January 16 issue of the Longshore-Warehouse Militant, *entitled "Local 6 Leadership Wrecks Anti-KKK/Nazi Planning Meeting," pointed to the probable connection between the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis and terrorist proponents of the anti-Soviet grain boycott:*

"In fact they [KKK and Nazis] are probably behind the death threats to Eddie Holland, president of ILWU Local 18 in Sacramento, whose local, with the urging so far of the International, continued to load grain bound for the Soviet Union. We call on the International, which has indicated that if directed by the government the ILWU may embargo Soviet grain, to stand firm and actually uphold the tradition of the ILWU: this union for decades resisted pressure to boycott trade with the USSR brought by right-wing and government forces when it suited their anti-communist militarist purposes." ■

Police Shoot Down Nine Blacks in '79

Protest Oakland Killer Cops!

OAKLAND—More than 2,500 angry, predominantly black residents packed into a special meeting of the Oakland city council January 9 to demand action against escalating cop terror in the city's black community. Active opposition to the trigger-happy brutality of local police has been mounting since last summer. Significantly, the protests against cop killings have included hundreds of Oakland unionists, posing the opportunity to mobilize the power of the Bay Area labor movement against this gang of kill-crazy thugs in uniform.

In the past twelve months alone Oakland's 66-percent-white police force has gunned down nine blacks in the streets of the city's ghetto. The latest, James Bell, 38, was shot to death in front of his own apartment just three days before the January 9 meeting. Other victims whose killing generated protest include:

- 15-year-old Melvin Black, shot to death by *three* white undercover cops in March. One of his killers, officer Glenn Tomak, shot to death another young black, Talmage Curtis, in December.
- Charles Briscoe, 37, a shop steward in the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Alameda Naval Air Station, shot to death September 5 by officer Robert Fredericks.

Fredericks is a notorious racist thug who has been personally involved in *five* other shootings, three of them fatal. One of the notches on Fredericks' .357 magnum is for Black Panther Party member Bobby Hutton. Not surprisingly, Fredericks has always been cleared by internal police investigations. This time Fredericks' incredible story was that Briscoe threatened him with a rifle, forcing him to fire four shotgun blasts into the black unionist's body. Still feeling "threatened," Fredericks returned to his squad car to fetch his trusty .357 and emptied all six rounds into Briscoe. Two days later the Oakland Police cleared Fredericks of any wrongdoing.

Oakland cops' racist brutality: standard operating procedure.

The killing of Briscoe and the whitewash of his killer were so blatant that even the usually staid NAACP urged a more thorough investigation. Moreover, *500* members of the IAM jammed a city council meeting to protest the brutal slaying of their union brother. Black mayor Lionel Wilson, attempting to retain credibility among the city's black electorate, appointed a "task force" to come up with a plan of action. The task-force proposal was for a five-member "review board" appointed by the mayor and city council to hear complaints and make "recommendations" to the city manager and the chief of police. But the Oakland Police Officers Association (OPOA), determined to remain a law unto itself and opposed to any review board no matter how impotent, staged a demonstration of several hundred "off-duty" cops December 4. The OPOA show of force at city hall was a demonstration that even the black mayor is being threatened by these killer cops.

The frustrated anger of Oakland's black population was clearly apparent at the January 9 meeting. When white council member John Sutter presented the findings of the mayor's task force and concluded that the "consensus of our group is that we have a very good police department," the audience answered him with a chorus of catcalls and boos. Wilson was forced to declare a ten-minute recess to restore order. But when the meeting resumed the explosive atmosphere was not dispelled. The cops managed to find a black policewoman, Lynda Drummer, who testified that criticism of cop killings had caused her to hesitate rather than pull her pistol on a suspect. As a result, she claimed, she had been severely beaten. The moral of Drummer's story was that to "be judged by other than our peers"—i.e., other cops—was a threat to police lives. The crowd was not impressed with the cops' attempt to put on a black face and Drummer was loudly booed as she left the microphone.

Leaving aside the pro-cop speeches, the political debate during the four-and-a-half-hour meeting was between the advocates of two impotent liberal reforms—a fact that reflects the weak-

continued on page 9

UCASSH Launches Fund Drive

It Takes Money to Fight Carter's Secret Police!

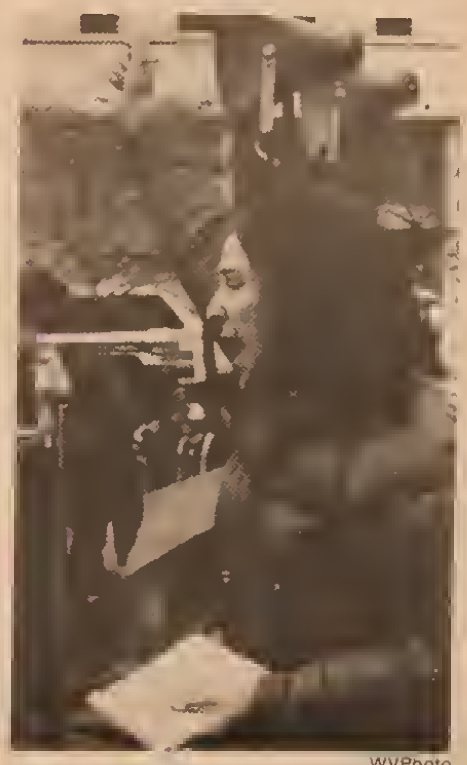
Jane Margolis vs. The United States Secret Service—a lawsuit which squarely challenges the government's right to interfere in the labor movement—gains more support as the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) embarks on an urgent effort to raise funds for the case. Through her attorney, Charles Garry, Margolis has filed suit against the Secret Service for violation of her constitutional rights. The suit seeks damages in excess of $1 million. As a brochure recently released by UCASSH states: "It challenges in principle the government's interference in and attempt to politically control the trade-union movement."

Jane Margolis, a member of the executive board of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 in San Francisco, was an elected delegate to the union's national convention last summer in Detroit. On the day that Jimmy Carter was to preach his anti-labor policies to the CWA convention, Secret Service agents suddenly seized Margolis before stunned delegates and hauled her off the convention floor. Margolis has been a leading member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) for over seven years and is one of the foremost class-struggle oppositionists in the CWA. This Secret Service mugging was a blatant attempt to muzzle a voice of opposition to Carter's austerity.

But Jane Margolis will not be silenced. Her lawsuit is a militant response to an outrageous provocation against the left and labor movements. The provocation must not go unanswered. Only last month the Secret Service admitted it had engaged in a campaign to disrupt International Association of Machinists demonstrations along the course of Carter's summertime Mississippi riverboat cruise. The Margolis lawsuit can become the focal point of an effort to repulse Carter's vicious assault on labor.

The expenses of suing the federal government, however, are enormous. According to UCASSH, legal fees alone in the Margolis case are expected to exceed $20,000 this year. It is a fact of capitalist class justice that individuals in the working class cannot afford the cost of legally defending democratic rights. As the UCASSH brochure states: "The government has almost unlimited resources. *We are depending on your support to raise the thousands of dollars needed to wage this fight.*"

The Partisan Defense Committee will campaign to raise the urgently needed funds, and to publicize this case of pressing interest to all working people. Readers of *Workers Vanguard* are encouraged to send donations to UCASSH. Support the Margolis suit—Secret Service hands off the unions! Donations should be sent to: Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment, P.O. Box 12324, San Francisco, CA 94112. ■



WVPhoto

Jane Margolis at Detroit anti-Klan rally.

PDC Solidarity Letter

Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment
PO Box 12324
San Francisco, CA 94112

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

The case of Jane Margolis vs. United States Secret Service is an unparalleled and important defense of the independence of the labor movement from state interference and control. That Secret Service agents can, with impunity, forcibly seize an elected union delegate and remove her from the proceedings of her own convention to gag criticism of governmental policy is an outrage to all who stand in defense of the interests of working people.

As an expression of our solidarity with UCASSH efforts on behalf of this suit, a donation is enclosed. The PDC also pledges to contact those organizations and individuals which have assisted us with our past campaigns to solicit support and financial aid for your efforts. This, indeed, is no ordinary lawsuit—Jane Margolis' only "crime" is the defense of the CWA against the anti-labor policies of the government.

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99, Canal St. Sta.
N.Y., N.Y. 10013

"Apartheid Reforms": A New Shackle for Black Labor

The Struggle for Independent Black Unions in South Africa

For some time now the imperialist press has been making much of the supposed self-reform or even self-abolition of South Africa's racist apartheid system. This "quiet death of apartheid" propaganda is encouraged by incredible, obscene statements from the butchers of Sharpeville and Soweto. Last summer Pieter Koornhof, Minister of Cooperation and Development (the man in charge of keeping the blacks down), vowed in the *New York Times* (4 August 1979): "We will not rest until racial discrimination has disappeared from our statute books and everyday life in South Africa." A few months later his boss, Prime Minister P. W. Botha, told *Time* magazine (3 December 1979) that "the apartheid our enemies presented to the world is dead." This is like Adolf Hitler in the late 1930s proclaiming the full equality of Jews in Germany!

Apartheid is, of course, as alive as ever. It will meet its death only when the atrocious white racist regime is ripped down by a victorious revolution liberating the oppressed non-white masses. However, all the talk about reforming apartheid is more than simply propaganda for foreign consumption designed to soothe consciences in South Africa's "democratic" imperialist allies. The Botha regime is attempting a major overhaul of the mechanisms of apartheid rule as constructed in the 1950s, specifically to better *control and exploit* black labor. In May of last year the Pretoria government approved a commission report providing for "registration" of segregated black unions. That this won't ensure labor peace, however, was shown by a series of strikes in Port Elizabeth culminating in a mass firing of black workers in late November.

1973 black workers strike paralyzes Durban; first mass resistance since 1960 Sharpeville Massacre.

Black labor is the Achilles' heel of apartheid. It is the one area where blacks have a social power the white rulers cannot suppress purely and simply through police-state terror. In the fall of 1977, following the torture-murder of black nationalist leader Steve Biko, the regime outlawed *all* anti-apartheid political organizations, including white liberal and church-based ones. That same year it set up the Wiehahn and Riekert commissions, one recommending legal status for black unions, the other the ending of certain residency restrictions for part of the black urban population.

These measures (which have now been implemented) do not arise from any benevolent attitude by white rulers toward the ordinary black worker. Rather the black labor force is too large, too strategically vital to be suppressed like the anti-apartheid political groups. If every black worker who went on strike or took part in a job action were beaten and imprisoned, the damage to the economy would be severe. Black workers would increasingly resort to industrial sabotage (even now quite common), in many cases more expensive for employers than granting a wage increase or settling a grievance. Small strikes could easily turn into major confrontations between the white police state and the black masses.

The Wiehahn/Riekert measures are also designed to increase the rate of capitalist exploitation by using cheap black labor for jobs formerly monopolized by skilled and scarce whites. The South African Chamber of Mines projected that by 1982 there would be a shortage of 50,000 skilled artisans, traditionally and legally restricted to whites, throughout the economy ([London] *Financial Times*, 11 May 1979).

In short, the regime is seeking to control black labor militancy, co-opt a black labor bureaucracy and create a black labor aristocracy. A few years ago liberal capitalist Anton Rupert, a colleague of diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer, declared: "We cannot survive unless we have a free market economy, a stable black middle class" (quoted in *African Communist*, Fourth Quarter 1979). But the Ruperts and Oppenheimers will not survive, no matter what new strategems of apartheid they come up with. Their gravediggers will be the black masses who slave in South Africa's factories, mines and fields.

The 1973 Durban Strikes: A Turning Point

When on 9 January 1973, 2,000 black workers at the Coronation Brick and Tile Co. in Durban walked out demanding a wage increase from 9 to 20 rands a week, they presaged a new era in South African political life. Within two weeks tens of thousands of black (and also Indian) workers, including most municipal employees, were on strike. Garbage went uncollected and produce rotted in the market. South Africa's third largest city and major port was paralyzed. Hundreds and at times thousands of strikers armed with sticks patrolled downtown Durban looking for scabs, clashing with police on several occasions.

Yet the year before the Durban mass strike a large anti-apartheid demonstration by white liberal students was brutally broken up by police. And three years later Soweto would enter the world's political vocabulary as a new term for racist atrocity, when the police fired round after round into defenseless black student protesters. Why then were the Durban strikes not drowned in blood?

Mainly because their very scope and suddenness caught the regime off guard. Small acts of repression, beating up or imprisoning a few strikers, would only stiffen the workers' resistance. In fact, that's just what happened. To suppress the Durban mass strike would have required a level of violence close to civil war. And for that white South African capitalism would have paid a very high price, far higher than for Soweto.

The Durban strikers won significant wage gains. But much more important, this was the *first victory* of any kind for blacks in over two decades. The massive repression following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre crushed the nationalist/liberal-democratic opposition and the left. For more than a decade the black masses, demoralized and apathetic, faced a seemingly all-powerful white police state. But when the garbage piled ever higher in downtown Durban and ships were left unloaded in its harbor, everyone sensed a new era of black resistance had begun. And so it had.

In the 18 months following January 1973 black workers engaged in more than 300 strikes (all illegal) costing employers over 1.5 million man-hours in lost production. Black trade-union membership, only 20,000 in 1969, quadrupled to 60,000 by 1975. Today it's about 70,000. Though this remains a minute fraction of a black industrial labor force of some 5 million, the impact of black labor militancy is far greater than the relatively meager figure for union membership would suggest. Between 1972 and 1975 the average wage of a black laborer in the engineering industry, for example, increased by 75 percent (*Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa*, 1978). Evidently many employers met the workers' demands before they resorted to industrial action.

The regime recognizes that the 70,000 black trade unionists are but the first wave of a potential flood tide. The Wiehahn Commission warns that black unions "can unite with other unions through affiliation (as is happening now) without government approval and thus embrace strategic industries which can be paralysed at any given moment" (*Wiehahn Commission Report*, 1 May 1979). Above all, South Africa's white ruling class fears another Durban 1973, this time better organized and more political.

A New Kind of Shackle

Since 1973 the basic law dealing with black labor has been changed three times. Clearly the white ruling class can no longer govern the black proletariat in the old way. In 1953 any participation by black workers in strikes, job actions, slowdowns, etc. was made a criminal offense. Black unions as such were not outlawed, but were deprived of any legal status. By contrast, the so-called "registered" unions, composed of whites, coloureds (mulattos) and Indians were granted the legal right to negotiate the terms of employment for *all* workers, including the black majority. This legal privilege of the largely white registered unions has been the main mechanism for imposing the industrial color bar—i.e., the exclusion of blacks from skilled,

well-paying jobs.

Full legal rights for black unions sound like a good thing. But this is South Africa. In order to totally subjugate the black masses, bourgeois democracy even for the whites is and must be highly restricted. This is, naturally, particularly true for the labor movement. While enjoying enormous economic privileges, white workers in South Africa do *not* have the democratic trade-union rights available in the U.S. or West Europe. Compulsory arbitration and government wage-fixing is pervasive throughout South African industry. The right of white workers to strike is highly restricted. All unions are banned from any participation in political activity and the government intervenes heavily in internal union life through the monitoring of finances.

The Wiehahn "reform" is designed to bring black unions into this corporatist straitjacket. Seeking to counter hard-line apartheid opposition, the commission actually makes the incredible argument that "the present statutory situation thus discriminates against whites, Coloureds and Asians whereas the black trade unions enjoy complete freedom"! As these "free" black trade unionists are constantly fired, expelled to the bantustans (glorified tribal reserves), imprisoned and tortured, this statement is an atrocious falsehood and its authors know it. But it does express the intent of this apartheid "reform." In particular the regime wants to stamp out once and for all any ties between the black trade unions and anti-apartheid political groups.

The Botha regime also loudly proclaims it is doing away with the industrial color bar. Another lie! The new legislation continues to prohibit multiracial unions, while reinforcing the closed shop. Thus, the white labor aristocracy still can legally restrict the entry of blacks into the skilled trades. As the conservative London *Economist* (6 October 1979), which is sympathetic to the apartheid reformers, reports:

> "Conservative white unionists, who were at first suspicious of the government's intentions, are now saying that the veto system will afford their members better protection against black encroachment into their jobs than did the old system."

Tied to the new trade-union legislation are the Riekert Commission measures, designed to increase geographical labor mobility. The 20 percent of the black urban population who are legal residents of the townships (like Soweto) surrounding South Africa's cities will now be allowed to move to other townships without government approval. This relatively privileged group gets another legal privilege, one giving them access to a far broader labor market. But for the 80 percent of urban blacks who are classified as "citizens" of the bantustans, Riekert makes things worse, for some much worse. Penalties for illegal residency are now more severe. Many "migrant" workers will lose their jobs (as employers will refuse to pay stiff fines) and be sent to starve in the arid hellholes. And this cruel law is trumpeted a great liberalizing reform!

These new measures are an attempt to create an economically and legally privileged caste among urban blacks somewhat analagous to the bantustan bureaucracy. This was clearly perceived by two white South African liberals, Steve Friedman and John Kane-Berman, writing in the London *Guardian* (21 May 1979):

> "Probably the single most important element common to Riekert and Wiehahn is the desire to win selected black allies to the side of the white minority—not all blacks, but those whose labour gives them a passport to the central economy."

The Fight Against Economism and Nationalism

To register or not to register, that's the burning issue facing South Africa's black trade unionists. One militant put it bluntly:

> "We don't care about government recognition. What is important to us is to build strong and *independent* unions. That will force the employers to deal with us."
>
> —quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 28 May 1979

For class-struggle militants, registration is strictly a tactical security question. Some unions may be forced into it as a legal cover to avoid victimization. But it must be just that—a legal cover, nothing more. Any black union leader who actually adheres to apartheid legality, who accepts umpteen stages of government arbitration without taking industrial action, who refuses to support anti-apartheid struggles, is betraying not only his own membership but the entire black people.

Given the total suppression of the nationalist opposition and left in the 1960s, the now-existing black unions are generally narrow and economistic. In the main this reflects the still primitive level of organization and struggle available to South Africa's black proletariat. But black unionists are also saddled with a thin layer of bureaucrats more than willing to obey the masters of *verligte* ("enlightened") apartheid. The leader of the largest black union, Lucy Mvubelo of the National Union of Clothing Workers, is a rabidly anti-communist right-winger, who would fit right in on the AFL-CIO executive council (except that she's a black woman). Mvubelo's main activity (no doubt financed by some CIA front) seems to be attending international conferences in order to oppose economic sanctions against South Africa.

Newsweek

Black South African gold miners earn only one-eighth of white workers' wages.

The immediate task for proletarian revolutionaries in South Africa is to break the black unions from a narrow economism conditioned by two decades of effective police-state repression. The unions must use their economic power and relative freedom of organization to overthrow racist apartheid rule. They must fight, for example, to destroy the bantustan system, to end the hated pass laws and all residency restrictions and for a revolutionary constituent assembly based on one man, one vote.

In a longer historic term, apolitical bread-and-butter unionism cannot prevail in South Africa. The white racist oppression of the black masses is too deep, too brutal, too all-sided, too obvious. That most black workers have their families and relatives on the bantustans in itself goes against a narrow trade-unionist consciousness. In any major class upheaval the Uncle Tom union bureaucrats like Mvubelo will be swept aside by leaders who promise complete liberation of the black people. In a revolutionary crisis the proletarian vanguard party will find itself pitted against one or another variety of nationalist demagogue, the aspiring Nkrumahs, Kenyattas and Machels of South Africa.

Today those trade unions tied to broader nationalist movements are reduced to an exile existence, of which the most active is the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). SACTU was formed in the 1950s as a product of the bloc between the Moscow-Stalinist Communist Party and the liberal nationalist African National Congress (ANC). It was effectively broken up in the 1960s along with its parent bodies. The basic strategy of the Stalinist/ANC bloc has been and still is a deal with the white liberal bourgeoisie. To that end in the 1950s the CP advocated electoral support to the opposition United Party (despite its backing of the Suppression of Communism Act) and later switched to Harry Oppenheimer's Progressive Party, which stood for extending the franchise *only* to "educated" blacks.

Pure black nationalist trade unionism, unsullied by Stalinist reformism, is to be found in Drake Koka's Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU). This was set up in 1972 as an appendage of the student-based Black Consciousness movement. Probably always pretty much a paper organization, with Koka and his colleagues now in exile BAWU can have at most a marginal existence in South Africa. Needless to say, BAWU rejected multiracialism on principle with the usual argument that "whites would automatically dominate the situation if Blacks would agree to merge with them" (quoted in David Davis, *African Workers and Apartheid* [1978]). BAWU also rejected any confrontation with the apartheid state in favor of the "self-help" doctrines of the Black Consciousness movement. It declared that it would seek:

> ". . . to win the respect of the employers, the public and the government; to create a climate of opinion in which the laws about Bantu trade unions...could be reformed for the sake of the country's rickety economy."

As against the Africanist nationalists, proletarian revolutionaries in South Africa stand in principle for multiracial unions. But the minimum condition for such unions is that they be *internally democratic*—i.e., one man, one vote on all questions. Some white (and coloured and Indian) union leaders, those who aren't openly racist, will say: "That's a fine ideal, but we can't do it. It's illegal." No respect for apartheid legality! In South Africa any serious working-class and democratic struggle requires the combination of legal and illegal activity.

To be sure, in the present situation very few white workers will participate in illegal labor organization with blacks. Indian and coloured participation is more promising (thousands of Indians were involved in the 1973 Durban strikes). But even in South Africa class solidarity can at times overcome the deep racial division. In this sense proletarian socialists can look back at the Garment Workers Union of the 1930s-40s, a militant organization composed mainly of black and Boer women led by the Communist E. S. Sachs.

For International Labor Solidarity!

The past months have seen an upsurge in black labor militancy in South Africa, leading to some notable victories. For example, Monis and Fattis, a bread and flour processor in the Cape, surrendered completely last November after an eight-month consumer boycott organized by the black Food and Canning Workers Union. The company was forced to rehire 50 workers it had fired for union activity. An even more significant victory took place at Dura Construction, a Dutch subsidiary in the Cape. Here the company at first refused to talk to the black Western Province General Workers Union at all. But under the pressure of Dura workers in Holland, the South African management fully met the workers' wage demands plus two years' interest and legal costs.

But these trade-union gains, important though they are, should not invite illusions that black workers now have the same rights as whites. A measure of how "liberal" the new labor policy of "enlightened" apartheid is came with the mass firing last November of 1,300 black workers at the Port Elizabeth plants of Ford Motor and General Tire. The confrontation at Ford began when blacks struck to defend a black foreman, who had been victimized for participating in a local political group. Not only did he get his job back, but the strikers secured full back pay for the three days they were out, an unusual concession.

These gains for the blacks provoked a white blacklash. When the blacks staged another series of walkouts directed at racist abuses, Ford answered with the wholesale firing of 700 workers. General Tire followed suit by firing 600 of its workers to stop a unionizing drive at a nearby plant, which had been triggered by the Ford workers' struggles. At this point the South African security police stepped in and arrested 21 of the worker militants involved. These black unionists could certainly tell the editors of the *New York Times* and *Time* something about the "new liberal" South Africa.

All the lying publicity about reforming apartheid is designed to take the heat off the Pretoria regime and the imperialist corporations which invest in South Africa. An openly racist society ruled by police terror, South Africa is the target of universal moral outrage. This is felt especially strongly in the U.S., where the descendants of African slaves naturally solidarize with South Africa's blacks, who face an even more savage form of racism. However, for the past several years international revulsion at apartheid has mainly taken the form of empty save-one's-soul consumer boycotts (from sardines to Krugerrands) and university divestment schemes. Even worse are appeals to the "liberal conscience" of the American imperialist ruling class, specifically to Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign.

Instead of prettifying U.S. imperialism, popular hatred for racist terror in South Africa must be channeled into *strengthening* the one force capable of smashing apartheid rule, the organized black proletariat. The victory at Dura Construction and the defeat at Ford point to the urgent and desperate need for international labor solidarity. We're not talking about token financial contributions or the diplomatic gestures that American and West European labor bureaucrats occasionally make. Active international labor support can mean life or death for South Africa's black unions, and sometimes for their members as well. Had the American United Auto Workers used its muscle on Ford, very likely the 700 Port Elizabeth workers would not have been fired and the 21 union activists would not have been arrested. And everyone knows what happens to black militants in South Africa's prisons.

Behind their police terror and lies, the Bothas, the Oppenheimers, the Ford managers know they are on a rumbling volcano. Under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party, a mass black labor movement will be the gravedigger of apartheid. And on that grave will arise a black-centered workers and peasants government. ■

The Labor Party Question in America

Editor's note: Labor opposition to Jimmy Carter's administration with the onset of a severe economic crisis raises in a more immediate way the issue of a workers party, a party based on the trade unions and organized in opposition to the twin parties of capital. Already the Communist Party (CP) is hailing "people's coalitions" with pro-Kennedy labor fakers such as the IAM's Winpisinger, while the equally reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) calls on other Democratic Party stalwarts (UAW chief Fraser or Wurf/Gotbaum of AFSCME) to form a labor party on a minimalist, economist program. In order to clarify the *revolutionary* position on the labor party demand, we are reprinting below an article by Max Shachtman and James Burnham from the August 1938 *New International*, theoretical journal of the then-Trotskyist SWP.

In 1940 the two authors broke with the Trotskyist movement in rejecting unconditional defense of the USSR, a question of principle for Marxists despite the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state. However, in 1938 Shachtman and Burnham were two of the SWP's leading spokesmen, and this article represented the views of the party majority as it first took up the labor party demand. Written as the Democrats consolidated their alliance with the bureaucracy of the newly established CIO industrial unions, the essay retains its significance today as a statement of revolutionary tactics.

As noted in a 1972 speech by Spartacist League national chairman James Robertson, to be published in a subsequent issue of *WV*, the labor party is the particular American version of the united front, a tactic for communists to gain authority through the struggle for proletarian unity against the capitalist class. The need for the labor party tactic derives from the vast disproportion in strength between the revolutionary vanguard and the bureaucratically led trade-union movement. Even where able to field its candidates in bourgeois elections, a small communist propaganda group cannot credibly present itself as the practical alternative for the mass of the working class against the Democrats and Republicans. Revolutionaries in this period therefore address the need for working-class political independence by calling on the unions to form a party of labor on a program of abolishing capitalist rule—i.e., the Transitional Program.

For authentic Marxists, the labor party tactic is not an alternative to building a communist vanguard party, but is a means of facilitating that task. The slogan is not valid under all historical circumstances and could even be an impediment to revolutionary organizing. If, for example, communists should succeed in building a mass revolutionary workers party, they would then oppose the efforts of trade-union bureaucrats to establish a labor party, whose only function would be that of a reformist competitor to the communist-led organization.

In fact, until 1938 the American Trotskyists rejected the labor party demand and on this issue stood opposed to the Socialist Party reformists and the former right opposition to the Stalinists, headed in the U.S. by Jay Lovestone. One factor which motivated the Trotskyist position was the fiasco around the early CP's flirtation with the "farmer-labor party" movement in 1923-24. As Trotsky pointed out, behind rhetoric of a bogus "two-class" party, the Communists were being towed in the wake of bourgeois populist politicians like La-Follette. Also, to call on William Green's AFL, a deeply corrupt pro-capitalist bureaucracy based on labor-aristocratic craft unions, to form a labor party was to define it in advance as reformist. The Trotskyists understandably did not want to create a new reformist obstacle to proletarian revolution.

By 1938, however, a number of developments converged to give the idea of a labor party wide support among American workers. The rise of mass trade unions in 1936-38 and the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations embraced strategic sections of the industrial proletariat for the first time. The CIO emerged, however, with a pro-capitalist bureaucracy which was qualitatively stronger than the left-wing political organizations. Prior to the rise of the CIO it was certainly possible for a mass revolutionary party to develop as a result of direct communist leadership of working-class struggles. General strikes in Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco during 1934 were all led by socialist groups which outflanked the hidebound AFL. But by 1938 the trade-union bureaucracy was becoming one of the main bases of support for the Roosevelt administration.

At the same time a significant section of the new CIO leadership professed belief in socialism and an independent working-class party. Homer Martin, first president of the key United Auto Workers, was associated with the Lovestoneites as the Reuther brothers were with the Socialist Party. Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers set up the American Labor Party in New York, primarily because its ranks would not vote for Roosevelt on the Democratic Party ticket. In short, the left wing of the CIO bureaucracy paid lip service to a labor party while in practice forming the American version of the popular front by supporting FDR.

The economic and political conjuncture gave the labor party demand a particular agitational significance. In 1937-38 a sharp economic downturn shook workers' confidence in Roosevelt's New Deal reforms. Equally important, the cutback in production stalled the CIO organizing drive. The Little Steel strikes were bloodily defeated while Ford stopped the UAW effort by firing entire factory shifts. Defeated at the economic level, the union bureaucracy turned to political action, setting up Labor Non-Partisan Leagues and Political Action Committees, in many cases with broad rank-and-file participation. Meanwhile, feeling betrayed by Roosevelt's "curse on both your houses" attitude during the Little Steel strikes, demagogic CIO leader John L. Lewis sharply attacked the Democratic president. With a rift opening up between an important section of the labor bureaucracy and the Democrats in power, the idea of a labor party became a real issue in American political life.

The new situation caused Trotsky to propose that the SWP come out for a labor party. Recently obtained SWP Political Committee minutes for the April 1938 plenum reveal that the shift in line initially met with vehement opposition among even many of the leading cadre of the SWP. The change was summed up in the majority resolution to the plenum:

> "At the time of our national convention, we took insufficient account of the new developments in the labor movement, especially in their political aspects, and fell into the error of repeating abstract formulas on the question of the labor party which, in the light of great new developments, had become obsolete.... "The Socialist Workers Party, section of the Fourth International, clearly realizes the fact that in virtue of the unfavorable historical reasons its own development lagged behind the radicalization of wide layers of the American proletariat and precisely because of this the problem of creating a labor party is placed upon the order of the day through the whole course of development.
>
> "...while the Social Democrats, Lovestoneites, etc. advocate a labor or farmer-labor party with a purely reformist program and more or less confine themselves to unprincipled top combinations under cover of this slogan—the Socialist Workers Party advances its program of transitional demands in order to fructify the mass movement in favor of a labor party and lead it in a revolutionary direction...."
>
> —[SWP] *Internal Bulletin*, No. 2 in 1938

In light of subsequent efforts to gut the revolutionary position on the labor party, certain points in the Shachtman/Burnham essay deserve special comment. In answer to those comrades who saw a labor party as necessarily reformist, modeled on its British namesake, the article states clearly that Trotskyists call for a party based on the Transitional Program. However, the authors do not explicitly project the possibility of *transforming* (or *splitting*) an amorphous labor party movement to form a revolutionary party under communist leadership. On the Farmer-Labor Party, the article falsely equates this petty-bourgeois formation with a labor party, thereby forgetting the lesson drawn by the Trotskyist movement from the 1923-24 FLP adventure. Centering on the need to throw out/break with bourgeois politicians of the LaFollette/Olson stripe, communist tactics toward such "two-class" parties are qualitatively different than toward parties of the working class.

In 1938 the SWP recognized that the *agitational* demand on the union bureaucracy (or a section of it) to form a labor party was conjunctural, to be raised when there was an actual impulse to break with the bourgeois parties. The Trotskyist tactic thus has nothing in common with the labor party cretinism of the Healyite Workers League (before

Minneapolis general strike of 1934, led by Trotskyist Communist League of America, posed possibility of direct growth of mass revolutionary party.

it left the workers movement to become the mouthpiece of Islamic dictator Qaddafi), which endlessly campaigned for the ultra-chauvinist, anti-Communist Meanyite AFL-CIO bureaucracy to found a reformist labor party. We likewise oppose the call by the now thoroughly reformist SWP on the liberal burcaucrats to form a "labor party": all wings of the American labor burcaucracy are today bound hand-and-foot to the capitalist parties.

Accordingly the Spartacist League today raises the labor party demand in the same spirit as did the SWP in the late 1930s, as part of a program of revolutionary opposition to the "labor lieutenants of capital." We demand: Oust the bureaucrats! For a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government! In present conditions of American political life, the labor party demand is essentially a *propagandistic* expression of working-class political independence. As such it is a subordinate, tactical element in the struggle for a workers government, popular expression for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE QUESTION OF A LABOR PARTY

BY JAMES BURNHAM & MAX SHACHTMAN

Political formations in the United States are undergoing a radical realignment, and in addition to the old formations, new ones are appearing on the scene. The changes in the situation are of such a nature as to dictate a change in or amplification of the tactics pursued by the revolutionary Marxists in this country.

Two unprecedented economic crises, the second following the first before it reached the stage of boom; the increasingly deep *social* crisis in which the bourgeoisie finds it impossible to solve the problems of its social order in any of the traditional ways; and the organization of the workers in the basic, mass-production industries under the banner of the CIO, numbering more than 3,000,000 genuine proletarians, have not only brought into existence an unmistakable movement for working-class political action, but have developed it—for all its backwardness—on a vast scale, one never known in the USA.

The Labor Non-Partisan League (LN-PL),[1] the direct intervention of the unions in the Detroit and Seattle elections and in the Pennsylvania primaries—these are only superficially similar to the ancient Gompers'[2] policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies"; the formation of the American Labor Party (ALP)[3] in New York is an even sharper break from the traditional position of the labor movement. The advance consists in the fact that for the first time the American unionists are being mobilized *as a class* to participate in politics. The leaders of labor, however, strive to confine this movement to the old capitalist parties, that is, to prevent this class movement from exceeding the bounds of *bourgeois politics*, and taking the form of independent working-class political action. The movement is not temporary or

Amalgamated Meat Cutters

1937 Memorial Day Massacre of Chicago-area steelworkers. With the rise of mass industrial unions under pro-capitalist leadership, Trotskyists adopted the tactic of the labor party.

accidental. Under the impulsion of the social crisis it will grow and find clearer expression. Who can challenge this save those who expect an early stabilization of U.S. capitalism, an easy surmounting of the crisis?

Side by side with this movement, however, exists and develops the movement for a "third party." Its most concrete form to date is the organization of the National Progressives.[4] This too is not the product of an individual caprice or aberration, but is based objectively upon the discontent and the dilemma of the middle classes suffering intensely from the crisis, which have been deliberately exploited by demagogues like LaFollette.[5] While its very class basis deprives it of an enduring character, at least with its present form and program, it is an important sign of the times.

More important is the simultaneous movement to develop the "American form" of coalition in one party—a reconstituted Democratic Party, freed of the "conservatives," and composed of Roosevelt's "liberals," plus the Republican "progressives" and supported by the LN-PL, the ALP, and the two trade-union movements. The division in the Democratic camp in 1936, the violent inner-Democratic fights in Congress, the present primary campaign, all of which are based on social conflicts within the party itself, indicate the lines of the schism which the crisis will only deepen and toward which many right-wing and left-wing Democrats are consciously working. Both camps realize that the old alignments no longer correspond to the needs of the new situation.

What, then, are the actual possibilities of development for working-class political action on a mass scale *in the next period?* There appear to us to be three.

A national Labor party, similar in scope and positinn to the British Labour Party, would be far the most probable development *if* one could arbitrarily transfer the present forces back to the period of America's expansion and rise, approximating the present period of capitalist decline, so forcefully evident in the United States as well, such a development is distinctly less likely. The social limitations imposed upon a reformist party by desperate, decaying capitalism, set the political limits of such a party. Those who believe that a Labor party in the U.S. would play the same progressive role, and for the same period of time, as the British Labour Party, are guilty of flagrant dogmaticism and of blindness to those very national peculiarities which they accuse their critics of ignoring. While local Labor party movements are already crystallizing and others will undoubtedly develop, there are few outstanding leaders of the trade unions consciously and firmly working toward a Labor party. On the other hand, other movements, now more powerful and having more conscious and determined leaders, are at work absorbing the incipient Labor party trends.

A "third party" is not unlikely to develop. On a small (state) scale, at least, its establishment is even certain. But its class instability, especially under the brutal blows of the crisis, gives it no great future and indicates that it will split in two extreme directions before it even grows to full stature. A long-lived independent middle-class party, especially in our times, is a chimera; politically, the middle class must fly apart, one section following the leadership of the workers, the other—under fascism—the leadership of big capital.

A reorganized Democratic Party, embracing in one coalition all the classic components of the People's Front, has powerful forces working for its development. They include not only the Roosevelt wing, but virtually all the prominent leaders of the unions, especially of the CIO, and the powerful machinery of the Stalinist party, which is now firmly mobilized against the organization of a Labor party or any other form of independent working-class political action. The almost certain reorganization of the Democratic Party, while it does not necessarily exclude the other possibilities mentioned, could, for a short but indeterminate period, swallow up the other movements. In the worst case, which is not at all excluded, its realization might conclusively prevent the American working class from developing a Labor party on any important scale. It would, instead, open up two direct roads, one leading straight to revolutionary politics, the other to fascism.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that a new world war—no small or remote factor!—might well interrupt the whole process, especially the trend toward a Labor party, and at all events impel it to find new channels and forms of expression.

2

The position on the question of a Labor party held up to now by the Socialist Workers Party and the movement out of which it developed, may be summarized as follows: The "revolutionary party [cannot] properly take the initiative in advocating the formation of Labor or Farmer-Labor parties" which our Declaration of Principles characterizes as reformist by virtue of "their false program and perspective"; further, "far from constituting independent class politics, the *present* labor party development is, *from the point of view of the bureaucrats and the bourgeoisie*, the method for preventing the growth of independent class politics"; however, "the labor party movement, *from the point of the workers themselves*, does reveal a progressive development in general towards class consciousness"; therefore, "where the labor party develops as a genuine mass movement separate from the capitalist parties, the revolutionists must remain in the midst of the workers...[and] stand at each stage for those concrete policies and actions which sum up a progressive and class perspective" (our emphasis—J.B.-M.S.).

A study of the development of our position indicates that we based ourselves on two alternatives. If there is no mass reformist party, or movement for it, we do not initiate or form one as a

1947 pamphlet issued by UAW Local 659, Flint, Michigan.

substitute for the revolutionary party, but build the latter directly as a mass party. Where a mass Labor party does exist, we, to whom sectarianism is alien, are flexible in our tactics and, generally, give critical support to such a party; and, as is known, we followed this course in Minnesota where there is an established Farmer-Labor Party,[6] supported by the mass of the unions.

But our analysis was *incomplete*, and in some respects, not sufficiently clear. It did not allow for the present stage of development, in which an undeveloped and only partly conscious *mass movement* exists and is torn by warring tendencies of progress and reaction, but is not yet crystallized. A contributory cause preventing us from supplement-

From the Archives of the Revolution

Labor Party...

(continued from page 7)

ing our analysis was the need of concentrating our attention and attack upon the reformist Labor party conceptions of the right wingers and centrists in the old Socialist Party, in connection, particularly, with the problem of the ALP which originated not as a breakaway from the old parties, but as a machine to break the advanced and traditional socialist influence upon the New York workers and to corral the labor vote for an old capitalist party and ticket.

In brief, our old position cannot and does not effectively answer the problems raised by the present stage of development. It cannot even in theory, for the reason that the new situation was not clearly allowed for. More decisive is the fact that practice has also demonstrated its inadequacy, and consequently, the fact that it does not permit us to give concrete answers, not only such as are understandable and acceptable to the masses, but as will develop more speedily their class consciousness, their break with the bourgeoisie and its parties, and also with their petty-bourgeois leaders.

In Pennsylvania, after Kennedy's[7] defeat in the primaries, if we do not urge the workers to put up their own independent ticket on a militant program (which, in view of the election machinery alone that is required, means *the* decisive step towards a Labor party formation), and break with the Democratic Party—we can only urge them to support in the elections the SWP (which, alas, is yet too weak to put a ticket in the field); in effect, therefore, we leave the CIO bureaucracy and the Stalinists associated with them a free hand in keeping the masses tied to the Democratic Party. In New Jersey, our participation in the conferences of the LN-PL is sterilized because we do not counterpose in the most concrete form independent political action to the Holderman-Stalinist policy of paralyzing the movement, disorienting it, rendering it passive and delivering it to one gang or another in the capitalist parties. In the ALP, similar indecision deprives us in advance of the possibility of playing any role whatsoever.

Our old position, irrespective of whether it was right or wrong, or of what specific position we adopt now, must be brought up to date. We advocate a *positive* policy, one that is based upon the *present* reality, as well as the *objective needs* of the working class.

3

Our attitude toward the present movement for workers' political action must give concrete and unambiguous answer to these questions:

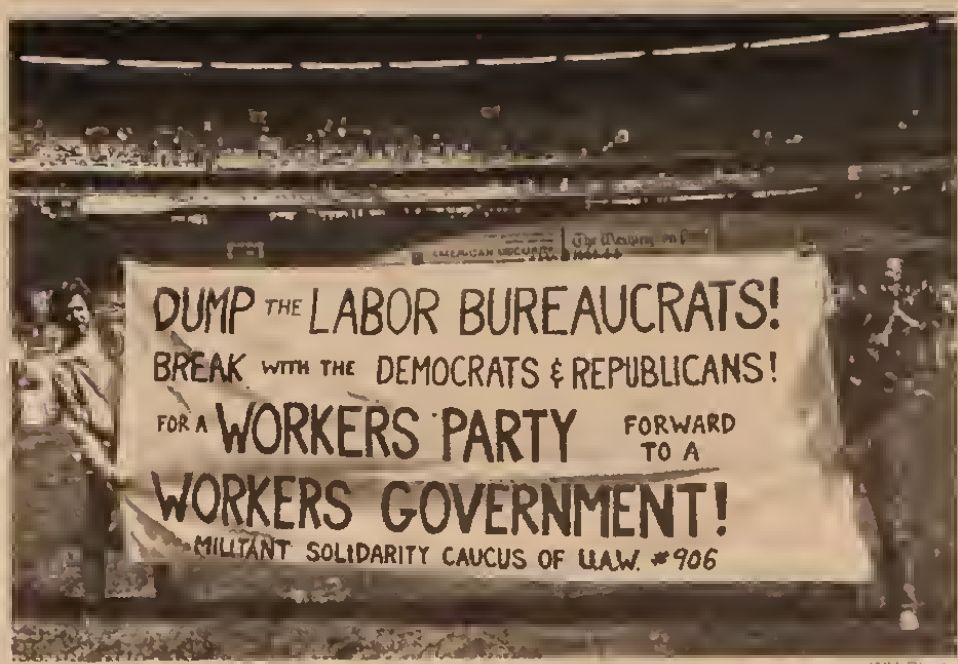
Are we indifferent to it? We are not indifferent, and cannot be, toward any mass movement of the workers.

Is the movement, in so far as it represents and expresses a break with the tradition of supporting the old capitalist parties, progressive or reactionary? On the part of the workers, as we have declared in the past, it is obviously progressive.

Will the trend towards independent working-class political action, towards increased political consciousness of the working class, grow weaker or stronger in the coming period? One cannot seriously hold to the belief that the social crisis in the United States is deepening, that sharper class conflicts are ahead, that the bourgeoisie must seek to burden the masses increasingly with the cost of the crisis, that mere economic action will prove increasingly difficult and insufficient and therefore give greater point to the urgency of political action—without concluding that the American workers are certain to move at a faster and clearer pace towards independent political class action in the period ahead, whatever organizational forms it may at any given moment take.

Will this movement, in any decisive respect, take the form of a mass revolutionary Marxian party during the next period? At most, one can say that it is not theoretically excluded; but all practical and realistic considerations indicate that this will not be the case.

The *actual* alternatives, therefore, are the development of a mass Labor party, or the immersion and sterilization of the movement into a reorganized Democratic or third party. Powerful political forces are working in the latter direction: the bourgeois and social reformists, the trade-union bureaucracy, the Stalinists, the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie, etc. They are all deliberately impeding the development of an independent Labor party.



WV Photo

Washington, D.C. 1975 AFL-CIO rally against unemployment. Class-struggle militants fight bureaucracy's tactic of pressuring government, reliance on bosses' parties.

In this *concrete* dispute, we have, and must have, an active preference. As against the last-named elements and their strategy, we are *positively* in favor of the political organization of the American workers as a class, that is, of a Labor party. This alone makes it possible for us to intervene in the labor movement in such a way as to heighten the class consciousness of the workers in the given circumstances, to sharpen their antagonism to the bourgeois parties, to widen the breach between them and their class-collaborationist, bureaucratic misleadership.

In Pennsylvania, we counterpose to the capitulatory policy of the CIO chiefs, the proposal that labor should enter its own ticket, and set up the political-organizational machinery to run this ticket; we conduct a vigorous campaign for this policy which will be realistic and acceptable to thousands of workers, perhaps only a handful of whom will be interested in an SWP ticket. And the policy will be correct not only because it is "realistic and acceptable," but because it will impel thousands of workers to break from the Democratic Party, to break with bourgeois politics and also its sponsors in the CIO and AF of L, and to seek the road to independent class action. When the bosses of a Labor Non-Partisan League conference propose the endorsement of Democratic Smith or Republican Jones, we cannot seriously counterpose Trotskyist Robinson; it is entirely correct, however, and fruitful for our movement, to fight at the conference for a candidate put forward by labor itself, for a Labor party organized and controlled by the workers. In the ensuing fight, the militant, advanced, comparatively conscious workers will rally to our side and, in time, swell the ranks of the revolutionary party.

Do we then become a "Labor-party party," which, like the Lovestoneites and Thomasites,[8] will carry on an abstract, general, universal and perpetual campaign for a Labor party? Nothing of the kind. We need a position that enables us to give the concrete revolutionary answer to the specific situations that arise (Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, the ALP, Workers Alliance,[9] etc.) But more important than this is the fundamental point of difference between our revolutionary position and the opportunist position of the Lovestone and Thomas groups. They are the advocates and defenders of a reformist Labor party, a "good" reformist party. Our Declaration of Principles properly defines the present Labor party movement as reformist on the basis of its "false program and perspective." The Socialist Workers Party does not and cannot advocate or support this program and perspective.

Let us put it more concretely. We are not the advocates of a Labor party "in general," in the abstract, or even of the Labor party as it stands now. We say to the workers: You want to break from the capitalist parties, to form a party of your own? Excellent! That is a step forward, it is progressive. Such a step we will support; we will urge all workers to do likewise. A political party is formed to take control of the affairs of the nation, and we are for the workers taking such control. *But*—you cannot take control and impose your will and interests by means of a reformist program and tactics or under a reformist leadership. That is demonstrated by the experiences in England; right now in the United States; in fact, throughout the world. We of the SWP are a revolutionary party. We therefore propose to you, not a program of petty reforms which the deepening crisis prevents from really improving your conditions; not a program of reforms for reconciling you with your hateful class enemy and its bankrupt social order; but a *program of revolutionary transitional demands* which correspond at once to your needs and desires and to the objective situation. We propose, in order to advance the Labor party movement toward class struggle and not class collaboration, that you adopt a program calling for workers' control of production, for militant Labor Defense Guards to protect our democratic rights and combat fascism, for the expropriation of the industrial and financial dictators of the country, etc., etc.

This is our program. If the workers do not adopt it as a whole, or at all, we continue to give support to the Labor party, but *critical* support. We are not sectarians or ultimatists. We give the labor movement no ultimatum: Accept our program, join our party or we will have nothing to do with you. On the other hand, we *accept* no ultimatums, even from the labor movement. We have our views, and if labor does not accept them in full, we continue with our comradely criticism and do not make our own the inadequacies or mistakes of the working class; but support unmistakably every progressive step, even small ones. In this way, we help to revolutionize the mass movement, and to make a mass movement out of the revolutionary party. There is no other way.

Our main aim is to build the revolutionary party, and all tactics must subserve this aim. The Labor party tactic is not, of course, given for all time. It is imperative for the period ahead. If the trend toward a Labor party is swallowed up in the coming period by a third party or "Democratic Front," the Labor party slogan may lose its effectiveness, and the struggle will take the form of combat for direct leadership of the masses between the revolutionary party and the reformist-patriotic movement. The coming war, after a short period, would, for example, enormously sharpen all relations and problems. It will be recalled that the big reformist movements after the last war broke in two, with such large sections coming over to revolutionary Marxism that the small communist sects in many countries became mass parties almost overnight. Such a perspective is far from excluded in the United States. But it is still not on the immediate horizon.

While the next period does not indicate the likelihood of the revolutionary party directly becoming a mass party, there is no reason at all for lack of confidence. The adoption of the Labor party slogan, as elucidated by us, does not mean giving up the revolutionary party; it means the best way, under the concrete circumstances, of rooting the party in the living mass movement and of building it into a stronger force. Given a correct policy on our part, the very same forces pushing the workers now toward a Labor party will, as they deepen and as experience is accumulated, push the workers even more firmly towards the revolutionary party. The terrific social crisis, and the impending war, open out directly revolutionary perspectives, with a concomitant tumultuous growth of our party which will bring the United States to the very forefront of this old world. We need only know how to exploit the vast possibilities in a realistic, practical, effective, i.e., Marxist manner. An arena in which our ideas are brought to the masses and our party is built—it is in this sense, above all, that our tactics toward the Labor party must be understood.

James Burnham
Max Shachtman

FOOTNOTES

[1] Labor Non-Partisan League: Political arm of the CIO, organized in 1936 to support Roosevelt.

[2] Samuel Gompers founded the AFL in 1886.

[3] American Labor Party: Formed in 1936 by David Dubinsky and Sidney Hillman, social-democratic leaders of the garment trades unions, to mobilize New York labor support for Roosevelt. Split in 1944 into ALP and Liberal Party.

[4] National Progressives: A liberal bourgeois third party, founded by Philip LaFollette in 1938.

[5] Philip LaFollette: Wisconsin governor and son of populist Robert M. LaFollette.

[6] Farmer-Labor Party: Reformist third party of trade-union and farmer organizations formed in the wake of World War I. Maintained popular support in Minnesota, where the F-LP's Floyd Olson was elected governor in 1930 and 1932. F-LP leadership supported Roosevelt, but the trade union caucus of F-LP ran an independent slate in the 1937 primaries.

[7] Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, ran in the 1938 Pennsylvania Democratic primary for the gubernatorial nomination (and was defeated).

[8] Thomasites: Followers of Norman Thomas, leader of the American Socialist Party.

[9] Workers Alliance: Coalition against unemployment formed in April 1936 between the SP-led Workers Alliance, CP-led Unemployed Councils and American Workers Party's National Unemployed League in which the Trotskyists worked.

Klan...

(continued from page 12)

article on page 2). For mass black/labor action to smash the Klan!

1960-1980: Which Road from Greensboro?

The organizers of the February 2 march remind us that 20 years ago Greensboro was the site of the first sit-ins. The wave of sit-ins that started at Woolworth's lunch counter developed into the militant student wing of the civil rights movement. Now we are told by the "National Anti-Klan Network" that this movement can be repeated in the 1980s, presumably along the same old road in the same old way, perhaps even singing the same songs.

Of course the civil rights movement cannot be repeated today. And if it could, who would want it? The old civil rights hierarchy with the reformist left in tow would certainly like to repeat the political methods of the liberal-led civil rights movement—the methods of betrayal and defeat. The idealism and self-sacrifice of countless young activists who embodied the hopes of millions were squandered in the name of "working within the system."

No one can now deny that despite some token gains and important formal statements of legal equality, the mass of blacks face under capitalism ever-decaying conditions. Schools and housing are worse and more segregated than ever. Black unemployment is at its highest in history. Practically an entire generation of black youth is being tossed on the garbage heap.

Harry Truman observed from a position of privilege that a recession is when "the other guy lost his job" and a depression is when "you lost your job." Blacks are "the other guy" who suffer permanent depression conditions. And the industries being hit hardest today—auto and steel—are those in which blacks have historically been hired into the proletariat in waves of migration from the rural South. In every way that matters the capitalists have not only pushed black people to the back of the bus, they have made it too expensive to ride at all. And now in the name of Carter's escalating anti-Soviet "Human Rights" crusade to restore capitalism to the Russian deformed workers state, blacks and the poor are getting an overdose of grinding austerity in a dangerous atmosphere of increasing imperialist militarization.

The civil rights movement showed once more the courage and dedication of black people in their struggle for equality and liberation. But that movement was led down the liberal road of reliance on the federal government and loyalty to capitalism's Democratic Party. As a result the establishment preachers have been joined by a newly formed secular club of Black Elected Officials whose job it is to keep the struggle within the bounds of capitalism.

It is this same Democratic Party which is leading the onslaught against black people's democratic rights and their very livelihoods. It is the party that dumped school busing when it became a hot issue for the racists on the streets of Boston and Louisville. It is the party of Jimmy Carter and the Dixiecrats. That party, preferred by the Communist Party and phony "progressives" of every sort, has never been nor can it ever be a party in the interests of black people. Now the organizers of defeat offer the same bankrupt strategy to "lay claim to the 1980s."

Many of the young militants inspired by the early sit-ins got fed up with the liberal pacifism of the Martin Luther Kings. They saw it was necessary to struggle for *power*. But in the absence of a strong proletarian movement fighting for black freedom, multi-racialism was falsely identified with subservience to white liberals. Thus some of the best fighters against racial oppression, like SNCC, saw no class-struggle road to liberation and were squandered in the rhetoric of black-separatist utopias born of despair. Or like the Panthers they were burned out and hunted down by capitalism's police until they too were tamed in the political cage of the Democratic Party.

But there was another road out of Greensboro, 1960. Not liberal integrationism nor black separatism but *revolutionary integrationism*—the fight for assimilation of black people into an egalitarian *socialist* society. That road is the road of the class struggle—the necessary fusion of the struggle for black freedom with the fight for proletarian revolution.

It is this class-struggle road that black activists must take today. In the wake of a demoralized, defeated civil rights movement and the horror of the Greensboro massacre, there are a few hard facts and conclusions that must be faced.

- There is no future for black people under capitalism.
- Black people in the U.S. constitute not a separate "nation" but a *specially oppressed* race/color caste segregated at the bottom of capitalist society, integrated into the economic life of the proletariat.
- Therefore the question of revolution in America is the race question: there can be no social revolution in this country without united struggle of black and white workers led by a multi-racial vanguard party, and there is nothing other than a workers revolution which can at last open the road to freedom for black people.

The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League have staked out this road of class struggle. We are dedicated to the construction of the multi-racial vanguard of the working people. We take action to harness the power of the labor movement in the fight for black equality, fighting within the unions against the poisonous racism which cripples united struggle and for a new class-conscious leadership to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats and unleash the power of the workers' organizations. We know we have chosen the road of long, hard struggle. But it is the only one which can liberate us all.

For labor/black mobilizations against the Klan! Break with the Democrats, black and white—Build a workers party to fight for a workers government! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Killer Cops...

(continued from page 3)

ness of the U.S. left and the decay of the radical black movement of the 1960s. (The decline of black nationalism after more than a decade of government repression and political disintegration was underlined in early January by Eldridge Cleaver. The former Panther leader, now a "born-again" Moonie, spoke out against any civilian review board as a judge was releasing him on probation.) Mayor Wilson's proposal for a five-person "advisory" review board was "opposed" by the NAACP's call for a nine-person board with power to review police "policies" as well as individual atrocities. Splitting the difference, the council on January 17 approved a seven-person board along the lines of the mayor's task force recommendation.

These mild liberal-utopian schemes to curb capitalism's killer cops have been seconded by Oakland's phony "leftists." The Communist Party U.S.A. Marxist-Leninist, a bunch of Albania cultists, latched onto the Briscoe case, launching a "Charles Briscoe Committee for Justice." They called for a "disciplinary board" which could only "recommend criminal charges" and "would not be able to put killer cops in jail" as "the only proposal worth fighting for." The crazed pro-"Gang of Four" Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party turned up at the January 9 meeting with a pig's head on a stake and some flashy banners with rhyming slogans—but with no concrete proposal. The attempt of this group which only a few years ago was in a *de facto* anti-busing alliance with the KKK in Boston to pose now as defenders of black people is outrageous in any case. Downright pernicious, however, was the proposal put forward by the Communist Party's National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) for "community control of the police."

Civilian review boards are largely impotent mechanisms which encourage illusions in the "reformability" of the capitalist state. There are times when the question of a civilian review board becomes a referendum on police bonapartism. For example, in 1966 New York City police in alliance with an assortment of racist, right-wing groups launched a heavily bankrolled referendum campaign to eliminate Mayor Lindsay's powerless Civilian Review Board. New York cops wanted to continue to terrorize racial minorities, striking workers and leftists without even this token impediment. In response, the Spartacist League issued a leaflet: "Vote No to Cop Brutality and Racism." While placing no confidence in the review board, we warned then: "If the cops actually get the vote of confidence they're after, it will strengthen the hand of the ruling class and the cops against all working people and their organizations." The CP/NAARPR call for "community control" of the cops, however, means *administering* the cops, including "hiring, training and promotion of police employees." This is a dangerous proposal for minorities and working people to take responsibility for their own oppression under capitalism and must be strongly opposed.

Racist police repression is an old story in Oakland. In her 1977 book *A Fine Old Conflict*, ex-Communist Party member Jessica Mitford wrote a whole chapter about how the CP built an East Bay branch around battles against police brutality in Oakland in the late 1940s. Oakland cops, reinforced by recruiting in the South, have not mellowed with the passing decades. From the police vendetta against the Panthers to the cases of Tyrone Guyton, a black 14-year-old shot dead by cops in 1973, and 23-year-old Floyd Calhoun, cut down by Oakland police in 1975, the wanton killings by these gunmen in blue are notorious. But what has always been missing in recent protests against cop brutality in the Bay Area is the massive intervention of organized labor. In the Guyton case the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the warehouse division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, obtained union endorsement for a protest demonstration. But as we noted at the time, "The union leadership failed to push for a heavy mobilization among its several thousand members in the East Bay" (*WV* No. 99, 5 March 1976).

It is the labor movement that has the power to defend oppressed minorities from unbridled police violence. If the trade unions flexed their muscles in defense of the black population it would be far more effective than a thousand speeches by black politicians or phony "review boards." If, for instance, the Alameda Central Labor Council, whose leader Richard Groulx made a token "labor" speech at the January 9 meeting, called a one-day general protest strike of its 65,000 members, the reins would certainly be tightened on the Oakland cops. But such labor fakers would rather make liberal speeches than launch the necessary class struggle. Indeed, Groulx has shown more sympathy for cops than workers: in 1979 he let Bay Area Rapid Transit workers go down to defeat in a lockout while in 1977 he sanctioned a BART strike on behalf of the transit cops' "union."

The case of Charles Briscoe, the slain shop steward, could potentially serve to launch a labor struggle against racist cop killings. Briscoe's IAM brothers could take a real step forward by initiating a movement for a labor protest strike against cop terror. Among the demands militant unionists must raise in such a strike would be: Jail killer cops, starting with four-time killer Robert Fredericks! Cops out of the labor movement! Disarm the police! ■

Spartacist League Public Forum

WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO FIGHT IT

Guest speaker: FRANK HICKS, member UAW Local 600, Detroit

Fri. Feb. 1	Sat. Feb. 2	Sun. Feb. 3	Mon. Feb. 4
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Afghanistan...

(continued from page 1)

> rooms and the trading rooms of financial and commodity markets, forecasts for the 1980s are being hastily rewritten to accommodate the end of détente and the beginnings of a new cold war."

The images all spring quickly to mind. There is the jut-jawed crewcut admiral dispatching cutters to "interdict" Soviet fishing trawlers off Alaska. The president's State of the Union speech is slated to announce a new Carter Doctrine, paralleling the Truman, Eisenhower and Nixon "doctrines"—which brought forth NATO, CENTO and the deepening anti-Soviet alliance with Maoist China. Former Nixon staffer William Safire gloats that all the Democratic "doves" have been routed, or have at least changed the coloring of their feathers. In a column on "The Second Cold War" (*New York Times*, 10 January) he ironically notes that Carter's new ally Pakistan is hardly a sterling example of "Human Rights": "General Zia, who executed former Prime Minister Ali Bhutto, is somewhat more repressive than was President Thieu of South Korea."

Faced with a CIA-backed and Chinese-armed Islamic reactionary insurgency against its Afghan allies, Moscow did the natural thing. But in his January 3 telecast announcing the grain boycott and other measures to coerce the Soviet Union, Carter justified these acts of economic and diplomatic warfare by claiming that Brezhnev lied to him. Appealing to the old J. Edgar Hoover maxim—"never trust a Communist to keep a treaty"—he has proved that if anything the exact opposite is the case. In his 1976 presidential campaign Carter pledged: "The singling out of food as a bargaining weapon is something I would not do." Now he is trying to blackmail the Russian people by attacking their food supply.

And food is hardly the ultimate weapon. Carter's pious lies about SALT are a thing of the past as the U.S. embarks on a mammoth arms drive.

Dispassionately considered, the United States is acting like a mad dog that slipped the leash. Brezhnev, who has good reason to be peeved, put the matter rather accurately: "As a result of the Carter Administration's actions, the impression is increasingly forming in the world of the United States as an absolutely unreliable partner in interstate ties, as a state whose leadership, prompted by some whim, caprice, or emotional outbursts, or by considerations of narrowly understood immediate advantage, is capable at any moment of violating its international obligations and cancelling treaties and agreements signed by it" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 13 January). Of course, Stalin could have said the same of Hitler after June 1941—in both cases the nationalist bureaucrats relied on treacherous agreements with the imperialists rather than revolutionary action by the international proletariat.

If Dr. Strangelove is running American foreign policy, domestic U.S. affairs look as if they are under the thumb of Daddy Warbucks. Carter's answer to the looming economic crisis is a classic "guns, not butter" armaments program. With weapons expenditures soaring, "defense" stocks are naturally booming; but as factory layoffs mount, unemployment benefits and social security payments are cut back; meanwhile the CIA is demanding an end to curbs on covert action and the "Justice" Department drops efforts to prosecute Nazi war criminals. Recent developments in the U.S. almost caricature the reactionary nature of capitalism in this epoch: as Rosa Luxemburg wrote in her pamphlet against the first imperialist world war, "dividends are rising, proletarians falling." And that indeed is the prospect facing the working people in the absence of socialist revolution—it is not just "cold" war that the capitalists will instigate.

We are presently experiencing a major shift of the international order as it was shaped in the aftermath of World War II. Such changes do not occur overnight, and to place the turning point at 1 January 1980 would be dangerously misleading. In 1946 Churchill sought to blame the end of the wartime coalition on the Soviets by accusing Stalin of lowering an "Iron Curtain" over East Europe. So today American imperialism tries to pin its war drive on "Soviet aggression" in Afghanistan. Yet ever since Potsdam, Truman's policies have sought an imperialist alliance against the USSR; and the new anti-Soviet axis was already foreshadowed by Washington's complicity in last year's Chinese invasion of Vietnam. Whether in the "Human Rights" rhetoric of Vance or the McCarthyite demonology of Brzezinski, the target of Carter's onslaught is the Soviet Union. And the threat of the new realignment is imperialist war to obliterate the conquests of the October Revolution.

NYT January 6 8

President Slashing Jobless Benefits

Defense Stocks Lead Market Upward

Justice Dept. to Oust Nazi Hunter

Fred Ellis

It would have taken a Bertolt Brecht to capture this ruling class myopia. But Rosa Luxemburg said it long ago in her Junius Pamphlet on how capitalist economic irrationality leads to imperialist war:

"Dividends Rising—Proletarians falling."

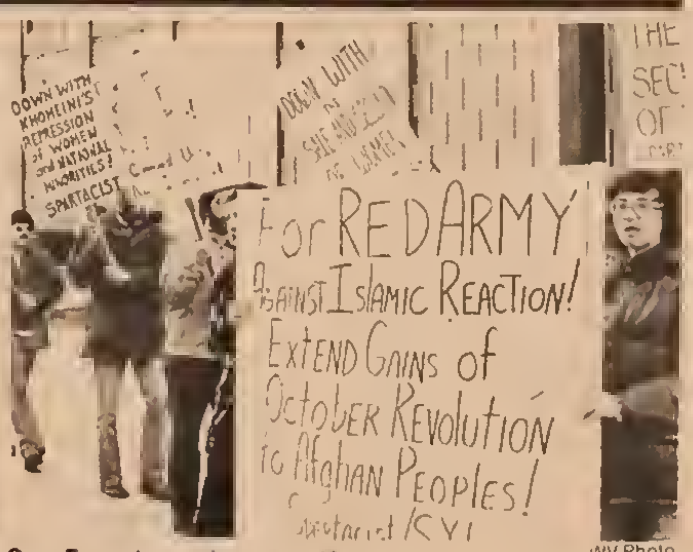
"Born Again" Cold War

As we have repeatedly pointed out, ever since taking office Jimmy Carter has sought to morally and militarily rearm American imperialism and pull the U.S. out of what the Pentagon sees as its post-Vietnam paralysis. His claims to have recently changed his opinion of the Russians to the contrary, Carter is simply milking the Iran and faked-up Afghanistan crises for all they are worth in building jingoist support for his war drive against the USSR. The administration defends itself against Republican criticism by pointing out it is the first since World War II to raise real arms expenditures three years running. And in December Carter announced a further hike in military spending (already scheduled to rise 4.5 percent) by 5 percent annually. Taking inflation into account, this amounts to over $1 *trillion* to be added to the war budget in the next five years. Most of this is to pay for a "rapid deployment force" and new ships which the Pentagon has had on its shopping list for years.

Compared to 20 years ago, however, the United States' world position is greatly weakened and the role of its imperialist allies is much greater. The end of unquestioned U.S. imperialist hegemony was marked by Nixon's 15 August 1971 action breaking the dollar's link to gold—the basis for the post-war Breton Woods monetary system. Now Carter meets indifference to his calls for economic boycotts of Iran and the Soviet Union. The French turned down U.S. requests to curb advanced computer exports to Moscow, and the Japanese are continuing with their multi-billion projects to develop Siberian natural gas. The most Carter could come up with was German diplomatic support and an agreement by major grain exporters not to increase their sales to the USSR. On Iran, they are willing to vote with the U.S. in the United Nations, but no one is willing to jeopardize vital crude oil supplies for the sake of the hostages. Even Pakistan's Zia is queasy, terming Carter's $400 million aid offer "peanuts."

The Chinese alone pledged to go all the way, for what that's worth. During U.S. "Defense" Secretary Brown's recent trip to Peking he called for

London, January 12 Spartacist Britain



San Francisco, January 18 WV Photo

LONDON—The chant "Red Army in Action Against Islamic Reaction" rang out repeatedly January 12 as 40 Spartacist League/Britain supporters and others demonstrated in front of the U.S. embassy in Grosvenor Square. SL/B placards included "For Military Defence of the Soviet Union," "Smash Carter/Thatcher/NATO Anti-Soviet War Drive" and "Extend Social Gains of October Revolution to Afghan Peoples."

The protest occurred amidst the bitter nationwide steel strike here as the pro-capitalist labour fakers were excoriating "Soviet aggression," working overtime to line up the working class in Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher's camp. So flagrant has been the capitulation of much of the British left that the recently resuscitated mouthpiece of British imperialism, the London Times (10 January), was able to crow gleefully, "British Left Condemns Intervention by Moscow."

"This picket proves that the Times' blanket statement is not true," declared SL/B spokesman Alastair Green at the rally. "We have nothing in common with Thatcher and Carrington, Carter and Brzezinski, the butchers of Vietnam, of Ireland, today of Rhodesia again. These are the bitter enemies of the world working class."

SAN FRANCISCO—"Ship Grain to the USSR, For International Working-Class Solidarity," "Stop Shooting Teachers, Down with Islamic Reaction in Afghanistan," and "From Moscow to Peking—For International Communist Unity Against Imperialism" were the chants of the 45-man demonstration outside the Federal Building here last Friday, January 18. Called by the Spartacist League, an SL/SYL banner proclaimed "For Red Army Against Islamic Reaction—Extend Gains of October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!"

Militant longshoremen and warehousemen from the ILWU came out to the demonstration under the placard, "Down with the Reactionary ILA Grain Boycott." But there was no response to united-front demonstration requests made to several Bay Area fake-left groups.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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"complementary actions" against supposed Russian expansionism; to which Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) replied saying, "China and the U.S. should do something in a down-to-earth way" against "Soviet hegemonism." In the case of Afghanistan, however, this meant what a Washington official described as "a rational division of labor" in which China continues to supply small arms to the Afghan Islamic reactionaries while the U.S. provides heavier weaponry to Pakistan. Revising its earlier (public) verdict on Deng's attack on Hanoi last year, the U.S. now concludes that "the Chinese...were bloodied by the more experienced Vietnamese armed with modern Soviet weapons" (*New York Times*, 17 January). And Pentagon officials estimate conservatively that to bring Peking forces to the point that they could threaten anyone would cost at least $35 billion.

Domestically Carter has succeeded in rallying key sectors of the American bourgeoisie for his Cold War policies. In the recent Democratic caucus politicking in Iowa, the only attacks were from the right—Republican Reagan called for arming the Afghan rebels with surface-to-air missiles (!) and Kennedy tried to attack his primary rival for failing to "understand the Soviet threat." Carter's new budget, heavily expanding arms expenditures, has met general approval in business circles. Where the government is weakest is clearly at the level of popular support. Riding the current wave of patriotic solidarity, the administration makes much of polls showing for the first time in a generation a plurality in favor of greater "defense" spending. But while there is a real chauvinist backlash over the Iran hostage seizure, Soviet military support to the Kabul regime has awakened little or no passion. For most Americans the country is a long way away and already in the Soviet sphere of influence; the Russians, faced with a threat to their clients, did the normal thing and *nobody* is ready to die for "plucky little Afghanistan," especially in defense of the mullahs.

For the Red Army Against Islamic Reaction!

Writing almost 30 years ago, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said of the first "Cold War":

> "Diplomatic double-talk aside, what is really involved in the cold war is a conflict of class interests and social and economic systems, which cannot be reconciled. American imperialism, the main representative of a decayed social system, whose fate is inextricably tied to the fate of capitalism on a world scale, is of necessity the ally of reactionary capitalists, landlords, usurers and colonial exploiters everywhere."
>
> —*The Road to Peace* (1951)

Better Crazy Eddie than Crazy Jimmy.

So today U.S. imperialism finds itself in league with the mullahs and khans, the defenders of bride price and the veil, usury and serfdom, and perpetual misery. The victory of the Islamic insurgents in Afghanistan means the perpetuation of feudal and pre-feudal enslavement well into the last quarter of the 20th century. For that reason we have called for the military victory of the Kabul regime.

The direct deployment of Soviet troops and confirmation of the reactionary rebels' imperialist ties change the terms of the conflict. Frequently—in Egypt, the Sudan, Sri Lanka, Syria, Iraq and elsewhere—the Russian bureaucracy aids regimes which are in no way more progressive than their neighbors or internal opponents—and which no less frequently turn on their Soviet allies. Communist revolutionists, Trotskyists, do not support these reactionary ploys of Kremlin foreign policy. But in Afghanistan, faced with imperialist pressure and Islamic revolt, the Stalinists have found themselves forced, for purely defensive reasons, to take up a genuinely red cause. And defense of the USSR itself—a matter of principle for Marxists—is directly posed.

Brezhnev & Co. continue their treacherous policies of seeking "peaceful coexistence" with the "democratic" imperialists and "national" bourgeoisie—policies that have led to bloodbaths from Djakarta to Santiago, and which needlessly prolonged the heroic struggle of the Indochinese workers and peasants for decades. But at least when they felt the hot breath of counterrevolution next door, the Kremlin was not seized by rotten liberalism. At Kabul airport the Antonov transports landed *every two minutes*. And when pro-imperialist "dissidents" like the physicist Andrei Sakharov called for Soviet withdrawal, they were branded for what they are—*traitors* to the proletarian cause. In the face of the imperialist uproar over Soviet military intervention against the mullah-led reactionaries in Afghanistan, Trotskyists proclaimed: "*Hail Red Army!*"

Despite wishful thinking in the West that Afghanistan will become "the USSR's Vietnam," Soviet forces are clearly capable of suppressing the disorganized, poorly armed tribalist rebels. What will then become of the country? In the absence of any but the most rudimentary proletariat the essential ingredients for the liberation of the Afghan peoples must come from outside this overwhelmingly tribalist region. If the country is effectively incorporated into the Soviet bloc this can today be only as a *bureaucratically deformed* workers state. Compared to present conditions in Afghanistan this would represent a giant step forward. The sharp contrast between the condition of women in Soviet Central Asia and that in *any* Islamic state provides an index. But the road to a socialist future of economic plenty and internationalist equality lies in a proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. This in turn must be linked with socialist revolutions from South Asia to the imperialist centers.

The Kremlin and its flunkies of the pro-Moscow CPs will predictably launch a "peace offensive" to "isolate the warmongers" and "revive détente." To these shibboleths we respond as Cannon did to the Stalinists in the 1950s: "The class struggle of the workers, merging with the colonial revolutions in a common struggle against imperialism, is the only genuine fight against war. The Stalinists who preach otherwise are liars and deceivers. The workers and colonial peoples will have peace when they have the power and use their power to take it and make it for themselves. That is the road of Lenin. There is no other road to peace."■

Olympics...

(continued from page 1)

have been none-too-enthusiastic about the Starve Russia grain boycott, so far American athletes and sports fans are not buying Carter's Hate Russia ("Human Rights") boycott.

Col. F. Don Miller, executive director of the U.S. Olympic Committee, denounced the administration's callousness toward the sacrifices of amateur athletes and called for resisting "political, religious and racial intrusions into the games." One of the two U.S. representatives to the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Douglas Roby, predicted the only way Carter could stop contestants from going to Moscow is to lift their passports. And IOC president Lord Killanin, who unlike Carter appears to live up to his agreements, has repeatedly declared that the Olympics will be held as scheduled in Moscow and nowhere else.

For revolutionaries, current opposition to boycotting the Moscow Olympics is heartening. It shows that there is not now the kind of rabid anti-Soviet chauvinism that Carter wants to fuel his war drive against the Russian degenerated workers state. Public opinion seems to be that, whatever is happening in Afghanistan, it's not worth pulling out of the Olympics. Of course, given the government and press campaign to whip up fear of a "Communist menace," this popular mood could change.

Whether or not Carter can pull the U.S. team out of the Moscow games, his counter-Olympics is strictly a losers' bowl. Japan, West Germany and France are all sending their teams to the USSR in August. To date, only Saudi Arabia has pulled out. Perhaps the Saudis will inaugurate a new sport at Carter's "Free World Olympics": stoning to death of "adulteresses." Khomeini's disciples could have the self-flagellation marathon. And Afghani "freedom fighters" can introduce their own event: shooting in the back of communist school teachers bringing literacy to enslaved Muslim women.

Despite the Olympic Committee's high-flown rhetoric, the site of the games has always been a highly political act. Attending the 1936 Olympics in Munich/Berlin was part of the British/French policy of "appeasement" toward Germany. And since 1956 every Olympics has been held in one of America's imperialist allies, except for 1968 when it was held in neighboring Mexico. Thus the decision to hold the 1980 games in Moscow was considered to be a major diplomatic breakthrough for the USSR. Tens of millions in the West could see Moscow not as the sinister site of the Kremlin but as a great city hosting the world's most prestigious athletic event. It was part and parcel of "détente."

The Russian bureaucracy's obsession with the Olympics assumes absurd proportions. The peoples of the "third world" do not really choose their social systems on the basis of great-power prestige as measured by the number of gold medals. And the notion that international athletic competition "brings people together" over the heads of their governments is popular-frontist stupidity; in the epoch of imperialist war there is no "people's unity" short of the international proletarian revolution uniting the workers of the world.

Perhaps the Olympics mania is intended for internal consumption. The German revolutionist Karl Liebknecht once observed that the Kaiser's government institutionalized sports to get working-class German youth out of the cafes where they were sitting around talking about communism. The enormous sports apparatus of the USSR is similarly a "wholesome" outlet for energies which might otherwise find their way into other youthful pursuits: drinking, sex, politics.

Even before Afghanistan there was much talk in right-wing imperialist circles of boycotting the Moscow Olympics, using the bureaucratic repression of Soviet dissidents as a pretext. We should note that this reactionary proposal came not only from the Ronald Reagans and Franz-Josef Strausses but even from fake-Trotskyists. Both the British IMG and French LCR, members of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat," uncritically published Soviet-bloc dissidents' appeals for a boycott of the Moscow Olympics. Tamara Deutscher rightly took the Mandelites to task for endorsing such anti-Soviet boycotts.

It is obscene for the men who A-bombed Hiroshima, who murdered millions of defenseless Vietnamese, to call for boycotting the Moscow Olympics in the name of international political morality. In reality, U.S. imperialism's terror in Vietnam extended to the Olympic games themselves. Ten days before the 1968 Olympics, when thousands of students protesting (among other things) American atrocities in Indochina held a rally at the University of Mexico's Tlatelolco housing project they were mowed down by machine guns of government troops and police, leaving hundreds dead. No one in Washington, including bourgeois liberal "doves," proposed boycotting these games. On the contrary, the Tlatelolco massacre was carried out in good part to make the Olympics safe for American imperialism.

Those who are against the Moscow games boycott because they believe that the Olympics must be "above politics" are living in a fantasy world of sports purism. They argue that the Olympic torch must burn bright above the nasty business of the politics of nations. In this respect liberals point to Vietnam and falsely equate the U.S. imperialist war against the workers and peasants of the country with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Such a position was reflected in the statement of long distance runner Don Kardung: "A few years ago most of the world thought we were on the wrong side in Vietnam. Nobody boycotted because of that" (*Washington Post*, 6 January). Unlike the liberal athletes opposing Carter, communists are not sports purists. Rather we oppose Carter's Olympic boycott because it is a diplomatic attack by U.S. imperialism on the Soviet degenerated workers state, one momentarily important in mobilizing popular support for Washington's war drive. Oppose Carter's Cold War iron curtain! Let the U.S. Olympic team go to Moscow!■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

500 Black Workers and Leftists in Detroit Show the Way

Labor/Black Action to Smash Klan!

On February 2 outrage will march in the streets of Greensboro, North Carolina where only three months ago the KKK and Nazis in the name of "White Power" and anti-communism gunned down five anti-Klan demonstrators, martyred members of the Maoist CWP. The marchers will chant, "Remember the Greensboro Massacre!" But who can forget? Who can fail to grasp the ominous message? The killers struck in broad daylight announcing open hunting season on blacks, union organizers and those who call themselves leftists. And the Greensboro cops facilitated the kill. The burning question is: how to fight the Klan?

Those who have come to Greensboro from all over Jimmy Carter's "New South" have heard the Klan's murderous message before: in Decatur, Alabama where last May black demonstrators were shot by hooded assassins; in Atlanta where a union organizer was savagely beaten by known Klansmen; in Memphis where nightriders terrorized a black mayoral candidate with their fiery cross.

There is no mistaking the growth of these race-hate terror groups in the U.S. and the passive acceptance they are receiving in a rightward-drifting America. The Anti-Defamation League estimates Klan/Nazi membership at 10,000 with a threefold jump in sympathizers to 100,000 (*New York Times*, 11 November 1979). And there is no mistaking the menace of the media's reporting the Greensboro massacre as a "shootout" between two more or less equally repulsive violent fringe groups.

Many who have come to Greensboro know that the massacre demands more than remembrance. They know the bloody message sent by the race-terrorists last November 3 must be answered—and answered with *mass action*. That means bringing out the power of blacks and labor to smash the Klan!

Some who have been battling the KKK in the South may not be aware that there was such an answer to the Klan organized in Detroit one week after the killings. When the Klan announced it intended to march in that largely black and working-class city in celebration of the Greensboro massacre, the answer was swift and effective: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City" (see *WV* Supplement, 16 November 1979).

While the old-line civil rights groups, the labor bureaucrats and the reformist left sat on their hands, the Spartacist League and union militants (including workers from Ford's giant River Rouge complex who had recently driven out two foremen who paraded in KKK hoods) organized an important anti-Klan demonstration. On November 10, for the first time in decades the fascists' provocations were met neither with hand-wringing middle-class protest nor with the pointless adventures of little bands of leftists. Despite the threats of Detroit's liberal black mayor, Coleman Young, that anti-Klan protesters would be arrested, 500 black and white workers and leftists rallied to demand: "Down with Klan terror! For the right of Southern black armed self-defense! For factory seizures against layoffs! Oust the bosses' tools in the labor movement! For independent black and labor candidates against the Democratic Party! Build a workers party!"

This was the demonstration that showed the way to fight Klan terror—neither the nutty adventurism of the Workers Viewpoint Organization/Communist Workers Party (WVO/CWP), nor the cringing pacifist legalism of the SCLC preachers. This demonstration pointed toward an anti-Klan strategy based on mobilizing the enormous power of the labor movement. And it will take this power to smash the Klan. We must reject the dangerous civil-libertarianism aped by the reformist Socialist Workers Party, which calls for "free speech" for fascists. We must do more than simply "say no" to racist terrorists who "say no" to blacks, Jews, leftists and unionists with bullets, arson and the lynch rope. Those who would fight the Klan must reject reliance on the capitalist state, the bankrupt strategy pushed by everyone from the SCLC's Joseph Lowery to the Communist Party with its calls to "ban the Klan."

Militant unionists and the Spartacist League call for other labor-based actions against the Klan and Nazis to follow up the start made in Detroit (see

continued on page 9

WV Photo

Detroit, November 10: auto workers answer Greensboro massacre.

Videotape Available: "The Klan Won't Ride In the Motor City!"

"Kick them out and leave them out.... Just let them know that we are not going to tolerate this kind of stuff here in Detroit."

On Saturday, 10 November 500 trade unionists, militant youth and socialists rallied in Detroit's Kennedy Square to protest Ku Klux Klan terror. They came in response to the massacre in Greensboro, North Carolina, where on November 3 Klan and Nazi gunmen shot to death five anti-fascist demonstrators. The Detroit rally was the first massive integrated, labor-centered protest against fascist terror in the U.S. in decades. Despite the union bureaucrats' refusal to take action and liberal black mayor Coleman Young's initial ban on the protest, the rally was successfully built.

A videotape of the Rally to Fight Klan Terror is now available for interested groups and individuals. The 30-minute film contains interviews with Detroit black workers, an account of the struggle to drive KKK-hooded foremen from River Rouge, and speeches from some trade unionists and spokesmen for the Spartacist League, which built heavily for the rally. The documentary shows the Marxist approach of mobilizing labor, black and white, to fight fascist terror.

Copies available from the Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10001

No More Greensboros!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 249 8 February 1980

Russians Fed Up

Carter on Cold War Rampage

With his "state of the union" address on January 23, Jimmy Carter has openly threatened U.S. military action against the Soviet Union in the Persian Gulf. Carter may enjoy this role of tough-talking Cold War militarist, goading the Soviets over Afghanistan and driving toward World War III. But the Russians are fed up. They have had enough.

The Russians are fed up with the direct military threats of the Carter Doctrine, the probing for military "facilities" and bases all along their unstable border. Fed up with the nuclear loading of NATO, the "modernizing"

continued on page 8

U.S. warships, including nuclear-powered carrier Enterprise, on maneuvers. Crew on deck spells out Einstein's famous relativity formula.

Sipa

Afghan Ultra-Rightists, Maoists Seal Anti-Soviet Bloc in Blood

Attempted Murder of German Spartacist

Fred Zierenberg WV Photo

FRANKFURT, February 2—A near-fatal knife wound left German Spartacist spokesman Fred Zierenberg fighting for his life in a Frankfurt hospital. The premeditated murder attack occurred January 25 at a teach-in on Afghanistan called by the Frankfurt University student association. In the cold-blooded assault by several dozen Afghan mullah-lovers and their "leftist" lackeys—Turkish Maoists and members of the "Fight Back" organization of American soldiers from the U.S. volunteer army stationed in West Germany—several members of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—Trotskyist League of Germany) were badly hurt.

The attackers concentrated on the leader of the TLD intervention, Comrade Zierenberg, jumping him and knifing him in the back. As a result of internal hemorrhaging Zierenberg's right lung partially collapsed and he had to be operated on immediately to save his life. He remained in critical condition for four days. A second TLD comrade was beaten unconscious while a third was knifed in the abdomen. In the flurry of knives, fists and boots, other comrades received less dangerous injuries. But Zierenberg, a 31-year-old radio-TV technician and father who has been a trade unionist for ten years, remains in an intensive care unit a week later. Criminal charges are being brought against the assailants, whose carefully planned attack was intended to maim and kill.

The TLD had been granted five minutes speaking time at the teach-in by the student association (AStA) chairman. Islamic fanatics of the General Union of Afghan Students (GUAfS) and their friends of the Turkish Maoist group ATIF/ATÖF had sought to inflame the audience with chants of "Death to Trotskyism!" When the TLD speaker attempted to come forward to the podium, goons ganged up behind our comrades while others blocked the stairs to the platform. At least four thugs were sent after each TLD supporter and then, at a signal from the "Fight Back" group, the homicidal attack was launched. Knives were employed against the men while the TLD speaker, a woman, was savagely kicked in the abdomen. Our comrades managed to fight their way out of the hall. After regrouping, they withdrew chanting "Down with NATO, Hail Red Army!"

Members of the Spartacusbund present in the meeting hall actively assisted in defending the TLD comrades. But as knife-wielding goons sought to silence our comrades for good, supporters of the "state-capitalist" Socialist Workers Group (SAG) and the ex-Maoist Kommunistischer Bund (KB) sat by without lifting a finger. These cowards should be ashamed to show their faces in public.

continued on page 5

Why Defend Tony Scotto?

New York, N.Y.
December 21, 1979

Editor
Workers Vanguard

Dear Sir and Brother:

Referring to your article, "Who Got Tony Scotto—and Why?", I was surprised and disappointed in the analysis you made, and your position on the Scotto affair. You begin with the vital principle of defending labor and its organizations against government and police interference, but in this case the effect of mechanically applying this sound principle is to protect a labor racketeer. There must be a limit, which should be decided by an organization's members and labor in general, beyond which class solidarity is defeated when the protection we afford an individual helps permit a continuation of crimes against a union's members, and is a smear against labor's overall integrity. The murderous Tony Boyle of the United Mine Workers was not worth protecting from even the FBI's justice. We should not be absolved of the responsibility of using the principle of class solidarity in individual cases by withholding a united defense of the individual under attack.

The question of whether or not Scotto's crimes are serious enough to deny him a labor defense is debatable. His members, ideally, should have thrown him into the harbor for his greed a long time ago. Yet, the relative few who remain working on the docks after the exchange of thousands of jobs for the guaranteed annual wage to those remaining are thankful to Scotto.

Are the crimes Scotto is being prosecuted for only a frame-up job in order to cripple a powerful union by getting its militant leaders? I don't think that this is the simple truth that the article in *WV* makes it out to be. The value of the article is in emphasizing and reaffirming the principle of the integrity of the class line, but the first two-thirds of your analysis attempts to whitewash and exonerate Scotto, a man known to New York workers as a crook, and read like a rehash of the sickeningly liberal coverage in the New York dailies written during the case.

Fraternally,
Jim Lavarello
Railroad Clerk

WV replies: Your letter questioning our defense of Tony Scotto against a massive Justice Department effort to railroad the Brooklyn docks leader raises fundamental issues about the meaning of the struggle for trade-union independence. True, labor militants are not obliged to automatically solidarize with each and every representative of the workers movement and the left who comes before the capitalist courts. We do not have to go to bat for Teamster heavy "Tony Pro" and his enforcers every time the feds bring them up on another extortion and murder charge. And although we vigorously opposed the intrusion of the U.S. Labor Department into the 1972 United Mine Workers election, we did not call for freeing ex-UMW president Tony Boyle, later convicted of ordering the assassination of his union rival Yablonski. Such murderous common criminals should not be walking the streets.

But these are extreme cases of capital crimes against the working class. More usually the government seeks to hamstring the labor movement under the guise of "protecting" the rank and file from officials who use goon tactics, take bribes from employers, loot the union treasury, etc. After all, what are Tony Scotto's alleged crimes: being on the take to the tune of several grand a year, barely enough to make a halfway decent income. On this basis the government could lock up sizable chunks of the union bureaucracy. What about Jimmy Hoffa? The case against him was similar in many respects to that brought against Scotto. Or Frank Fitzsimmons, I.W. Abel, etc.? In suggesting that the indicted ILA leader is indefensible you use the same arguments as the reformists whose program consists of dragging the bosses' state into labor affairs on the grounds that the current leaders are crooked. And thereby you rip the guts out of the principle of union independence, which you claim to uphold.

Almost from the inception of the American labor movement, the government has used the issues of "corruption" and "racketeering" to spearhead attacks on the unions. This was the case with the Taft-Hartley Act, the legal basis for the "red purge" in the late '40s which barred communists from holding union office. And it was extended in the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959, under which Scotto is charged. Landrum-Griffin was the result of a two-year vendetta by a Senate "select committee" set up on a resolution by Joe McCarthy, hardly a friend of the workers. Under chairman John McClellan and staff counsel Robert Kennedy this committee targeted the militant Teamsters. When jailing IBT president Dave Beck wasn't enough they set up the conviction of his successor, Hoffa, whose first-ever master freight contract raised the spectre of a nationwide truck strike.

As far as the particulars of the Scotto case are concerned it is at best naive to question whether the government was centrally motivated by a desire to cripple a powerful union. Twenty-five years ago they tried to decertify the New York ILA on the grounds that its president, Joe Ryan, was a crook. Today the federal government has already spent millions to get Scotto on charges of accepting $200,000 in payoffs; all this out of concern for honesty? As the 1980 contract expiration approaches, numerous other leading ILA officials are facing similar charges. In fact, the strategically placed International Longshoremen's Association, which has a history of frequent strike activity, is one of the country's most policed unions. Fully nine of the 30 applications of Taft-Hartley back-to-work injunctions since 1947 were directed at the ILA!

The ILA leadership of Gleason and Scotto is viciously bureaucratic and anti-communist. But that does not relieve union militants of the duty of defending them against anti-labor persecution. Besides, on many "bread and butter" issues, they are *better* than their "progressive" counterparts. You point out that Scotto traded away thousands of jobs on the New York docks for the so-called guaranteed annual wage. There is no disputing that. It was not the ILA, however, that first gave waterfront employers the right to slash gang sizes virtually at will, but rather the West Coast ILWU of pro-Stalinist Harry Bridges! ILA strikes in 1959, 1962, 1964 and 1968 were fought against company attempts to automate away jobs, and it was not for several years after Bridges agreed to the decimation of his workforce that the ILA leaders ended their halfhearted resistance.

The logic of your arguments ultimately leads to dividing the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy into two camps, the hardened business unionists like Scotto on the one hand and slicker-talking Reutherite "reformers" who somehow are more deserving of support. Yet the Sadlowskis and Millers who use such demagogy are the very ones who violate the integrity of the class line by dragging out Landrum-Griffin and running to the capitalist state. Once in office they prove just as willing to trample on the democratic rights of the membership as those they replace. The real issues here are the class issues. Union corruption goes hand in hand with subordination of the labor movement to the bourgeois order. The answer is not to replace the crooks with "honest" reformists who only sell out at the bargaining table. And longshoremen who refuse to fink show more class instinct than those "leftists" who rely on the cops and courts of the class enemy. Yes, labor must clean its own house—by throwing out all the "labor lieutenants of capital." ■

DSOC and the Dehumans

East Windsor, N.J.
January 8, 1980

Comrades:

After resigning from the NCLC in 1973 during Operation Mop-Up, I strongly supported the Spartacist League for years, yet at the same time encountered in myself a consistent resistance to becoming politically active with your organization, a resistance which I chalked up to personal languor or to my bizarre and frightening experience with the Labor Committee. Finally, this past fall, I began to help in the organizing of a Friends of the Spartacus Youth League chapter at Livingston College (Rutgers) in New Jersey. At that point, I quickly came to understand the source of my previous passivity and found myself repelled from the SL. I've done a great deal of thinking since October and am now taking a step that would have seemed out of the question just six months ago—I'm joining the D.S.O.C.

I still agree to a great extent with your political perspective. But I cannot work with an organization that perpetually dooms itself to marginality.

Wake up, Spartacists. Your style and tone repel *many* potential supporters. You've got much to offer, but the way you package it (practically) *vitiates* the whole thing. What you call "polemical" is obnoxious and counter-productive. There is debate, and then there is *your* style: overkill. With your vocabulary*, the DSOC-types will out-organize you more often than not.

Your interventions *are* "disruptive, dehumanizing, and destructive," as most of the left claims. The message gets lost. It's too bad; your political perspective is valuable, which you know. But you are under-achieving the potential of your own organization by coming on so super-super-Hard. You think it's a virtue, but it's not; the only result is that, although you are *not* sectarian, you *sound* sectarian, and so you don't get the hearing you otherwise could, people close their ears.

Come on, wake up, comrades, or stay irrelevant. I, and many like me, cannot live in your world. Irrelevancy is a slow road to nowhere.

Steven Welzer

*From one recent issue of *WV*: "slimy," "cretins," "vicious," "idiots," "criminal betrayal," "sewer socialism," "swamp,"... on and on....

Muammar el-Qaddafi

January 25, 1980

This is to inform you that we are breaking ALL connections with the Stalinist and Imperialist Agents inside the Trotskyist movement. The January 18 issue of the *Bulletin* will be your last.

David North
WL PC

WV replies: You have us perplexed—which are we, imperialist or Stalinist agents? And why now? Well, Workers League mentors Qaddafi and Khomeini support the CIA-backed Afghan reactionaries; we headline, "Hail Red Army!" But we have not cut off your subscription to *Workers Vanguard* (which you renewed only last month) for fear of being tainted with Arab oil money.

P.S. Agents are supposed to receive pay. Please take this up with our putative sponsors.

"Red Army" Cancels Subscriber

Antigo, WI

Hello,

Recently I sent you (on Jan. 5, 1980) a money order for $3.00 for a subscription to *Workers Vanguard*. I'd like to cancel the subscription, and have my $3.00 refunded.

Your headline 'Hail Red Army!' was too much for me, as a socialist, to take. To advocate the *invasion* of an independent country, such as Afghanistan, by an hegemonistic superpower like the Soviet Union is *not* the position of socialism, in my opinion. Workers in Afghanistan and the USSR should repudiate the invasion and take up arms to defeat the Red Army. Workers in the U.S. did not gain when U.S. imperialism invaded Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia. The case is the same with the Soviet bureaucracy's invasion of Afghanistan which has done nothing but whip up war flames. Good luck in your endeavors but count me out.

Yours,
Mike Brandow

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No. 249 8 February 1980

Carter's Pope Revives Inquisition

Ulster has its Ian Paisley; Iran's got Khomeini; and the Inquisition is alive and well in Rome. This past December the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, better known in its salad days as the Holy Office of the Inquisition, was unleashed by Pope "John Paul II" Wojtyla against Catholic liberals. Last week the Dutch bishops, summoned to the Vatican for a special synod to renounce their free-thinking ways, capitulated and signed a document reaffirming conservative church doctrine. But the modern-day Inquisition's prime target is Father Hans Küng, well-known Catholic liberal theologian and professor at West Germany's Tübingen University.

On December 18 the Vatican announced that Küng could "no longer be considered a Catholic theologian" and forbade his teaching. Described by detractors as a "crypto-protestant liberal," Küng has been in hot water with the Roman hierarchy for over a decade because of his questioning of the dogmas of church and papal infallibility, the virgin birth of Christ and even whether Jesus was really god or not (shades of the Arian Heresy!). In a recent article entitled, "Why I Remain a Catholic" (*New York Times*, 28 January), Küng comes out for "catholicity" with a small "c" and against "Roman legalism, centralism and triumphalism...."

With the accession to the Throne of Peter by conservative Polish cardinal Wojtyla, product of the most reactionary bastion of Catholicism in Europe (outside Ireland), the crackdown on Küng and other "dissident" Catholic priests was pretty much inevitable. That Küng himself had launched a major attack on Wojtyla in October—calling him among other things doctrinaire, out-of-it theologically, a "personality cultist" media superstar and a closed, dictatorial type—was of course purely coincidental. When the Tübingen theologian says, "I think the time is over when some bureau in Rome can decide who is a Catholic and who is not a Catholic," one wonders what church Küng thought he was born into—the Unitarians?

Leifer/Time

President's pope meets imperialist chief.

After all that Vatican II nonsense of the last couple of decades, the "theology of liberation," mushy liberal pot-smoking priests, etc., the Vatican now reappears in its hoary trappings of repression, dogmatism and sinister inquisitional practices. A recent *New York Review of Books* (7 February) article, "Vatican Heresy Trials" by Thomas Sheehan, expressed the growing disillusionment and shock with which many Catholic intellectuals now view Wojtyla: "Is he the staunch defender of human rights...? Or is he a new Torquemada on the Tiber?"

The "Küng affair" raises the question of church-state relations in an immediate way. As Marxists and defenders of democratic rights we oppose any attempts to remove Küng from his teaching post at Tübingen, a state university, just because the pope and the Curia don't approve of him any more. Under the Vatican's Concordat with Bonn (signed by the Nazi regime in 1933 and taken on by West Germany), Catholic bishops have the right to veto Catholic teachers in theological schools (Lutheran prelates have the same right for Protestant faculty), even though the teachers are hired and paid by the state. Ironically it is the Ministry of Science of the state of Baden-Württemberg that is supposed to bow to Vatican obscurantism by firing Küng.

But why is the state paying to have any brand of religious propaganda taught? We say it shouldn't; nor should there be any special rights accorded to the Vatican at all. In this we are hardly being more radical than the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck, whose consolidation of a pan-German state required his *Kulturkampf* (battle of the creeds) against the entrenched power of the Catholic hierarchy. Ultimately, of course, Bismarck found the latter a necessary ally against the growing strength of German social democracy and organized labor and called off the attack. Elsewhere in West Europe, as well, separation of church and state is far from accomplished—from the established Lutheran churches of northern Europe to the Roman Catholic primacy in the south. As seen in battles over the right to divorce and abortion in Spain and Italy, this is no abstract question.

What particularly concerns communists is the aggressive counterrevolutionary appetite of this vigorous Polish pope. Telling radical-minded Latin American clerics to stick to their catechisms, he calls on the church in East Europe to fight for "respect for the rights of the nation and for human rights" (see "Pilgrimage for Anti-Communism," *WV* No. 234, 22 June 1979). Karol Wojtyla obviously seeks to whip up Catholic militancy against communism in a way not seen since the days of Leo XIII. In this he finds eager allies in Washington, and not only with fellow countryman and anti-Russian fanatic Zbigniew Brzezinski. His "American connection" was just strengthened by the appointment of hard-core Cardinal Baum of Washington, D.C. to a high position in the Curia. This pope is quite clear on where *his* divisions are going to come from—the Pentagon. ■

Baluchi Militant Malek Towghi:

"I Congratulate the Spartacist League"

Editor's Note—The following remarks by Malek Towghi were made at a Spartacus Youth League forum at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor on January 25. Towghi, an Iranian Baluchi who has opposed both the Pahlavi dictatorship and the present Shi'ite clerical Khomeini regime, is seeking political asylum in the U.S. (see PDC letter).

I have been here for three years and I have been a keen observer of progressive groups. All the other groups I have come across have given me enough excuses to be disappointed, and this is the only group I have always difficulty finding some excuse to be opposed to. Let me congratulate you. When you first opposed Khomeini, I was one of those Iranians who participated in disturbing your meeting. And after a month—after Kurds were being butchered, after Turkomans were butchered, after Azerbaijanis and Baluchis and Arabs were intimidated and killed, and after the whole theocratic reactionary actions of Khomeini became open—I was sorry....

One point which has been on my mind, that is Mengistu's Ethiopia and the Eritrean and Somalian problem. Again this is the only group, as far as I know, who from the very beginning has been as clear as I have been about Mengistu's credentials and who protested the Somalian and Eritrean peoples' betrayal by so-called leftist groups. I remember when I came to this country, all these Iranian and Arab and American leftist groups had tables about Eritrea...and suddenly, as soon as Mengistu became owned by the Communists, they started not only forgetting about the Eritreans [but] spreading rumors about them that they were reactionaries. I again congratulate you for your consistency in recognizing Mengistu.

And I was really surprised [about] Afghanistan.... I'm a Baluchi, and my land is in danger of being occupied [because] Mr. Carter and some Americans are very anxious to "save" us. When I read *Workers Vanguard* I was not only surprised, I really wept. Because a bigger tragic drama is being staged in the name of "saving" that people and Islamic revolution in Afghanistan. And I was really happy; I congratulate you....

And I found [out] something about what they call racists. In the recent Iranian presidential elections, one of the candidates was ousted by Khomeini—you know for what? Because his ancestors were Afghans. I really curse those people who equate anti-Khomeiniism with anti-Iranianism. Kurds are Iranians, Turkomans are Iranians, Iranian Arabs are Iranians, Baluchis are Iranians.... And please try to understand that [it's] those other leftist groups who have been flirting with fascist Iranians, who have been flirting with the fanatic Khomeini, and not the Spartacist League. They should learn...and if they had some ideological courage they should recognize that they have been making serious mistakes and those mistakes actually mean encouraging Khomeini. And encouraging people like Khomeini means killing the Kurds, means butchering Baluchis, means strangling Iranian Arabs, means annihilating the Turkomans....

Yes, I'm an Iranian. I'm a Baluchi; I'm one of the two Baluchis in this country. I applied for asylum during the shah's days. It was rejected.... At this point, my problem is Khomeini—an Iranian-created problem and not an American immigration technicality problem. Because after one month I stopped my flirtation with Khomeini—and I could not do otherwise, because my people were being killed, because human beings were being killed, those national minorities who have suffered centuries of oppression and annihilation and insult and intimidation, [and] I knew what was going to happen—and as a result the Iranian embassy refused to renew my passport.... ■

Cyrus Vance
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Judge Adolph Angelleli
Immigration and
Naturalization Service
333 Mt. Elliott Street
Detroit, MI 48207

Elementary democratic rights demand that Malek Towghi's appeal for asylum be granted. A recent immigration hearing ruled that Towghi and his family could be deported to Iran or Pakistan. This action would place Towghi in extreme peril. He has courageously spoken out against the despotic regimes of both the deposed shah and Khomeini, particularly with regard to their attacks upon oppressed minorities. As a well-known opponent of Islamic fundamentalism, this Iranian Baluchi could very well fall into the net of Iran/Pakistan cooperation against "dissidents." We stand with Malek Towghi's fight not to "walk to my own slaughterhouse" in Khomeini's Iran or Zia's Pakistan.

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99, Canal St. Sta.
N.Y., N.Y. 10013

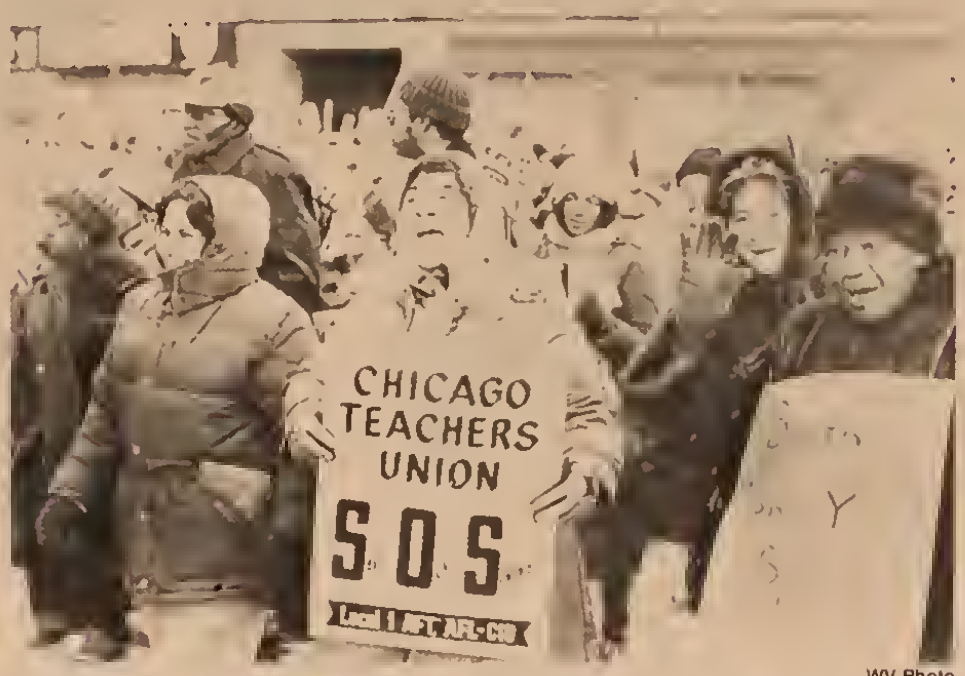
Mayor Byrne Tears Up Contract—Chicago Teachers Strike

CHICAGO, February 4—The city's school teachers formally voted to strike last night after not being paid for nearly a month. The union is staying out in defiance of a court order issued today ordering them to return to work. The strike follows a boycott begun January 28 to demand back wages and cancellation of a vicious $60 million in school budget cuts. These cuts, imposed on demand of the big banks who are supposed to "bail out" the bankrupt school system, mean 2,000 layoffs and closure of 34 schools. They not only attack the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) and various maintenance unions but are a direct blow to what remains of minority educational opportunity in Chicago. Some 80 percent of public school children are non-white, and the cutbacks fall most heavily on the poor black population.

The present school crisis began in November when several big banks suddenly refused to underwrite further school loans because the heavily indebted Board of Education's credit rating had fallen too low. The newly formed "Chicago School Finance Authority" and the bankers dictated terms for continued financing: the Board of Education must trim $60 million from its budget and board members replied that this meant laying off at least 1,600 teachers, shortening the school year and renegotiating the contract signed with teachers last fall. Meanwhile, school employees stopped receiving their paychecks.

The teachers strike intersects a threatened walkout by Chicago firemen who are demanding the union contract promised by Mayor Jane Byrne in her election campaign. This poses the possibility, for the second time in two months, of uniting all city labor against the attacks from City Hall. The crisis comes in the wake of December's Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) strike, a powerful mobilization by bus drivers and rail rapid transit workers. The disgruntled transit workers, disarmed by the timid capitulation of the ATU leadership, went back to work on a court order December 21, the same day school employees first missed their paychecks.

Now more than ever the powerful ATU must lead all city unions in a joint strike to smash the school and other service cuts, reverse wage and job slashings and win decent contracts and union representation for all public employees.



WV Photo

Chicago teachers rally. Bankrupt Board of Ed. hasn't paid them for a month.

Calamity Jane Attacks Blacks, Labor

Mayor Byrne, working on behalf of big business and the banks, has avidly flung herself into the assaults on labor and the black population. Although her election one short year ago was hailed as a victory by liberals and fake-lefts, "Calamity Jane" has stridently supported the school cuts, refused to stop cutbacks in health care for the poor at Cook County Hospital, vilified teachers for refusing to work without pay, attacked white-collar workers as "loafers" who abuse sick days and reneged on campaign promises of a negotiated contract for the Chicago Fire Fighters Union.

The capitalist press gave her high marks for strikebreaking during the recent transit strike. And while going easy on the maintenance and construction unions which traditionally make only "handshake" wage agreements with City Hall (and which flatly refused to pull their members from the schools in support of the teachers), Byrne has established a "Mayor's Committee on Collective Bargaining" to delay and emasculate any contracts won by presently unrepresented city employees.

Byrne was elected by the black voters of Chicago though she never promised anything but opposition to school busing. Her administration now perpetuates the policies which made the city's schools the most segregated in America. The avaricious bankers, Mayor Byrne and the Illinois state legislature simply do not care whether the large majority of black children in the school system get an education or not. If the budget cuts don't come through, the schools will simply be closed. In a declining economy, with no place for them anyway, black youth are more expendable than ever.

And as the guts are ripped from black education in Chicago, various supposed black "leaders" see only a chance to maneuver for increased influence within the Democratic Party machine. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, who has mounted a "Recall Byrne" campaign, calls first and foremost for appointment of a black police superintendent and black superintendent of schools. The solution to the present crisis is not a few more token black faces in high places or replacement of Byrne with another pro-big business mayor, but to link Chicago's black masses with the labor movement to smash the attacks from City Hall.

Bring Out All City Labor!

Chicago is also saddled with the same sort of cowardly union leadership which capitulated to Big MAC in New York City. Robert Healy, president of the Chicago Teachers Union, kept teachers working for a whole month after the first payless payday, approved an intolerable "compromise" plan of $42 million in school cuts which was promptly rejected by the bankers, and only led the January 28 boycott after an overwhelming teacher vote threatened his re-election in May if he didn't do *something*.

Accepting the inevitability of teacher layoffs, Healy has demanded only that the burden be "shared" by administrators and maintenance workers rather than fighting for the necessity to unite with maintenance workers and bring them out in a fight against *all* cuts. And though he has sometimes blustered that the CTU contract must not be changed without union agreement, Healy has known from the beginning that the layoffs to which he has already capitulated are contract violations.

There is no way to stop the attacks on working people without challenging the power of the banks and corporations who run the city. Militant teachers must unite with other sectors of the Chicago labor movement to fight for cancellation of the school board debt and expropriation of the banks without compensation. United strike action of all city unions must fight all cutbacks. (But there can be no "unity" with the cops, who will be mobilized to scab-herd as they did during the transit strike. The Firefighters Union and AFSCME must cancel their current "bargaining coalition" with Chicago police!)

A fighting program for Chicago labor would also demand decent contracts for all public workers, an end to "handshake" agreements and patronage, no use of union funds for bailouts, and city-suburb busing to achieve school integration. Further, the unions must break their ties to the Democratic Party, through a struggle to build a workers party to fight for a workers government and break the stranglehold of the banks once and for all! ■

Out 90 Days Against Forced Overtime

Victory to Harvester Strike!

CHICAGO—After more than 90 days on the picket lines, United Auto Workers (UAW) members striking against International Harvester Company (IH) in Illinois and surrounding states are holding out alone this month following settlement by the union with the Caterpillar Tractor Company. With the Harvester strike entering its fourth month, the company is the only one of the nation's three large agricultural implement manufacturers which has not reached agreement with the UAW.

The main issue in the bitterly waged strike is mandatory versus voluntary overtime. Harvester president Archie McCardell, who came to IH in 1977 from the non-union Xerox Corporation, has launched a massive cost-cutting campaign designed to make the company more competitive with its major rivals. He boasts that he has already saved $500 million, principally by abolishing 11,000 "excess" jobs. Now McCardell wants to eliminate the contract's voluntary overtime provisions, which Harvester workers, alone of all UAW-organized companies, continue to enjoy.

Although Harvester eagerly points out that both the John Deere and Caterpillar settlements provide for mandatory overtime, IH workers are determined to hold out and retain their right to refuse the grueling 50- and 60-hour week to which UAW members are often subjected in the auto industry. Caterpillar workers had in fact hoped to dump mandatory overtime this round, and though the overall vote in favor of the contract was large, in some locals such as Local 215 at Davenport, Iowa, the vote was extremely close because union members were reportedly upset about the overtime clause.

The Harvester management and workforce have dug in for a long fight. Negotiations have been suspended since December 15, and union members say they don't even expect settlement until April or May. With the company announcing a $225 million loss for the quarter just ended and reductions in management salaries for the duration of the strike, McCardell has threatened that the union must make concessions or "future job increases would almost have to be non-UAW." (But McCardell *is* happy about Carter's anti-Soviet grain embargo, which he claims eases the company's situation by decreasing the demand for agricultural equipment!)

Harvester is attempting to continue minimal production with management scabs in its plants, and has hired the Landy Trucking Company, a professional strikebreaking outfit based in

Attempted Murder...

(continued from page 1)

The attackers' murderous methods are the traditional weapons of Turkish right-wingers and fascists, which have also been taken up in battles among the Turkish Stalinists. But this is the first time in recent memory that they have been used against the German left. All working-class organizations—unions, left groups—and individuals who claim to speak on behalf of labor must denounce this vile attempted murder!

Protest Meeting

Numerous West German bourgeois newspapers covered the unprecedented terrorist attack, including the *Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Neue Presse, Abendpost* and the West Berlin *Tagesspiegel*. The West Berlin *Wahrheit*, organ of the East German Socialist Unity Party, reported that "thugs had attacked counter-demonstrators who came out for the Afghan revolution," referring to "a statement by the Trotskyist League."

The response of the TLD and the international Spartacist tendency was immediate. In addition to bringing attempted murder charges against the would-be assassins, posters were pasted up throughout the Frankfurt University campus denouncing the murder attack and the mortal threat it represents to the entire left and workers movement. Above all the TLD insisted on holding its previously announced forum on Afghanistan at the university the following Tuesday, despite threatened disruption by the GUAfS. The previous week the Afghan ultra-rightists had jostled TLD salesmen, shouting: "You should get what's happening to the Russians in Afghanistan: dismemberment!"

With careful security preparations the TLD forum, "Hail Red Army! Down with Islamic Reaction!" was held as planned on January 29. More than two dozen militarily organized trade unionists guarded the meeting. Those attending were submitted to a complete body search and checked by a metal detector for firearms and knives. To its credit the Spartacusbund took part in defense of the meeting, as did the Kommunistische Liga. The KB issued a press release condemning the attack on the TLD and calling on organizations to which the knife-wielding assailants belonged to expel them, but did not join the defense guard. The cowardly evaders of the GIM (German section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat), however, repeatedly hung up the telephone when called to request their presence in the defense team. Due to rank-and-file pressure ten GIM members finally showed up that night but refused to attend the forum or take part in the joint security preparations.

In the meeting a statement of solidarity was read from Oskar Hippe, who had been a member of the Spartacusbund of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg during the German Revolution of 1918-19 and one of the founders of the Trotskyist opposition to the Stalinized Communist Party in the 1920s. Silvia Lenz, chairman of the meeting, thanked those who participated in the common defense and noted that more than 50 militants had turned out despite the Islamic reactionary/Maoist threats. The danger was all the more real because on several occasions in the past Turkish Maoists and fascists had undertaken common actions in Germany on the basis of virulent anti-Sovietism. TLDer Carola Schirm reported on the brutal attack the previous Friday, stressing that "We intend to find the assailants and see these knife attackers in jail or in Kabul." And Gustav Steiner of the editorial board of the TLD newspaper *Kommunistische Korrespondenz* noted: "The Muslim fanatics who played the leading role in the attempted murder of Comrade Fred, together with Carter, the CIA and Khomeini share one thing: maintaining the old order of exploiting the working masses, whether under the sway of Islamic reaction or direct imperialist domination."

Numerous West German bourgeois newspapers covered the unprecedented terrorist attack, including the Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Neue Presse, Abendpost and the West Berlin Tagesspiegel. The West Berlin Wahrheit, organ of the East German Socialist Unity Party, reported that "thugs had attacked counter-demonstrators who came out for the Afghan revolution," referring to "a statement by the Trotskyist League."

Down with Islamic Reaction!

The near-fatal knife attack reveals sharply that there is no middle road in the class struggle. Over Afghanistan the choice is crystal clear: either support to Islamic reaction and its CIA moneymen, or a clear position in favor of victory of the Red Army, against the feudalist bands, and for the extension of the social gains of the Russian Revolution to Afghanistan. As thousands of anti-communist fanatics leave Afghanistan, West German government officials report that hundreds of them—"people who once had money or position in their country," i.e., the former elite—have congregated in Frankfurt. The TLD has drawn the fanatical hatred of these reactionary Muslims and their Mao-Stalinist acolytes because it has long been known for implacably opposing the theocratic mullah regime of Khomeini and calling for military defeat of the feudalist tribal rebels in Afghanistan.

The attacks on the TLD are not isolated incidents. On January 5 a Turkish trade unionist, Celalettin Kesim, bled to death in Berlin after receiving knife wounds from Turkish Muslim fanatics. The TLD actively participated in building a January 11 protest demonstration against this murderous atrocity in West Berlin, as it had earlier marched in Frankfurt on December 8 in a demonstration against another knife attack by Turkish fascists against workers who had refused their leaflets. The TLD's record in defending foreign workers, whether victimized by reactionary compatriots or the West German state, is unequaled on the German left.

With its successful Afghanistan forum the TLD made clear that the attempt by a handful of religious fanatics and their Stalinist accomplices to turn the Frankfurt campus into an "Islamic university" will not succeed. Maoist lifer soldiers for U.S. imperialism cannot expect to hide behind claims of "left solidarity" for they are acting as straight-out provocateurs for the class enemy. Like pro-Khomeini Iranian students who last year attempted to disrupt forums sponsored by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League of the U.S., their counterparts in Germany will learn that the voice of authentic Trotskyism *will not be silenced.* ■

Melrose Park, Illinois, to ship scab materials. The union reports that at the Libertyville plant there have been confrontations with riot police and that few of the Landy truckers have escaped without broken windshields. But at the large Melrose Park plant outside Chicago convoys regularly go through under police protection.

Despite this and other forms of intimidation—including injunctions to severely limit pickets, vandalism of the union hall, and a $1,000 fine levied by the city of Melrose Park for the barrel fires which pickets were using to keep warm—members of UAW Local 6 at Melrose Park are spirited and determined. Members of skilled trades unions who were crossing UAW picket lines have been confronted and educated in union solidarity, and sentiment has been building for the kind of mass picketing which stops scabbing cold—such as occurred earlier in the strike when 100 pickets stopped a scab train attempting to enter the plant.

Militant tactics such as immediate mobilization of mass picketing are crucial if the union is to break its deadlock with the company. But the Harvester locals must demand full backup from the UAW International, which is particularly important to undercut the vicious anti-picketing injunctions. Caterpillar *and* John Deere workers must be brought out to reopen their contracts and win the right of voluntary overtime throughout the industry. Solidarity House has no stomach for this kind of class war. As one worker commented at a December 12 demonstration sponsored by the union outside IH headquarters in Chicago, "the International is worried. If we win, they won't be able to say that it's impossible to beat mandatory overtime."

A united rank and file under class-struggle leadership *can* beat the company's takeaways. Caterpillar workers showed the way when they walked out October 1, forcing the International to sanction their wildcat and intersecting the Harvester strike to break the defeatist strategy of one-at-a-time "pattern" bargaining. UAW militants must demand a united fight to win voluntary overtime, jobs for all through a genuine shorter workweek with a big pay boost, and reversal of all current attacks on UAW—not only in the agricultural implement industry but in auto as well! ■

WV Photo

Chicago: Bitter International Harvester strike against forced overtime now enters fourth month.

They All Hailed Khomeini, Now Which Side Are They On?

Lochon/Gamma

AFGHANISTAN, COLD WAR AND THE LEFT

When the Carter administration seized upon Soviet troops in Afghanistan to launch a new Cold War drive, the issue of defense of the USSR against imperialism became posed more sharply and urgently than at any time since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. Once again the "Russian question" has been thrust to the fore as a decisive criterion separating revolutionary Marxists from all the waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressures of the bourgeoisie. Against the chorus denouncing so-called "Soviet aggression" against poor Afghanistan, *Workers Vanguard* headlined, "Hail Red Army!" With thermonuclear war a not-so-remote possibility, we came out unambiguously for the victory of the Soviet army against the reactionary tribal revolt in Afghanistan, and for the defense of the Russian degenerated workers state against imperialism.

The capitulation of much of the left to the hue and cry over Afghanistan has not gone unnoticed by the bourgeoisie, fueling the imperialist war drive. With evident satisfaction the *London Times* of 10 January headlined, "British Left Condemns Intervention by Moscow." And all the media played up denunciations of Moscow's move into Afghanistan emanating from Enrico Berlinguer, Santiago Carrillo and Eurocommunists in the French Communist Party (PCF). After initial hesitation PCF chief Marchais endorsed the Kremlin's policy, but on his return from a fence-mending trip to Moscow nevertheless joined Carrillo and Berlinguer in criticizing the Kremlin's banishment of the traitor Sakharov.

Not unexpectedly, the only Western Stalinist parties to stand at attention were Gus Hall's CPUSA and Alvaro Cunhal's Portuguese CP. In a speech delivered in New York City on January 24, Hall declared that "the decision made three months ago to deploy 572 additional Cruise and Pershing missiles in West Europe—missiles that can reach and obliterate *all* Soviet cities—is nothing but an act of encirclement," which threatens "the very existence of the Soviet Union." It's been a long time since Hall acknowledged that U.S. imperialism poses a threat to the USSR.

Soviet Central Asian soldier fights Islamic reaction in Afghanistan.

Faithfully following the Kremlin line, year-in, year-out the CPUSA has preached liberal pacifism ("détente means jobs," etc.).

Of course, Hall hasn't abandoned the pipe dream of a long-term deal with imperialism, taking heart in the "loud voices among the ruling class who strongly favor peace, détente, increased trade and peaceful coexistence," (read, Teddy Kennedy). And the U.S. Stalinists haven't given up on their petty popular frontism: to counter Carter's campaign of sabotaging the Moscow Olympics the CPUSA now has a group called "Sports for the People," which wants people to write Washington with their slogan, "Let's Play Ball!... and run and swim and jump."

The Maoists, seasoned drummer boys for the Pentagon, are hailing the Afghan reactionaries as "freedom fighters" and urging the U.S. to step up its counterrevolutionary attacks and threats against the USSR. Peking's franchised party here, the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist, (CP-ML), lines up with the extreme right wing of American imperialism, warning in its *Call* of 14 January that "Defense" Secretary Harold Brown was pursuing a "policy of appeasing Soviet expansionism." (Apparently only Dr. Strangelove-Brzezinski will do for them.) And in the *Call* of 28 January, the CP-ML called Carter's retaliatory measures against the USSR, including the grain embargo intended to starve the Russian people, "positive in that they present obstacles to Soviet aggression, which is the main threat currently to world peace."

What Do the Trotskyists Say?

Given the rottenness of the rest of the left on Afghanistan and Carter's renewed Cold War offensive, the emphatic Spartacist line naturally attracted attention. In a survey article, "How U.S. Left Views Afghanistan," the pseudo-independent radical (actually confused ex-Maoist) *Guardian* of 23 January singles out our position:

> "The Trotskyist sect the Spartacist League (SL), never one for half-way measures, outdoes the SWP in support of the Soviet invasion. In one of the year's memorable headlines, the SL's newspaper Workers Vanguard proclaims: 'Hail Red Army!'"

Given the importance of the Russian question and Soviet defensism in the origins of the Fourth International, the naive would expect this to be the standard, almost knee-jerk reaction from people who call themselves Trotskyists. But, scandalously, over the test of Afghanistan, most of them capitulated. Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) came down all over the map, some on opposite sides, others in between, and some taking two, three, many lines within a few weeks' time. The American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which during the Vietnam war refused to call for military victory to North Vietnam, now comes out on the side of the Soviet-backed Kabul regime. On the other side of the factional fence, many of the Mandelites, who formerly uncritically tailed the Vietnamese Stalinists, are today condemning a "Soviet invasion" and weeping over the "national/democratic" rights of the Afghan Islamic rebels.

It's not surprising that the Mandelites, in particular, are unprepared to deal with the issues that are posed over Afghanistan. For the last several years Mandel & Co. have been tailing the Eurocommunists who in turn have tried to duck the issue of Soviet defense by pretending that a military showdown between the U.S. and the Soviet bloc was out of the question. In his latest opus, *Revolutionary Marxism Today* (1979), Mandel parroted this neo-Kautskyan wishful thinking, asserting:

> "I would deny that we are entering a new Cold War situation in which imperialism, more or less allied to Peking, is preparing an aggressive drive against the Soviet Union and in which the Soviet bureaucracy therefore has to defend itself by becoming more 'anti-imperialist'."

Seldom has this fake-Trotskyist impressionist guru been proved more wrong and willfully blind. If the learned professor Mandel were lecturing at the "Free" University in Berlin and NATO missiles were arching overhead on their way to Moscow, no doubt he would then finally announce his discovery that a new Cold War had begun.

Over Afghanistan the main Mandelite groups scandalously demonstrated the aptness of Trotsky's characterization of centrism as "crystallized confusion." The French Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire initially tilted heavily against U.S. imperialism, writing in *Rouge* of 4-10 January: "In this situation, it is a question of opposing all forms of imperialist retaliation against the Soviet state and of condemning the aid which it is providing to the reactionary Islamic guerrillas." But then the Eurocommunists in the PCF began issuing their denunciations of the Soviet intervention and the very next issue of *Rouge* (11-17 January) thundered, "we condemn without reservation the Soviet intervention." The following week *Rouge* decided to split the difference, condemning the intervention but opposing the demand for withdrawal! The LCR's Spanish counterpart managed to do the same trick in a single editorial of its newspaper *Combate*, first attacking Carrillo for "joining the hypocritical imperialist campaign demanding withdrawal of the Soviet troops," but then calling on the Kremlin to "prepare the withdrawal of its troops"!

IMG: Dancing to Carter's Tune

While the French and Spanish Mandelites slipped and slithered around all the hard programmatic positions involved, the British International Marxist Group (IMG) came out with an

openly *counterrevolutionary* line. In the 3 January issue of *Socialist Challenge*, IMG leader Tariq Ali wrote a back-page major line article under the banner headline, "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan!" That just happens to be the main slogan of Margaret Thatcher and Jimmy Carter. It also is the line of the smarmy "state capitalist" British Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff, into which Tariq Ali in particular has been trying to liquidate.

Cliff split from the Trotskyist movement at the time of the Korean war, refusing to defend the deformed workers states against imperialist attack. (When British imperialism sent its troops into Northern Ireland in 1969, however, the Cliffites refused to demand *their* withdrawal.) Considering the origins of the Cliff tendency and the IMG's appetites to broker a grand "far left" regroupment based on the SWP, it seems hardly accidental that the *Socialist Challenge* article on Afghanistan cited above accused Moscow of trying to establish a regime in Kabul modeled after "the Kim Il Sung regime in North Korea."

Evidently this reactionary line ran into some heavy weather in the IMG leadership, for the 17 January *Socialist Challenge* suddenly did a 180-degree about-face:

> "The possibility of a full-scale civil war has now opened up. Socialists will be forced to say which side they support in such a military conflict.
>
> "We dissociate ourselves utterly from the bureaucratic and reactionary motivation behind the Soviet invasion, but in the present situation a call for the immediate withdrawal of troops would be tantamount to being in favor of the victory of the rightist forces and the reversal of any gains by the Afghan workers and peasants in the last decades."

But what about two weeks ago? Nowhere in this editorial is there a word of self-criticism of the IMG's previous line of "Soviet troops out!" For the Pabloists, there is no yesterday, only a tomorrow. Instead of explaining why its line has changed, *Socialist Challenge* simply prints without comment two letters from readers criticizing the Tariq Ali article for "dancing to the tune of the U.S. state department," and "joining the imperialist chorus." Readers are left to wonder *when* and *why* "socialists will be forced to say which side they support."

The IMG tries to duck taking a position in the civil war by denying that "the Islamic guerrillas in the country had definitely proved a serious threat to the government." If ever there was "Third Camp" evasion this is it. But it is hardly original. In the 1939-40 faction fight in the American SWP, over the question of defense of the USSR after Stalin had invaded Poland and "poor little Finland," James Burnham, one of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois opposition, denied that the entry of the Red Army into Poland had sparked a civil war and thereby refused to take sides. In his "Open Letter to Comrade Burnham" Trotsky replied:

> "Your citing the absence of civil war in Finland is only an accidental conjunctural argument. Should the civil war unfold, the opposition will attempt not to notice it, as they tried not to notice it in Poland, or they will declare that inasmuch as the policy of the Moscow bureaucracy is imperialist in character 'we' do not take part in this filthy business."

SWP: No Soviets, No Mullahs

As the most uncritical "Trotskyist" cheerleader of Khomeini's "Islamic revolution" in Iran, it was somewhat unexpected that the American SWP of Jack Barnes should come out for the Soviet-allied Kabul government against the Islamic rebels in Afghanistan. Moreover, in order to square this position with its overall political posture, the SWP is forced to massively deny reality. Thus according to the *Militant* of 18 January, if you think the Afghan tribesmen are "'Muslim rebels' opposed to an 'atheist' regime" you've been duped by "another of Washington's falsifications." Sure, Jack, they're really Zionists, right? Why such an absurd position? Because if the mullah-led forces in Afghanistan are reactionary, then the equally Islamic Khomeinite forces next door in Iran might be considered reactionary too.

The SWP denies that there are any ties between the Afghan rebels and the "Iranian revolution" even though newspapers have reported how the anti-Soviet forces are armed and sheltered in refugee camps just inside the Iranian border. Barnes & Co. go to great lengths to maintain this fiction. Even though the Iranian foreign ministry and now-president Bani-Sadr explicitly condemned Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and solidarized with the Muslim tribesmen, the *Militant* (25 January) piously proclaimed that "Khomeini himself did not speak out against it" (the Soviet action). So what will they say now that the ayatollah himself has broken his silence, denouncing Moscow and pledging Iran's "unconditional support" for the Afghan rebels (*New York Times*, 5 February)? Silence is probably their best refuge.

And these social-democratic fake-Trotskyists go to the point of absurdity to duck the Russian question. In the same 18 January *Militant* article cited above, the SWP states baldly, "the issue is not Soviet intervention...." Is that so? Is the SWP going to tell us that Carter and Brzezinski are going to launch a new Cold War drive simply because the radical-nationalist Kabul regime sought to implement some reforms—and the presence of 80,000 or so Soviet troops is irrelevant? We say victory to the Soviet Army against the CIA-backed reactionaries; the SWP, which doesn't want to get too far away from the Democratic Party "doves," denies it is an issue. Likewise, over the Chinese invasion of Soviet-allied Vietnam in early 1979 the SWP denied that defense of the USSR was involved in any way.

WSL: Hullabaloo Over Self-Determination

Of the sundry centrist grouplets who claim to oppose the USec's Pabloist revisionism from the left, almost all raise a heart-rending cry about "violation of the Afghan right of self-determination" by the Soviet intervention. Typical in this respect is an article entitled "For an Independent Soviet Afghanistan" appearing in *Socialist Press*, the newspaper of the British Workers Socialist League (WSL):

> "We *condemn* the invasion of Afghanistan, which involves trampling under foot the national rights of the peoples of Afghanistan, and which will blacken the name of Communism in the eyes of the multi-millioned Muslim masses of the East, impeding the struggle for socialist revolution." [original emphasis]

To distinguish its line from the scandalous IMG position (see above), the WSL throws in a few words about "critical support" to the Soviet Army against imperialism, but this is purely formal and empty.

To be sure, Trotskyists recognize the right of self-determination for all nations. But whom does this apply to in Afghanistan—the dominant Pathans? And what of the Tadzhiks, the most urbanized, with close relatives on the Soviet side of the border? Or the Baluchis, who spill into Pakistan and Iran. Etc., etc. The meaning of the demand for Afghan "self-determination" is completely obscure in this case, and is intended to portray the USSR as an imperialist aggressor, against which backward nations or even semi-nations must be defended. In the civil war in Afghanistan the minuscule proletariat together with the radical-nationalist petty bourgeoisie allied with Moscow are pitted against the clerical-reactionary forces supported by the CIA, Khomeini, Pakistan's General Zia and the Maoist bureaucracy in Peking. It is a question of preventing the victory of counterrevolutionary forces and the

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In the Camp of Khomeini and the CIA

Morenoites Call For Counterrevolution in USSR

Of all the groups which lay claim to Trotskyism, the most grotesque response to recent events in Iran and Afghanistan has come from the Bolshevik Faction (BF) of Nahuel Moreno, exiled leader of the Argentine PST. A year ago, like most of the left, Moreno wildly cheered the victory of Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalist "revolution" against the butcher shah. Today the Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International—a rotten bloc between the BF and followers of Pierre Lambert's French OCI—joins Jimmy Carter in demanding immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. It even calls for military support to the Islamic rebels jointly backed by Khomeini and the Pentagon.

But the Morenoites go further still. In the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) the BF postured as the far left wing, sharply criticizing capitulation to Eurocommunism and to CIA-supported causes in Portugal and Angola. Over Nicaragua they parade as heroic guerrillas, vaunting their now-defunct Simón Bolívar Brigade. Now, however, the gang of Morenoite political *bandoleros* suddenly calls for extending Khomeini-brand Islamic counterrevolution to the Soviet Union! Here is what their Italian group, the Lega Socialista Rivoluzionaria (LSR), has to say about the Afghanistan crisis:

> "The counterrevolutionary Kremlin bureaucracy is discrediting itself by a criminal action against the Afghan people, trampling its right to independence, intervening on its territory without any justification. Defense against external action was not the motive in telling the USSR to intervene, but, on the contrary, an obvious attempt to reinforce its own control, to maintain the status quo in the area shaken by revolutionary ferment. The possibility of extending the Iranian revolution within the borders of the USSR is what terrorizes the Kremlin bureaucracy. The Soviet border populations, tied to those in Iran and Afghanistan by religious, cultural and racial ties, can be infected by the radicalization of the area, can become protagonists in an anti-bureaucratic mobilization within the workers state, laying the basis for a political revolution. This is what the bureaucracy is afraid of, this is why the USSR intervened."
>
> —*Avanzata Proletaria*, 12 January

DPA

Feudalist insurgents kill Communist school teacher.

Moreno & Co. are evidently trying to rival the Maoists and Carter's super-hawk Brzezinski in seeking to mobilize the Khomeiniite Muslim fanatics against Russia!

This is no isolated "excess" by the Italian Morenoites. The Bolshevik Faction Declaration/Platform hailed the triumph of Islamic clerical reaction: "the Iranian revolution...has been the most spectacular example of an upsurge to be seen in recent years." And the Argentine PST proclaimed that the

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Fed Up...

(continued from page 1)

of China's arsenal. And now Carter's diplomatic blitzkrieg: grain embargo, official Olympic boycott, export ban, cultural freeze. And the cascading rhetoric of war: plans for a rapid deployment force, a draft registration and sky-high budget for the Pentagon. The Russians are made fair game as détente deals, Aeroflot jets and promised grain are stranded by Carter's Cold War rampage.

Zbigniew Brzezinski stands at the Khyber Pass rifle in hand on February 3, and thinks of Poland and Russia, of war and history. For a lifetime it seemed he had pushed and prepared for this war drive against Russia, and now with Jimmy Carter he was leading it. Surrounded by Pakistani tribesmen Brzezinski "jokes," posing for history: "It'll be a historic photo. Three weeks before the march on Kabul" (*New York Times*, February 4). Along the border he is hailed by reactionary Afghan rebels. Brzezinski gestures theatrically toward the mountains and reassures them: "That land over there is yours and you will go back one day because your cause is right and God is on your side."

So in the mountains between Pakistan and Afghanistan, reactionary Afghan Islamic tribesmen hail Brzezinski whose direct target is Russia. They know where their arms are coming from. As revolutionaries, we are on the other side in this war in Afghanistan. We say: "Hail Red Army!" (see *WV* No. 248, 25 January), and we defend the Soviet Union against imperialism. For their part, the Russians have good cause to be fed up with the war drive at the White House. As the U.S. pushes for a nuclear confrontation with the Russians their very existence is threatened. But this war course was set before the invasion of Afghanistan, and the players who matter in this possible end game understand this very well. Carter's Cold War could turn hydrogen-hot in a hurry.

Without Afghanistan political excuses, Olympic diplomatic stunts or peace bravado, Leonid Brezhnev has pointed to the trip wires for nuclear war: China and Western Europe. Last week the British *Daily Mail* released a report of a Moscow meeting between Brezhnev and the head of the French National Assembly, Gaullist deputy Jacques Chaban-Delmas. Brezhnev pounded his desk again and again as he warned: "Believe me, after the destruction of Chinese nuclear sites by our missiles, there won't be much time for the Americans to choose between the defense of their Chinese allies and peaceful co-existence with us" (*New York Times*, 30 January). We believe him. And so should America. Old and sick, but not crazy, Brezhnev issued a reasonable ultimatum in his stormy desk pounding.

Russia "would not tolerate" the nuclear arming of China by the U.S. How can they? As early as 1978 Brezhnev said that "playing the China card" was a "short-sighted and dangerous policy" that the U.S. would regret. During the failed China invasion of Vietnam, it became obvious that not only was the U.S.-China anti-Soviet alliance sealed in Vietnamese blood, but also that Russia might have to knock out the Chinese missiles: It is simply too dangerous for the Russians if U.S. doomsday machinery is placed in the hands of the Chinese. For the Russians playing the China card is no diplomatic game; it is a matter of life and death. China is trip wire one.

On the other side West Europe is now armed with new missiles, missiles that Brezhnev was given to believe might be aborted under SALT II. With all the deliberateness of a cornered man, Brezhnev explained the problem: "There are now 30 minutes between the American missiles and our own. We cannot accept that this delay be reduced to 6 minutes by new American missiles in Germany." Simple. The timing of assured retaliation is all. When the missiles go off in Germany aimed straight for all of the Soviets' major cities, the Russians need time to respond in kind. And to live with even relative security they need to know that the U.S. imperialists know they have that time. Military security is measured in minutes, even seconds. West Europe is trip wire two.

The U.S. imperialists have a dangerous habit of assuming that every government is as cynically full of bluff and bluster as its own. We recall that when the Chinese felt threatened by U.S. forces in Korea, they warned that if the U.S. troops came up to the Yalu River (the site of vital hydroelectric facilities), the Chinese would be forced to enter the war to push the U.S. back. This warning was dismissed by MacArthur and others as so much communist propaganda and oriental exoticism. But when the U.S. forces reached the Yalu, the Chinese kept their promise.

U.S. imperialism has not been very good at guessing the responses of governments and people under the gun of imperialism, nor at estimating consequences. The people of Hanoi were not demoralized by constant bombing, and the Russians will not turn against their bureaucratic leadership because Carter wants to deprive them of more meat in their diet through his grain boycott. The contrary is assured. It is aggressive, insulting stupidity which believes that the defenders of Leningrad will knuckle under to Carter's intimidation and threats. As one recent American visitor to the USSR noted in a letter to the *New York Times*, Carter doesn't understand the Russians—a "tough and unpampered people."

At last Afghanistan is getting into proper perspective. All the squawking about national sovereignty for "poor little Afghanistan" is designed to whip up a "Hate Russia, Fear Russia" siege mentality. (Afghanistan, after all, is a state and not a nation. And just when did the sanctity of state boundaries begin?) Even important sections of bourgeois opinion internationally and in the U.S. have become visibly worried about the danger of Carter's military provocations and his Afghanistan rationale for them.

George Kennan, in a significant "op ed" article in the *New York Times* (1 February, "Washington's Reaction to the Afghan Crisis: Was This Really Mature Statesmanship?"), worries openly about Carter's reaction to the Afghanistan invasion, "revealing a disquieting lack of balance.... A war atmosphere has been created." And over what? Over Afghanistan? Carter has said that the Afghanistan crisis is the most serious since World War II and is setting about to make this otherwise fake estimation a fact. Kennan takes the temperature of the war fever in Washington:

> "Never since World War II has there been so far-reaching a militarization of thought and discourse in the capital. An unsuspecting stranger, plunged into its midst, could only conclude that the last hope of peaceful, nonmilitary solutions had been exhausted—that from now on only weapons, however used, could count."

Kennan is no "unsuspecting stranger" to Washington Cold War policy. He unquestionably speaks for much of bourgeois opinion when he cautions against Carter's "strident public warnings" to military action:

> "We are now in the danger zone. I can think of no instance in modern history where such a breakdown of political communication and such a triumph of unrestrained military suspicions as now marks Soviet-American relations has not led, in the end, to armed conflict."

Afghanistan, Kennan points out, "is, after all, a border country of the Soviet Union." Recalling the spheres of influence that have been in effect at least since World War II (and in the case of Russia and Afghanistan considerably longer), he writes that the invasion may suggest "defensive rather than offensive impulses." Yet in Carter's "distorted" view of Soviet ambitions Afghanistan is just the first domino in a takeover throughout Southwest Asia.

Cold Wars I, II and Always

When George Kennan characterizes Carter's saber-wielding policies as "immature" in his *Times* note for post-holocaust historians, he must do so with a heavy touch of personal irony. For it was the young George Kennan who 32 years ago—in his less "mature" persona as "Mr. X"—provided the ideological framework and even the vocabulary for Truman's Cold War doctrine of "containment." Kennan argued that the Soviets could be "contained" only by "the adroit and vigilant application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points" (quoted in Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War*). More recently Kennan has claimed he never meant this to be translated into the Truman Doctrine and that in any case he has learned his lesson. He now wants to instruct Jimmy Carter before it's too late.

The echoes of the Truman Doctrine were deafening in Carter's January 23 speech, and were probably consciously intended. On 12 March 1947 Truman demanded that "every nation must choose between alternative ways of life" and said it was America's responsibility "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures." Both Truman's and Carter's speeches are a bugle call to fight Communism with military "counterforce." The Truman speech centers on the eastern Mediterranean, Carter's on the Persian Gulf, but both divide the world neatly into American and Russian camps, demanding a wildly increased military budget and new military aid to America's allies against the Soviets.

No wonder there has been so much media comparison of Carter's line to that of the late '40s and early '50s, and so much talk of "Cold War II." Indeed a whiff of the stench of McCarthyism does seem to be blowing out of Washington, as the government whips up a new chauvinist hysteria—canceled passports, deportation of "aliens," a growing demand in Congress and editorial boardrooms to get the post-Watergate restraints off the CIA/FBI. The post-war witchhunt in the U.S. was not merely a reflex action in accordance with international policy. The Cold War "general staff" was worried not only about France and Italy but also Communist influence in the trade-union movement at home.

Like the Truman Doctrine, the Carter Doctrine was meant to mobilize public opinion by portraying the government's anti-Soviet strategy as an immediate crisis. For Truman the "crisis" was Greece; for Carter, Afghanistan. Truman's global mission for U.S. imperialism confronted a semi-isolationist public; he couldn't even get his peacetime draft through Congress. Carter faced the "Vietnam Syndrome." It was only the anger aroused by the seizure of embassy hostages in Teheran which allowed this syndrome of anti-government suspicion to be combatted and the reflexive jingoist backlash triggered by the Iranian mullahs redirected against the anti-mullah Russian intervention in Afghanistan.

But the problem with comparisons between Truman's and Carter's Cold War doctrines is that for anyone who knows anything about the world since 1947 (Kennan included), what is most important is the difference between the periods—not so much of tone or anti-Communist appetite, or even of method, but of objective historical possibility.

When Truman announced his plan for a global assault on Communism, U.S. imperialism had only just come out of World War II as the hegemonic economic and political power. British imperialism had collapsed in fundamental ways in the Mediterranean and the U.S. was taking its place. The U.S. was so dominant economically that it was able to set up and maintain a relatively stable capitalist economy, with the dollar pegged to gold as the reserve currency. The Truman Doctrine therefore had as one of its goals the suppression of Communism (and all leftism) in Europe, particularly France and Italy, while it engineered the re-emergence of Germany and Japan as part of an anti-Soviet alliance. In short, U.S. imperialism was unchallenged among the imperialists, and it set about the business of establishing the "American Century"—an American-led capitalist world economy.

But the American Century lasted only some twenty years. In the period since the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine, the U.S. has slipped from a position of unchallenged authority to merely the most powerful of rival imperialists. This was signaled in 1971 when Nixon unhooked the dollar and let it float against other currencies. Today even schoolchildren understand that the price of gold (just now at $680) reflects increasing centrifugal economic instability, posing the probability of increasing economic nationalism, trade wars, depression.

Business Week (21 January) put the problem of Carter's Cold War II strategy succinctly:

> "Behind the seismic shift away from the dollar lies this fact: While the U.S. is now striving to rearm itself and rebuild the Western political alliance to fight a second cold war with the Russians, the country by itself cannot again muster the financial strength with which it fought the first cold war.
>
> "...the world economy has become too decentralized ever to return to the old dollar-dominated monetary order—even under the guise of a reinvigorated American leadership fighting a new cold war. The U.S. must now depend on Europe and Japan to help it fight the new cold war, and it is not at all certain that they will agree to a new crusade."

Indeed, Carter's attempt to re-create U.S. hegemony runs smack up against the economic interests of other imperialist nations, thus heightening those very dangerous rivalries. For all of its arm-twisting, the U.S. thus far has encountered stiff resistance from its European allies. Helmut Schmidt, for example, knows perfectly well that Russia is not about to start a war in Europe. And the Germans, Japanese and French have considerable trade with the Soviet bloc. Only Margaret Thatcher, the iron maiden of Britain—which trades very little with Russia (and at a deficit)—has gone along enthusiastically with Carter's demand to "get Russia" because of Afghanistan. The attitude is summed up by a West German newspaper headline: "Berlin is more important than Kabul." Who can doubt it?

Imperialist defeat in Vietnam was the watershed in the decline of U.S. power. The attempts to lure the Russians into "disarmament" deals advantageous to imperialism in the name of détente were based on a perception of that weakness. The Nixon Doctrine of 1969, for instance, which focused on the Far East, based its strategic policy on U.S. imperialism's ability to fight Russia in one large-scale and one small-scale war simultaneously. But the Nixon Doctrine held that Russian influence could be contested effectively by regional butchers allied to and supplied by the U.S. The prime example was the shah of Iran, and when he fell, so did the Nixon Doctrine. The Carter Doctrine therefore proposes to replace this reliance on regional warlords with U.S. power directly. This means that the U.S. must be quicker to use nuclear weapons—for instance where the U.S. is 7,000 miles away and the Russians are across the border. It is no surprise that a recently released

Pentagon report (prepared before the Afghanistan invasion) calls for the use of "tactical nuclear weapons" in the Persian Gulf.

In one sense there has been a Cold War since 1917. What is new and dangerous is the Carter/Brzezinski attempt to regain the unquestioned domination of the world by threatening nuclear war with Russia. After decades of ethical-existential baloney about the "unthinkable" use of nuclear weapons, some Americans will ask: Would the U.S. rulers really drop nuclear bombs merely to gain perceived political advantage over the Russians? Isn't such a Cold War holocaust precisely the unthinkable? Unfortunately, it is not only eminently thinkable; it has already happened.

It has been known for some time that the decision to atom-bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not a matter of forcing the military defeat of Japan. The Japanese had already tried to surrender. The relevant memoirs of the central actors of the time confirm that the atomic bomb and its rush to completion were geared to "impress" the Russians, who were poised to invade Manchuria and North China. The bomb was meant to keep them from asserting influence in the Far East.

In this sense, the decision to drop the bomb was already made at Potsdam when Truman mentioned the "secret weapon" in a calculated private comment to Stalin. And the Russians understood what it meant. On August 6 the U.S. bombed Hiroshima. On August 8 the Russians invaded Manchuria. On August 10 Truman bombed Nagasaki. As General Grove indicated in his directives, they dropped two bombs because they had only two bombs in their arsenal. If they had had four, they would have dropped four.

The most politically perceptive statement on this historic event was made by Nobel prize-winning British physicist P.M.S. Blackett, who wrote that this fiery death for the Japanese civilians "was not so much the last military act of the Second World War as the first major operation of the cold diplomatic war with Russia" (quoted in Bert Cochran, *Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency*).

Nuts in the White House...

This policy of macho gestures as a response to growing economic decay has the leadership it deserves. The question of political personality is obviously an important matter for men who do business with one another over the "hotline." But Marxists are also interested in political personality, centering for the reasons that Trotsky cites in his *History of the Russian Revolution* on "those traits of character which... throw a sharp light on the interrelation of personality and the objective factors of history."

Brezhnev has observed that the Cold War policies of the Carter administration seem a matter of "emotional outburst" and this makes the U.S. "an absolutely unreliable partner in interstate ties...capable at any moment of violating its international obligations" (*New York Times*, 13 January). The accuracy of this appraisal is apparent. Even on the level of diplomatic horse trades by UN representatives the U.S. has the reliability of a horse thief. As a vote on the UN Security Council was about to be taken on December 31 calling for release of the American hostages in Iran, even a *New York Times* (1 January) reporter assumed a "deal" had been struck in which the Soviets would withhold their veto and the U.S. "would look the other way over Afghanistan." The UN representative for the USSR dutifully withheld his veto, but like its other promises sealed with a kiss over SALT II, the U.S. had no intention of keeping pledges to the Russians. One week later the U.S. representative introduced a resolution to condemn the Soviet Union over Afghanistan.

The personal instability of Jimmy Carter reflects precisely this desire to act like a tough guy. During the Iran crisis, Carter simply could not abide appearing weak. But he *is* weak and cynical. The weak man who imagines he is strong can be quite mad—and very dangerous—if he happens to command megadeath hydrogen bombs. As Willie Carter put it recently on national TV upon his release from prison, "Uncle Jimmie is the most dangerous man in the world." Along with "Uncle Jimmie" is Zbigniew Brzezinski, who has always been for everything anti-Russian. And accompanying Brzezinski in Pakistan is a new sinister star in the Cold War firmament, Colonel William Odom of the National Security Council, once scorned as the "Brzezinski's Brzezinski," busy stomping on pockets of bureaucratic resistance to the Cold War measures.

The increasing instability of the capitalist world finds its expression in an increasingly unstable Jimmy Carter who wishes to impose a new Truman Doctrine on a world where the share of U.S. manufactures is less than a half and the value of the dollar less than one-third what it was in 1948. On a qualitatively smaller scale he can be compared to all the rulers throughout history who, as Trotsky says, see rainbows as they drown. And they do see them. Carter's vision of a Soviet Union with a master plan to take over the world through the Khyber Pass may seem to saner men quite nutty, or only an election scheme. But the problem is worse than that.

Of course, there has been a rush to stake out a less strident foreign policy, with Ted Kennedy leading the pack. Kennedy tries to surround Carter on all sides politically by blaming him for being too soft on the Russians in the past and too hard now. Recognizing that Carter is not being particularly responsible even from a capitalist perspective, Kennedy wants to pose as a more consistent, less frantic warrior against the Soviet Union.

In many ways Carter's unpopular "crisis of confidence" speech last July, which unsuccessfully tried to sell "austerity" to the American people, was a more accurate reflection of the position of U.S. imperialism in the world than his new Doctrine. From the U.S. side the policies labeled "détente" were based on a recognition of increased weakness, especially resulting from the long drawn-out defeat in Vietnam. This was associated with a mood of bourgeois pessimism.

Through détente the conservative bureaucrats in the Kremlin allowed the imperialist ruling class time to attack and erode the "Vietnam syndrome," the widespread resistance to military adventurism under the banner of the anti-Communist crusade. If America's rulers once again swagger and act as if the future is theirs, the Stalinists acquiescently believe that capitalism will more and more become circumscribed and finally die more or less peacefully. This is part of the ideological rationale behind peaceful coexistence. It is the political role of Stalinism then to stabilize this decaying capitalist system. Since the division of the world after World War II it has been a policy of the Russians to respect "spheres of influence."

The Stalinists in the Kremlin bought their sphere of influence at the price of literally disarming and sabotaging the possibilities of proletarian revolutions in Europe after World War II. And their policies of class collaboration have not deviated from that disastrous course. Thus politically, both the Kremlin bureaucrats and those in Washington fear proletarian revolution. For the capitalists revolution would mean the end of their economic and social system of class rule. For the Stalinists it means being swept away in a political revolution. But despite the Stalinists' illusions and the fathomless appetites to conciliate imperialism, the capitalists still have a need to reconquer the deformed workers states for capitalism. For working-class revolutionaries, the Carter Doctrine poses the Russian question pointblank.

In particular it objectively poses the question of proletarian revolution in America or the mobilization of a war against Russia. When Engels said that ultimately the choices for humanity would be between socialism or barbarism, he did not have in mind the dramatic possibilities of nuclear war. But contemporary history is presented

continued on page 10

UPI

Brzezinski at the Khyber: Poland on his mind, Russia in his sights.

Resolutely Denounce Maoist Running Dogs of Carter/Brzezinski!

The most enthusiastic "left" cheerleaders for Carter's new Cold War, hate-Russia crusade are predictably the Maoists. They have, after all, had years of practice championing the atrocities of Peking's anti-Soviet right-wing allies. For those who defended Bandaranaike's massacre of the 1971 Ceylonese youth uprising and the CIA-backed South African invasion of Angola in 1975, apologies for the reactionary Afghan rebels are just one more service on behalf of China's counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism. Yet there are reports that the unambiguously barbaric character of Peking's newfound friends in the Afghan hills has given some of these self-styled "Marxist Leninists" queasy stomachs and second thoughts.

As usual, Michael Klonsky's Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) is flatfootedly plodding along behind the current gang of bureaucrats in the Forbidden City. Unusually, however, the CP-ML felt it necessary to polemicize over this issue with "Trotskyites," including the Spartacist League. Slanderously asserting that "part of Trotsky's ultra-'leftism'" was a call for Soviet military conquest of Europe, *Call* hack Carl Davidson made the following dishonest argument:

> "This view of 'exporting revolution' was blasted by both Lenin and Stalin as ridiculously and dangerously adventuristic, even at a time when the Soviet Union was revolutionary. Now, some 60 years later and long after the Soviet Union has become a reactionary imperialist superpower, the Trotskyites are beside themselves with glee, apparently believing that today's Soviet expansionism is at last vindicating the views of their hero.
>
> "The Spartacist League, a minor Trotskyite sect, gave the best example of this with a banner headline declaring, 'Hail the Red Army!'"

It is tiresome, but necessary when answering such inveterate liars as the Trot-baiter Davidson, to recall simple facts, such as that before the consummation of the Soviet bureaucracy's political counterrevolution in 1924, not only Lenin but even Stalin opposed the anti-Marxist doctrine of "socialism in one country." Moreover, they strongly favored the "export" of the Russian Revolution. When, in 1918, Lenin polemicized with Bolshevik ultralefts against an immediate Red Army offensive against the European capitalists, it was not over a difference of principle. "If there should be a revolution in Germany now," he wrote, "then it would be our duty to go to war even at the risk of losing" (quoted in Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism*).

But for pro-Peking Stalinists it would probably be more relevant to recall that some years ago Mao himself ordered the "export" of the Chinese revolution... *to Tibet*. The weight of the forces involved and the global consequences of that extension of the Chinese deformed workers state were different than in the present Afghan civil war. But the class character of the opposing forces was remarkably similar.

In March of 1959 feudal landlords, armed monks and rebellious tribesmen staged a revolt in Lhasa proclaiming the independence of Tibet. Peking rushed troops into Lhasa, and the uprising was suppressed in less than a week. Thousands of Buddhist monks, landlords, usurers and similar social refuse followed the Dalai Lama into exile in India and Nepal. The Chinese bureaucracy used this military intervention to break the power of the lamaseries and to implement much-needed reforms in this appallingly backward "Shangri-la." To ensure their hold Peking promoted massive Chinese immigration into Tibet and systematically imposed Han-chauvinist policies.

If one were to accept Davidson's liberal prejudices, then the Chinese military intervention to suppress the reactionary uprising would have to be condemned as "expansionist" and a denial of "independence for the Tibetan people." But Trotkyists regard this extension of the gains of the Chinese revolution, deformed as they are by Stalinist bureaucratic rule, as historically progressive. ■

Fed Up...

(continued from page 9)

with just such a choice. At its national convention in 1946 the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party adopted a document written by its national chairman, James P. Cannon, entitled, "Theses on the American Revolution." The document was revolutionary in its thrust and spirit, although it misjudged the conjunctural ability of U.S. capitalism (with the help of the Stalinists and social democrats) to emerge as the unchallenged force in "an American century." But we intend that its prediction on the Russian question and American revolution will prove to have been merely premature:

"The impending economic paroxyms must, under the existing conditions, pass inexorably into the social and political crisis of American capitalism, posing in its course pointblank the question of who shall be the master in the land. In their mad drive to conquer and enslave the entire world, the American monopolists are today preparing war against the Soviet Union. This war program, which may be brought to a head by a crisis or the fear of a crisis at home, will meet with incalculable obstacles and difficulties. A war will not solve the internal difficulties of American imperialism but will rather sharpen and complicate them. Such a war will meet with fierce resistance not only by the peoples of the USSR, but also by the European and colonial masses who do not want to be the slaves of Wall Street. At home the fiercest resistance will be generated. Wall Street's war drive, aggravating the social crisis, may under certain conditions actually precipitate it. In any case, another war will not cancel out the socialist alternative to capitalism but only pose it more sharply.

"The workers' struggle for power in the U.S. is not a perspective of a distant and hazy future but the realistic program of our epoch." ■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 7)

defense of the Soviet Union pointblank.

Parity Committee: Counter-Revolution Down the Line

Surely the most despicable reaction to the Afghanistan crisis among ostensible Trotskyists, however, comes from the "Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International." The Parity Committee includes followers of flamboyant Latin American Trotskyoid honcho Nahuel Moreno and the more staid social-democratic French OCI headed by Pierre Lambert. Recently posing as militantly orthodox Trotskyists over Nicaragua, on Afghanistan the Lambertist/Morenoite bloc nakedly capitulates to imperialism. Where other pseudo-Trotskyist groups talk vaguely of violated "rights" of Afghanistan, a Parity Committee statement published in the OCI's *Informations Ouvrières* (19-26 January) does so in a particularly evocative way: "Using all the means of its colossal power against a small nation, the ruling bureaucracy detours the masses engaged in struggle against imperialism." Shades of Burnham/Shachtman on poor little democratic Finland vs. the Russian behemoth!

And where the IMG calls for Soviet troops out, the Parity Committee goes Tariq Ali one better: it calls for military support to the Islamic rebels!

> "If it were a question of aiding the struggle of the Afghan people to realize their national and social aspirations in opposition to imperialism, the rulers of the USSR would only have to order their troops to leave their arms in the hands of the Afghan mass revolutionary movement."

Naturally, Lambert/Moreno also deny that the rebels are reactionary at all:

> "The revolutionary wave born in Iran could only have destabilizing effects in Afghanistan. If religion can be taken up as an element of national affirmation, the movement which allowed the rebellion to develop against the central power is not—any more than in Iran—a 'religious' movement. It is part of the totality of the mobilization of the masses in this region...."

But even this is nothing compared to the Morenoite wing of this unnatural combination, whose Italian supporters have now called for extending Khomeini's clerical-feudalist movement *into the Soviet Union*—an open call for Islamic counterrevolution to overthrow the conquests of the October Revolution (see accompanying article)!

Iran and Afghanistan have become the acid test for those who claim the heritage of Leon Trotsky. Those who seek to flee from the obligatory defense of the Soviet Union at the crucial moment find that they are indeed marching to Carter's battle hymn. To them we reply in the words of J.P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism: "We always said the moment of danger will find the Fourth Internationalists at their posts defending the conquests of the great revolution without ceasing for a moment our struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Now that the hour of danger is at hand...it would be very strange if the Fourth International should renege on its oft-repeated pledge." Hail Red Army—Against Islamic reaction in Afghanistan and Iran! No to Carter's war drive! ■

UCASSH Needs Cash

The suit of phone worker militant Jane Margolis against the U.S. Secret Service—who dragged her off the Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention floor last summer to prevent her from criticizing Jimmy Carter—is rapidly gaining notice and support in the West Coast labor movement. The battle being waged by the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) has scored gains in the past few weeks. The Margolis suit, which has already received the backing of locals and officers of the CWA in several cities, was recently endorsed by the Executive Board of Local 1412 of the United Electrical Workers, the Pasadena, California local of the National Association of Letter Carriers and the State Executive Board of Local 535 of the Service Employees International Union. The National Lawyers Guild has also added its support to the case.

In endorsing the UCASSH campaign, Hilding Martinson, business agent of United Electrical Workers Local 1412 in Oakland, said that the Secret Service's ham-fisted repression brought to mind the anti-labor witchhunts of the McCarthyite '50s. Executive Board members of Teamsters Local 9 in the Bay Area told UCASSH supporters that they were not surprised by the Secret Service's mugging of Margolis because their own local union is currently suing the FBI for illegal breaking and entry! Numerous rank-and-file unionists canvassed by UCASSH have proved to be already familiar with, and supportive of, the suit against government harassment of the labor movement.

When Carter's secret police dragged Margolis, an elected delegate from CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco, off the floor of her own union's convention to prevent her from denouncing Carter's anti-labor policies, they committed an outrage against the entire labor movement. Funds for this case are urgently needed, and opponents of government repression against the unions are asked to send donations to: Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment, P.O. Box 12324, San Francisco, CA 94112. ■

Greensboro...

(continued from page 12)

The preachers could not succeed in re-creating the old liberal Civil Rights movement in part because its targets, the formal/legal structure of Jim Crow, have been largely dismantled, but also because even the marginal social gains of the 1960s are now being rapidly wiped out. For the masses of ghetto blacks, North and South, no strategy which fails to challenge the economic basis of racism in capitalist America can provide an answer to their oppression. Meanwhile, the resurgence of the Klan and random murder of black youths by kill-crazy cops underline why blacks cannot rely on the bourgeois state.

The liberal civil rights program is manifestly bankrupt, yet even the most militant of the black ministers do not transcend it. In an interview with *WV*, Rev. Ben Chavis recalled that the Wilmington Ten "went to prison because we defended ourselves against the Ku Klux Klan attack on a black church." However, politically Chavis seeks only to pressure the Democrats and the capitalist government. "I'm calling for a ban of the Klan," he said, "but a people's ban of the Klan." This simply echoes SCLC and CP appeals to those racist "guardians of law and order" who managed to absent themselves so conveniently from the Morningside Homes housing project in Greensboro that tragic day in November.

As for the CWP, this Mao-Stalinist cult-sect and its crazed adventurism will not be around long. With their martyrs they have now momentarily been able to attract a following among militants opposed to the pacifism of the SCLC and its reformist lapdogs. But the CWP has no program for power. Its ostentatious gun-toting is empty posturing: chanting "Death to the Klan," five of their members were slain November 3 while the KKKers got away without a scratch. Meanwhile they flip-flop wildly between extreme sectarianism—in past months physically attacking other left groups, particularly the Spartacist League, who sought to mount protests against the murder of their comrades—and CP-style popular-frontist unity mongering.

The bravado of such small groups is dangerously adventurist. Genuine communists—the Trotskyists—fight for a program linking the struggle for black liberation to the power of organized labor, the only social force capable of *smashing* the fascist terrorists. In North Carolina, where only 7 percent of the workforce is organized, the struggle against the KKK must be linked to the struggle to break the open shops and organize the South. In this context the present Teamsters and ACTWU organizing drives in North Carolina are urgent. It is notable that four of the CWP victims of Klan terror were unionists trying to organize textile mills and hospitals in this notorious "right-to-work" state.

At today's march a team of *Workers Vanguard* salesmen distributed more than 800 copies of *WV* along with 1000 special supplements telling the story of a November 10 labor/black demonstration in Detroit to fight KKK terror. After the Greensboro massacre some 500 predominantly black workers and Trotskyists of the Spartacist League rallied to proclaim, "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City." In particular the November 10 rally was marked by the participation of black and white workers from the giant Ford River Rouge factory who had recently driven KKK-hooded foremen out of the plant. This demonstration pointed the way forward to mobilizing the power of the unions—the real answer to fascist attacks.

Greensboro or Detroit—this is the alternative facing those who would stamp out the night-riding killers once and for all. ■

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Militant Seamen Say:

"Stop the Anti-Soviet Boycott! Keep 'Em Sailing!"

Jimmy Carter's revival of the Cold War has unleashed a wave of social patriotism in the American working class. Most recently, Teamster ground crews have stranded an Aeroflot jet at New York's JFK airport, while the anti-Communist leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) has declared a total embargo of all Soviet trade. Even liberal bureaucrats like Steelworker Ed Sadlowski have lined up solidly behind Carter's policies in the Persian Gulf.

However, this anti-Soviet mobilization has not gone unanswered in the labor movement. We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) of the National Maritime Union (NMU). The M-SC also introduced a resolution at the January 28 New York port meeting of the NMU opposing the ILA's anti-Soviet boycott. Although the NMU bureaucrats ganged up to defeat the motion, a Caucus spokesman told *WV* that the M-SC was successful in achieving a rare united front against this anti-working-class boycott. A member of the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), which is supported by the reformist Communist Party (CP), introduced his speech by noting that this was the first time in years that he was giving his wholehearted support to an M-SC resolution!

The NMU provides a classic example of the fruits of Cold War witchhunting. Once controlled by the CP, it became a bastion of anti-Communism following World War II when NMU president Joe Curran deserted his Stalinist allies and launched a vicious red purge, driving hundreds of militants out of the union. This paved the way for three decades of shameless collaboration with the bosses. Once the most powerful of the seamen's unions, the NMU today is but a shadow of its former self.

The efforts of militants in the NMU, the West Coast longshoremen (ILWU) and in other unions to combat the labor bureaucracy's vicious anti-Soviet poisons are crucial in the fight for genuine class-struggle unionism.

* * * * *

—BEACON *SUPPLEMENT NO. 105, 28 JANUARY 1980*

Last week longshore union leader Teddy Gleason predictably jumped on President Carter's anti-Soviet bandwagon and called for a boycott of all cargo to the Soviet Union because of the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan. American trade unionists must oppose this reactionary boycott and the war hysteria being drummed up behind it.

Why All the Fuss About Afghanistan

The propaganda being whipped up by the big-business press about the "national rights" of Afghanistan is pure bull. The rebels Carter supports want a backward Islamic state like their ally Khomeini in Iran. The rebellion began when the Afghani government tried to implement democratic reforms including abolishing the bride price by which women are sold like cattle and men have to pay the mullahs in order to have human sexual relations; cancelling the debts of poor villagers; redistributing land, much of it owned by the mullahs, the Islamic priests; and initiating a literacy drive. Those who rant about the Soviet army trampling on democratic rights are supporting Muslim tribesmen whose goal it is to keep women in veils, beat anyone who takes a drink, and ban music. Most of us in this union hall would be locked up under such a reactionary Islamic regime! The rebels are even murdering schoolteachers in a country which is 95% illiterate. The issue for workers is which side represents social progress—the Soviet-supported Afghani reform government or the Muslim fanatics. If the present Afghani government, which overthrew the old monarchy, and its Soviet allies win, it may not be paradise, but at least the country will be brought into the twentieth century.

Jimmy Carter doesn't give a damn about the "human rights" of Afghanis or Iranians. His target is the Soviet Union. He is willing to support any anti-communist dictator, whether it be the crazy Khomeini or the murderous Shah, who will line up against the Soviets. If Carter does intervene militarily in Iran, it will only be to keep the Persian Gulf "safe" for Exxon, Texaco, and Gulf.

Economy Goes to Hell—Carter Pushes Anti-Sovietism

Why is Carter embarking on this anti-Soviet crusade, doing everything from driving to bring back the draft to wrecking the Olympics to threatening war over the Persian Gulf? America is going to hell. Chrysler is bankrupt; the steel industry is going down the tubes; maritime has hit rock bottom; the inner cities are rotting and major school systems won't pay their teachers. Racism and the Ku Klux Klan are on the rise.

The Democratic and Republican Party politicians want us to pay for their crisis. Look at what Mayor Koch is trying to do to New York. Carter breaks strikes and tells the trade unions to forget about wage increases, to forget about spending on social needs, while he heats up the Cold War. And then he tries to make us buy it by appealing to "national unity." That's what lies behind the crocodile tears for the hostages in Iran—many of whom probably *were* CIA agents. And what better way for Carter, Kennedy, Reagan and big business to deflect the anger of American workers than by trying to set us against the Russians. The bosses always whip up anti-communism when they get in trouble. NMU old-timers remember the Cold War at the end of World War II when labor-faker Curran teamed up with the bosses' government to red-bait and drive out the guys who built the NMU.

The birth of the Soviet Union in 1917 was hailed by workers around the world. It was the first time in history that workers took power, eliminating capitalist private property and setting up a planned economy. The Russian workers ended wage slavery and unemployment, and took the first steps towards ending the persecution of ethnic minorities. These gains, although some have been eroded, still stand today. Sure, the Stalin/Khrushchev/Brezhnev gang long ago betrayed the goal of liberating the working class of the entire world that inspired those who made the Russian Revolution. But the American bosses hate the Soviet Union for the same reason they hate the trade unions—they represent an obstacle to their crazed profit drive. To refuse to defend the Soviet Union against capitalist attack would be like refusing to defend our union against the shipowners on the grounds that the NMU is run by the likes of Curran or Shannon Wall—who are no less corrupt and dictatorial than the Brezhnev bureaucrats in Russia!

Carter is hellbent on getting re-elected on a platform of threatening nuclear war against the Soviet Union. But the Soviet Union is not the enemy of the American working class. It's not the Russians who tell us to work harder in order to have even less to eat. Our enemy is at home. Instead of shedding our blood so Texaco, Gulf, and Exxon can get even richer, we need to fight the capitalists here. We need to build a workers government that will make the oil industry and the rest of the economy *work for us.*

A Labor Boycott?

Boycotts are weapons which labor can legitimately use at times to show solidarity with other working people. The Militant-Solidarity Caucus has demanded that the union refuse to carry scab cargoes and has called for boycotts of military goods to racist and oppressive dictatorships like South Africa and Chile. But while NMU officials have ruled such motions out of order, they whoop it up for the anti-working class trade embargoes backed by Carter, like the boycott of trade to Iran. NMU-contract ships are today carrying scab oil—oil workers at Gulf, Texaco, Arco and Shell are on strike. Refusing to handle struck oil is a basic act of solidarity with fellow workers, but supporting Carter and Gleason's anti-communist campaign only robs us of necessary jobs for an anti-labor cause. NMU seamen must oppose the anti-Soviet boycott and must demand an end to labor support for the big-business parties and their war drive! ■

Morenoites/ USSR...

(continued from page 7)

mullahs' victory last February "has already won its place among the great revolutions of this century, comparable in importance to the prolonged Indochinese Revolution" (*Opción*, April 1979). In the press of the LSR this becomes explicit political support for the Muslim religious leaders, whose "profound integration with the people" makes them "the channel for mobilization, the leadership of the revolution":

> "Above all the ties which exist between the ayatollahs and the masses are favored by the fact that the Shi'ite hierarchy is not imposed from above but elected from below and therefore fully recognized by the population."
> —*Avanzata Proletaria*, 25 March 1979

These seemingly bizarre statements (for self-proclaimed Trotskyists) actually reflect a constant political line. No less sinister than the Lambertists' State Department socialist Stalinophobia, the Morenoites' anti-Soviet line on Afghanistan reflects their leader's *caudillo* mentality. From his political support to Perón in Argentina, to Torrijos in Panama, Velasco Alvarado in Peru and now the clerical-feudalist Khomeini in Iran, Moreno shows a peculiar predilection for bonapartist populist, bourgeois-nationalist regimes. Compared to the gray bureaucrat Brezhnev, ruling through a pervasive state apparatus, Khomeini appears as a charismatic, dynamic leader—a true man of respect for the would-be "Trotskyist Imam" from Argentina.

This inveterate political chameleon has hoodwinked a good many would-be leftists in his day. We urge our readers to consult the Spartacist tendency's *Moreno Truth Kit* for the true story of the unfrocked Peronist run amok. And to ponder the fact that at the first shot of a new Cold War the Morenoites drop all pretense of upholding the Trotskyist program toward the degenerated/deformed workers states: *workers* political revolution to oust the bureaucracy *and unconditional defense against imperialism*. Who knows, before long our pseudo-Trotskyist impresario *sui generis* may form an "Imam Khomeini Brigade" in order to extend the clerical-feudalist "Islamic Revolution" into the Soviet Union! It wouldn't be hard to mop them up—but their mullah allies might do the job even before the Soviet army could get around to it. ■

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Armed Self-Defense the Issue

Thousands Protest Klan Murders in Greensboro

GREENSBORO, February 2—A tense atmosphere gripped this southern textile town today as nearly 8,000 demonstrators wound their way for four miles through the city chanting, "The Klan has got to go, We can't take it any more." A National Guard helicopter hovered overhead while hundreds of helmeted city police and highway patrolmen blocked off deserted streets along the parade route from the War Memorial to the Greensboro Coliseum. This massive show of force by the state was intended to intimidate the largest demonstration in the South against racism in over a decade.

In the wake of the hideous daylight massacre of five leaders of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) by Ku Klux Klan and Nazi terrorists here last November 3, the march took place amidst a hysterical anti-communist fear campaign. One day before the demonstration Mayor Jim Kelvin imposed a state of emergency prohibiting marchers from carrying arms, while Governor Hunt called out the National Guard and the state police. For the past month, the State Bureau of Investigation has been arm-twisting bus companies to cancel charters to Greensboro and trying to keep students from southern black colleges from attending the march.

But there was also another component to the witchhunt campaign: the leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) who called the march. Ever since the Greensboro massacre, the black ministers have worried aloud about the influence of left groups in the South. At a November conclave in Detroit, a delegation of North Carolina black pastors discussed "ways of responding to Communist organizing efforts." And an SCLC-initiated December 17 Atlanta conference against the Klan was intended to cut the ground out from under "extremist elements."

The Atlanta meeting was attended by various reformist organizations as well, including the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Communist Party (CP) and the Maoist Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML), all of whom dutifully pledged to subordinate themselves to the preachers, agreeing to remain within the "Planning Committee Guidelines," including "carrying signs and chanting slogans prepared and suggested by the February 2 Mobilization Committee." At the march the SWP (which says that votes to their milksop presidential candidate are the answer to the Klan) showed up in force with a couple hundred supporters. The CP and CP-ML were also there, as usual buried in their various front groups.

WV Photo

CWP banners at February 2 demo. Klan massacre sparked anti-fascist march.

The theme of the Greensboro march was supposed to re-create the 1960s Civil Rights movement. The liberal press did its part by highlighting the return to Greensboro of four black students whose lunch counter sit-in 20 years ago sparked the freedom rides. Today one is a stockbroker, another a business executive, while a third administers a government anti-poverty program. With all the obscene hypocrisy of Jimmy Carter's "New South," a historical site marker now stands near Woolworth's commemorating the students' struggle—here in *Greensboro*, where three months ago five anti-racist militants were gunned down in broad daylight by the Klan!

But the black clergymen did not succeed in their goal of isolating the "extreme left" and re-creating the liberal/pacifist days of the Martin Luther Kings and Andrew Youngs. More than 1,000 people marched behind CWP banners and giant portraits of their martyred dead. The march was sharply polarized between those who followed the "turn-the-other-cheek" preachings of the ministers and the sizable number who defiantly proclaimed the right to self-defense. SCLC and Interreligious Foundation (IFCO) leaders had expelled the CWP from the planning committee and threatened to exclude them from the march if they did not promise to come disarmed. But in the end the CWP Maoists pressured their way into the march and onto the speakers' list.

Time and again throughout the day the ministers tried to impose their "non-violent" strategy. Just before the march was to begin, SCLC's Rev. C.T. Vivian pleaded with the marchers at War Memorial stadium to turn in any weapons and exhorted, "We've come to make a statement to America that can't be made with guns and bullets and knives." No arms were surrendered to parade marshals. As the marchers started off, led by about 100 students from Greensboro A&T, they had to pass through a gauntlet of state troopers and local police armed to the teeth with riot gear. Only those cretins who refuse to drawn the lessons of years of cop attacks on Civil Rights demonstrations could have felt "protected" by this ominous show of force.

Entering the Greensboro Coliseum, the marchers' chants of "Fired Up! Death to the Klan!" were interspersed with gospel hymns, sermons and innumerable pleas to "ban the Klan." SCLC leader Joseph Lowery blasted the CWP for refusing to come unarmed. When the wives of the murdered activists came to the platform, they were greeted with thunderous applause, much to the embarassment of the official rally leadership. Featured speaker Ben Chavis of the Wilmington Ten defended the courage of the fallen victims of Klan terror. But he was followed by the SCLC's Vivian, who sneered at the Maoists: "You're not the only ones killed." Vivian was roundly jeered for this remark.

WV Photo

North Carolina A&T students at head of the march.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 250 — 22 February 1980

Carter/Khomeini/UN Whitewash Imperialist Crimes

Anti-Soviet Hostage Deal

Carter and Khomeini seem to have had enough of the hostage crisis. Their representatives are busy cooking up a UN deal to ransom the hostages from the U.S. embassy where they have been held since November 4, in exchange for a formal UN commission allegedly to "investigate the crimes of the shah."

In the U.S. the hostage issue has been eclipsed by Carter's open war drive against the USSR over Afghanistan. Afghanistan poses the class question pointblank: which side are you on, U.S. imperialism or the Soviet Union? From the beginning of the mullahs' drive to power we have said the rule of these fundamentalist clerics would be as reactionary as the shah's, and in the crunch as committed to anti-Sovietism.

A few months ago when people in this country were buying up Khomeini dartboards and "nuke the ayatollah" T-shirts and generally screaming for Iranian blood, we pointed out:

> "Carter's 'moderation' is motivated *not* so much by concern for the hostages as by anti-Soviet strategic calculations. The fact is that the U.S. desperately wants an anti-Soviet Iran."
>
> —"No to Carter's War Threats!" *WV* No. 245, 7 December 1979

When Carter and Brzezinski call for an anti-Soviet holy alliance of the U.S. with "the Moslem world," they are looking straight at Iran. And with the invasion of Afghanistan, the mullahs are looking back. So now the hostages have become an obstacle to a budding anti-Soviet alliance, an obstacle not so much for Carter and Khomeini themselves as for their followers. Stalin's henchman Molotov was once quoted as saying that fascism was a matter of taste. Well, when Jimmy smells an anti-Soviet deal, the lives of his own employees become a matter of taste. So the president and the imam have cooked up a diplomatic charade at the UN.

The UN commission is a face-saver for the Iranian government. For 15

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No to the Draft! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

Fight Carter's War Fever!

It's a long way to Kabul (from Washington, that is), but Jimmy Carter has launched Cold War II over Afghanistan. "Human Rights" is an empty battle cry: victory for the "free world" means bride price and the veil, usury and feudal serfdom. And Soviet intervention is just the pretext: the CIA was arming the Islamic tribesmen, while the drive to beef up the U.S. war arsenal began well before Afghanistan. Stationing nearly 600 nuclear missiles in Europe, preparing to arm China, seeking to provoke food riots by embargoing grain to Russia, and trying to wreck the Olympic Games in Moscow this summer, U.S. aims are clear: it is Truman's "containment" and Dulles' "rollback" all over again. Carter believes that god has anointed him world gendarme against atheistic Communism, and he is threatening Armageddon over the Persian Gulf.

To back up his bluster, however, it is necessary to militarize American public opinion, which since the Vietnam debacle has acted as a brake on new imperialist adventures. So in his swaggering "state of the union" tirade January 23, the U.S. president announced steps to reintroduce the draft. Brandishing conscription has little immediate military value, but it plays a key role in building patriotic war fever. So far Carter has had some successes in whipping up anti-Soviet hysteria in the population: witness the apparent attempt by New York air controllers to force a crash landing by an Aeroflot jet carrying Russian ambassador Dobrynin. But what about the *draft*, the focus of many early Vietnam protests? Can the Pentagon convince the "me generation" to go to war for "fiercely independent, Islamic Afghanistan"?

Politicians and the media turned toward the campuses to find the answer to this question. According to the pollsters, student opinion is about evenly split on the draft. But the opposition is hardly silent. Anti-draft demonstrations have occurred on a scale not seen since the dying days of the anti-Vietnam War movement: in Berkeley, 2,500 jammed into the University of California's Sproul Hall Plaza; at Columbia, 1,000 gathered in front of Low Library; hundreds more rallied at Michigan State, the University of Illinois, UCLA and numerous other colleges and universities. But unlike the '60s and early '70s, when opposition to the draft was fueled by hatred for U.S. imperialism's bloody slaughter in Vietnam, today's protests are narrowly focused.

Heinz/Plain Dealer

Spartacus Youth League in Claveland anti-draft demonstration, February 9, calls for defense of USSR against American imperialism.

The privatist attitudes of many current demonstrators were captured by a Princeton student's sign proclaiming, "There Is Nothing Worth Dying For." The almost apolitical character of the recent anti-draft protests is the responsibility of the organizers, including various self-proclaimed socialist and even "communist" groups. Aware that their flimsy coalitions would blow apart in a minute if the fundamental issues were posed, they have tried to avoid any mention of Iran, Afghanistan or Russia.

Moreover, the majority of anti-draft protesters refuse to confront Cold War anti-Sovietism. When a U.S. general recently challenged an anti-draft organizer on ABC TV whether he would defend the United States, the latter answered lamely, "That's not the issue." But it is. And in the absence of a clear anti-militarist, anti-imperialist program the present movement will be politically dominated by those opposed only to a *peacetime* draft, thus feeding the fortunes of Kennedy liberals. Unless, of course, Carter manages to cut the ground out from underneath it by backpedaling slightly (as he did in last week's press conference), saying he is only for registration.

No mass movement against conscription ever has been or ever will be built by ignoring the wars for which it is to supply the cannon fodder. And instead of submerging our political program like the fake-lefts, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) have polarized a number of the recent anti-draft mobilizations with our banners demanding: "No to the Draft! No to Carter's War Drive! Hail Red Army! Smash Islamic Reaction!" In addition, the SYL organized rallies around these slogans at the University of Chicago, UCLA, San Francisco State, the University of Michigan, UC Berkeley and Oberlin. For many students our unflinching defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state, despite the Stalinists' bureaucratic domination, was *the first honest answer they had heard to Carter's "Human Rights" demagogy and anti-Soviet war drive.* The SL/SYL alone refused to duck the issues.

But to the Maoists, trying to hide their *support* to American imperialism against Russia over Afghanistan by pretending to oppose the draft; to social democrats, eager to latch onto the coattails of liberal Democrats, the Spartacist slogans were a red flag, driving them into a conniption fit. The

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Militant Gets 47% in ILWU Vote

SAN FRANCISCO—While both major cliques within the bureaucracy of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 in San Francisco suffered a serious loss of support in the recent union elections, opposition candidates running on a class-struggle program did extremely well. Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, publishers of the "Longshore Militant" newsletter, were elected to the Local 10 Executive Board for their sixth consecutive term, and Gow was reelected a convention and longshore caucus delegate. Even more spectacularly Rex Reinhart, who was endorsed by the "Longshore Militant" and ran in agreement with its program in his bid for vice president of the Local, received a resounding 47 percent of the runoff vote—*the largest vote ever received by a class-struggle candidate in the ILWU since World War II*—although all sections of the bureaucracy supported his opponent, John Carr.

Growing resistance within Local 10 to years of employer attacks on the workforce has generated increasing interest in the program of the "Longshore Militant." This resistance, spearheaded by the intervention of Gow and Keylor, manifested itself in 1978 when San Francisco was the only major port to vote the contract down. In markedly larger numbers longshoremen are opposing the steady-man system, under which the union hiring hall is eroded: over 80 percent of those newly trained for steady jobs have refused them, while a number of long-time steady men have also abandoned these jobs.

There has also been a notable upturn in membership job actions around such issues as safety and contract violations, despite attempts by local officers to suppress these actions and submit all issues to arbitration. Even the bureaucracy, under pressure from the membership, was forced to pull job actions during the election period to protect its base of support, although this was a hypocritical—and temporary—election ploy. Now that the elections are over, the job actions are over.

It is rare that a relative unknown in union politics makes it into the runoff for a major office. The broadest indicator of the growing interest in the "Longshore Militant" program is the fact that Reinhart chose to run on it and to stand by it despite redbaiting attacks on him. And there is no doubt that the support which Gow and Keylor gave Reinhart was a key reason for his outstanding showing.

Particularly significant in Reinhart's victory were the "Longshore Militant"'s forthright internationalist stands on such issues as Afghanistan and the Soviet Union when Carter was trying to whip up war hysteria. At the same time, the union leadership, in a significant break from its Communist Party-influenced origins, was making a bid for bourgeois respectability by undertaking a boycott of goods to Iran. And the Herman bureaucracy's condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan marked the first major policy statement ever issued by the ILWU criticizing the Russians.

In the face of Gow and Keylor's principled opposition to Carter's anti-Sovietism and his boycott of Iran, it took guts for Reinhart to link his campaign to the "Longshore Militant." His program (see accompanying election leaflet) made no bones about the fact that it would take a working-class *political* offensive to put the ILWU on a course for victory. As Reinhart wrote:

> "I have been endorsed by the *Longshore Militant* and agree with their program. I'm also for a workers party to fight for a workers government because I'm convinced that the Democrats and Republicans will never help us. As long as the ruling class is in power the worker will get the shaft through taxes and inflation. I've received some flak from the brothers about getting teamed up with Gow and Keylor. But I have found them to be completely honest and dedicated to the betterment of the union."

Shaken by the support to the "Longshore Militant" of this younger longshoreman widely liked on the docks, and by his success in the primary election (28 percent of the vote), the Local 10 bureaucrats launched a vicious redbaiting campaign. Both leadership cliques lined up behind Reinhart's opponent, John Carr, and insulted black members' intelligence by urging them to vote for Carr simply because he is black. But these tactics backfired.

The votes reflected what many members have been saying with their feet for the past two years as they have been walking off the job to protest safety and contract violations. Fed up with the passivity of the old leadership which has crawled before the PMA (employer association) attacks since the 1971 strike, and seeing the opportunity to register an emphatic protest vote, hundreds of members voted for Reinhart, knowing full well he stood with Gow and Keylor. Now the "Longshore Militant" must consolidate this victory by going forward to recruit a core of militants who can provide a basis for a genuine class-struggle leadership in the ILWU. ■

—Campaign leaflet of candidate supported by "Longshore Militant"

Elect Rex Reinhart Vice-President

I'm asking for your support. I would like to state that I will not go along with the officers on actions I don't think benefit the union, and will forcefully bring them up at membership meetings. For instance, both presidential candidates supported Dianne Feinstein, a major strike-breaker against the city workers. I would have attempted to block their endorsement. The membership must get involved in defending itself and its jobs.

We are presently involved in a dispute with Local 34 over transfers. This cannot be resolved as long as we are tied up in court because of the lawsuit brought against Locals 10, 34, and 91 by fifteen longshoremen working as clerks. They should drop this suit. Gow and Keylor's slogan "not longshoremen vs. clerks but ILWU vs. PMA" makes sense; we should be in a joint fight over jobs. Divide and conquer is one of the employers chief weapons and we should not fall into that trap.

Although our contract doesn't run out for another year and a half, let's discuss what we're after. Instead of going in with a long list of demands we ought to stick with basics. Last year Marine Terminals doubled their profits with less man-hours. It follows that we should go for a shorter work shift with more money.

My career as a Holdman was ended the day I got buried in coffee. Since then I've been on the Dock Preference Board, so I have a particular interest in job protection for the disabled and older men. No limit on Dock Boards! We all know that there is plenty of work. Besides clerk jobs, there are stick jobs and container pier jobs called "lasher" jobs.

The S.E.O. program is no real improvement because it brings a 9.43 board into the hall. It encourages "super availability" of steady men as much as before. They are subject to firing or penalties if they don't go along with 9.43. Training for all should be had through a program covering all longshoremen and not requiring steady duty for the companies. Abolish 9.43/S.E.O. steady man system!

Be prepared for a coastwide strike because PMA has become relentless in their attacks and is staying up nights trying to figure out how to eliminate us. Labor itself is under constant attack. The supermarket workers are fighting for their job security; also the oil workers.

I have been endorsed by the *Longshore Militant* and agree with their program. I'm also for a workers party to fight for a workers government because I'm convinced that the Democrats and Republicans will never help us. As long as the ruling class is in power the worker will get the shaft through taxes and inflation. I've received some flak from the brothers about getting teamed up with Gow and Keylor. But I have found them to be completely honest and dedicated to the betterment of the union. Being militant does not mean making rash moves, and I will seek the approval of the membership before anything is done. However, the best defense is a strong offense.

1. We need to get rid of the compulsory arbitration sections of the contract and use job actions to protect ourselves and other workers.
2. To protect our jobs against further mechanization, we need a 6 hour shift for 8 hours pay and no extended shifts. We must have manning scales on *all* jobs.
3. Keep all boards and gangs. No cuts in the number of men on boards. Keep the stop line.
4. Abolish the 9.43 and S.E.O. steady man system.
5. Strict enforcement of safety rules and conditions.
6. No lawsuits against any union. Calling the government into our internal affairs violates the street code. The courts are just like the cops in another form.
7. Use the unions' power to organize Labor/Black/Latino defense guards to protect picket lines and the workers movement against racist and anti-union groups like the KKK and the Nazis.
8. Support workers on strike or locked out. No working behind picket lines. No raiding.
9. Stop supporting the anti-union Democrats and Republicans. Oppose U.S. government imperialist war adventures in Iran and elsewhere. No more lives of the sons of workers lost for economic gain. For a political party of working people based on the unions which will begin the fight for a working people's government to take over Big Oil and other businesses that use our natural resources and run them for people's needs instead of profit.

Rex Reinhart
January 29, 1980

Chicago City Workers:

All Out With Firefighters!

CHICAGO—A militant fire fighters strike has become a full-scale war in this crisis-ridden city, as Mayor Jane Byrne moves to gut the fire fighters union and end city worker opposition to her budget-slashing regime. City Hall has recently employed strikebreaking measures against transit workers and teachers, in both cases with the indispensable help of sell-out business-union leaders. Now the firemen are on the chopping block, and Byrne has hired hundreds of new "trainees" while announcing that *all* strikers will be fired. Having promised during her election campaign that she would give the firemen a contract, Byrne now says she "will never again" negotiate with the union.

In the face of this attack, as well as a $40,000 per day fine and a media campaign about "strike victims," Chicago firemen have stood firm. But some other city unions have allowed their members to scab, while Chicago police, with whom the Chicago Fire Fighters Union and AFSCME are in a bargaining coalition, are herding scabs and intimidating pickets in their role as guardians of capitalist "law and order."

City workers must not continue to let their unions be picked off one by one! Stop the scabbing, break the alliance with the strikebreaking cops and bring all city unions out now in powerful united strike action to stop Byrne's anti-labor assault! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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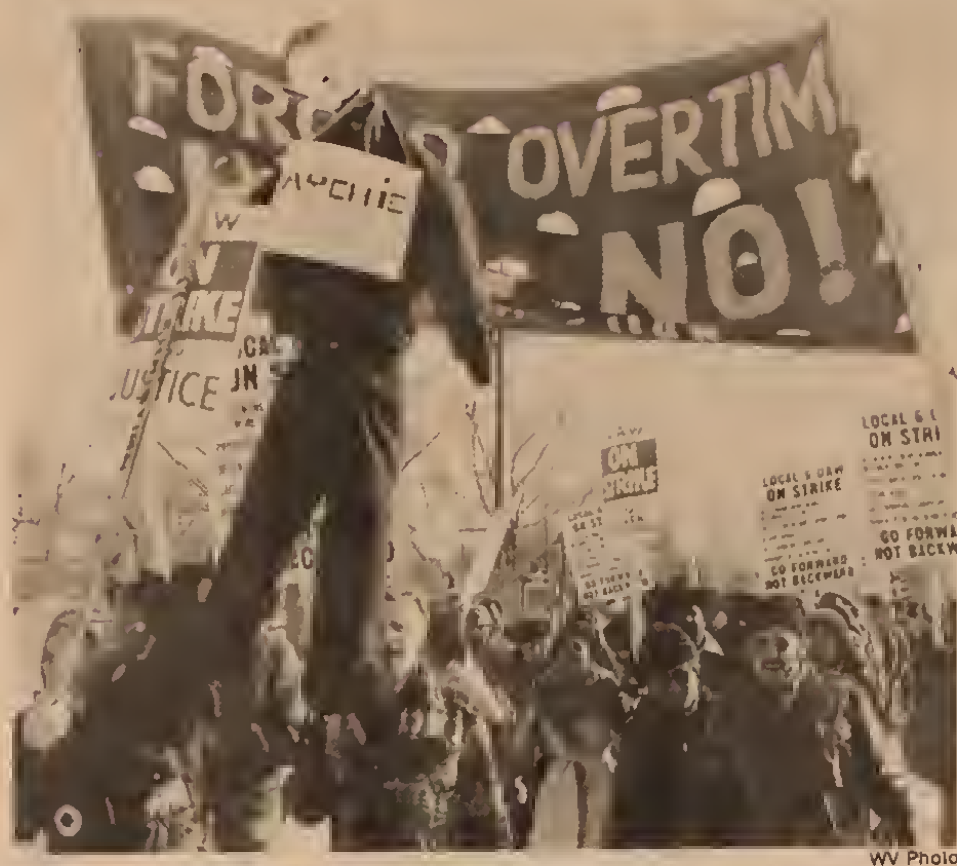
No. 250 22 February 1980

For Mass Picketing at Harvester!

CHICAGO, February 7—Some 1,000 International Harvester (IH) strikers massed outside company offices today at the Melrose Park, Illinois plant. Chanting "No Forced Overtime" and carrying an effigy of hated IH president Archie McCardell, the militant crowd made crystal clear its determination to continue the 100-day strike against company takeaways.

In December the United Auto Workers (UAW) settled with the Caterpillar Tractor Company, where workers had also been on strike. The Caterpillar contract includes a mandatory overtime provision, as did the agreement signed with the country's other major farm machinery manufacturer, John Deere, in October. The failure of the union leadership to call out workers at all three companies in a united fight for voluntary overtime throughout the agricultural implements division leaves Harvester workers to struggle alone against a company eager to reverse this important trade-union gain.

UAW Local 6 vice-president Dave Ryan told the rally that Harvester was prepared to surrender the demand for mandatory overtime. However, when Ryan announced that IH wanted the right to hire part-time workers, this announcement was greeted with boos and catcalls. A non-union part-time workforce not only would constitute a potential reserve of scabs, but could be driven to work unlimited overtime and undercut the contract in dozens of other ways as well. Sentiment in the ranks also ran high against other company takeaway proposals, such as IH's demand that seniority rights be restricted in job bidding, with the aim of pruning the workforce of high-seniority, "less productive" employees.



WV Photo

UAW Local 6 strikers hang IH president Archie McCardell in effigy.

The strike has been carried forward thanks only to the determination of the rank and file. The UAW International would dearly love to find some means of compromising over mandatory overtime. They never wanted a militant strike over an issue that is so potentially explosive within the union. From the beginning they hoped to isolate the Harvester workers by settling first with John Deere and Caterpillar—neither of whose contracts provided for voluntary overtime.

As Chuck Marino, a member of Local 6 who addressed the rally, put it in an interview with *WV*:

> "The International is following us because it knows the Harvester rank and file are not going to accept mandatory overtime. They would be selling if they thought we were buying. They don't see themselves as leaders against mandatory overtime. If they did, they'd have led GM, Ford and Chrysler against mandatory overtime a long time ago. They'd have fought, instead of [UAW president] Doug Fraser just supporting a bill in Congress. He supports this rotten, stinking bill, which the Democrats use for window dressing when they want to say how pro-labor they are. Sure, Fraser supports the 35-hour week, Fraser is for outlawing mandatory overtime, supposedly, but Fraser does nothing for the UAW that means anything. I had an uncle who worked in a UAW-organized foundry for 25 years, for Chevrolet, and in 25 years of service he never worked less than 50 hours a week. So we have a situation where the UAW works more mandatory overtime than any other industry, probably, in the country, and they're supposed to be leading a fight against mandatory overtime!"

Unfortunately, most of the striking UAW local leaderships have capitulated to the International's weak-kneed policies. Two of the rally speakers, Marino

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Outrage Spreads Through Left over Knifing

German Spartacist Leader Recovering

German Trotskyist Fred Zierenberg has been released from the hospital after barely surviving an attempted murder attack. On January 25 he came within inches of death as a result of a knife-stabbing in the back during an attack on the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—German section of the international Spartacist tendency) by Afghan reactionaries and assorted foreign Maoists (Turks, Iranians, Irish, American soldiers) at a Frankfurt University teach-in on Afghanistan. From his hospital bed Comrade Fred thanked the many supporters and well-wishers who responded quickly to the shocking premeditated assault, which also left several other comrades of the TLD less severely wounded (see accompanying letter).

A statement condemning the criminal attack "despite political differences we may have with the TLD" has been endorsed by hundreds of signers, among them at least eleven public employees union (ÖTV) officials, several teachers union officals and numerous individuals and groups including the Iranian Students Association (CISNU-Vanguard); Julius Dahlhaus, SPD (West Berlin) leadership; Peter Brandt, son of former SPD chancellor Willy Brandt; Bekir Saydan, general secretary, Federation of Kurdish Workers Circles in West Germany; Otto Schily, a lawyer who has defended the "Red Army Faction" ("Baader-Meinhof Gang"); Association of Vietnamese Students in West Berlin; Erich Wulff, chairman, Vietnam-West German Friendship Society; West Berlin "Falken" (SPD high school organization) leadership; historian Ossip Flechtheim; Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM) national conference; Spartacusbund; West Berlin Technical University Student Parliament; Hanns Eisler Singing Group of West Berlin. Separate protests were also made by the Initiative Committee Against Turkish Fascists and Iran Coordinating Committee in West Berlin and the Assembly of the Anti-Strauss Initiative in Frankfurt.

The right-wing murder attempt was covered in half a dozen major West German newspapers. As we reported in our last issue, the TLD—which is pressing murder charges against the would-be assassins—successfully held its own forum on Afghanistan the following week despite further threats of violence. The forum, entitled "Hail Red Army! Down with Islamic Reaction!" was defended by a tightly organized squad of more than two dozen marshals, most of them active unionists.

Kommunistische Korrespondenz

German Trotskyists call for united defense after murderous attack (Mordanschlag) by Maoists, Islamic reactionaries.

Meanwhile the frenzied Muslim clerical-reactionaries and their Maoist accomplices issued a vicious leaflet defending their bloody assault. Labeling the TLD "counterrevolutionary police agents," it claimed nobody was knocked unconscious, nobody was stabbed—indeed, nobody was seriously hurt at all. A special supplement (14 February) to the TLD's *Kommunistische Korrespondenz* replied to this new provocation: "We have received from two foreign students a clear indication of how systematically the attack on the TLD was planned. They both accidentally sat near our comrades and, about half an hour before the assault, each received a 'tip' to sit further away." The supplement mocked the reactionaries' attempt to portray the cold-blooded attack as a figment of the imagination "with the doctors and nurses of a Frankfurt hospital as accomplices"!

Although the GIM (German section of the United Secretariat [USec]), under pressure from the ranks, formally endorsed the TLD protest statement, a disgusting article in the GIM paper (*Was Tun*, 2 February) equivocated: "The TLD doesn't make it easy for anyone to defend them. Within the left it is known for disturbing meetings of other organizations through its provocative behavior." But categorical statements of solidarity with the TLD against reactionary terror were issued by the Berlin and Tübingen GIM locals, the Swedish USec section (*Internationalen*, 1 February) and the Bolshevik Faction expelled from the Swedish USec last October. Even the semi-Maoist Kommunistischer Bund published a two-column article which was far less weaselly in defending the Trotskyist TLD than was the "Trotskyist" GIM leadership: "Even though the TLDers occasionally act provocatively and have often gotten on our nerves as well, this does not change in any way the fact that the Stalinist organizations involved, using thoroughly cynical arguments, have advocated murderous terror against Trotskyists."

The would-be assassins must be punished. The TLD continues its aggressive campaign to publicly expose the practitioners of bloody terror in the service of reaction and imperialism. We call on all those committed to defense of democratic rights and the workers movement to send protest statements to: Postfach 1 67 47, 6000 Frankfurt/M 1, West Germany, and contributions earmarked "Fred Z." to: Postscheckkonto, Frankfurt/M, 937 74-605 (Wolfgang Hohmann), West Germany. ■

Frankfurt, 14 February

Dear friends and comrades,

Many thanks for your generous support in the form of flowers, contributions and protest statements. After two-and-a-half weeks in the hospital following the knife attack I am now at home, but it will be another two months before I can work again. Now that the Mao-Stalinist bandits are trying to justify the murder attack by totally distorting the truth it is all the more necessary not to let up: the conditions of an "Islamic Republic" must not prevail at Frankfurt University. Islamic and Maoist terror must not be allowed to determine what opinions are heard at teach-ins. Don't permit any limitations on the freedom of propaganda for the left and workers movement!

Fred

All the President's Thugs

The Hidden History of the Secret Service

Last July 16 a heavy-set man walked into the "delegates only" section of the convention floor at Detroit's Cobo Hall where a national convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) was in session. There he accosted delegate Jane Margolis, an executive board member of CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco), asking her to take a walk. Margolis refused and turned away; moments later the man returned with two cohorts, grabbed her by the arm and dragged her screaming from the convention floor. In a back room Margolis was manacled, interrogated, threatened with arrest and held incommunicado while the convention proceeded.

Who were these men? FBI agents? Cops? The local "Red Squad" run amok? No, this unprecedented assault on a union official was carried out by the U.S. Secret Service, the president's private police. Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak that afternoon at the phone workers convention, and the agents' job was to make sure no voice of labor dissent was heard.

The attack on Jane was no fluke—the political use of the Secret Service has recently come to attention as the 1980 presidential campaign heats up. In a 10 February article, "Candidates Disagree on the Value of the Secret Service's Protection," the *New York Times* documents instances of Secret Service abuse from physically intervening to "protect" Richard Nixon from reporters' questions during his last year in office to its computerized "enemies list" including more than 14,000 names.

And the Margolis case was not the only one in which labor was the target. The *Times* article reports how last summer Secret Service agents were busy strong-arming picketers from the International Association of Machinists (IAM) protesting Carter's "let 'em walk" energy policy. With the president's popularity ratings plummeting, unionists demonstrating against oil price decontrol were forcibly segregated from crowds greeting Carter's riverboat cruising down the Mississippi. "If people had picket signs that were pro-Carter, they went right up front," said IAM's lawyer Joseph Rauh. "If they had anti-Carter signs they were cordoned off on the side so they couldn't be seen" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 December). After the IAM filed a formal complaint, agency director Stuart Knight admitted the harassment.

When the Secret Service mugged Jane, it touched off a wave of protest telegrams from CWA members against this outrageous, blatantly illegal government invasion of a union convention to forcibly drag an elected delegate from her legitimate post. And Margolis' subsequent court suit against Secret Service chief Knight can become an important weapon in defense of the union movement and democratic rights as Carter's stepped-up Cold War drive brings increased attempts to induce a Cold War/McCarthyite political climate in the U.S. reminiscent of the 1950s.

Frank Johnston

"His Majesty's Secret Service": If you're a union militant, black radical or socialist, their "enemies list" may include you.

Myth of the Secret Service

Embedded in the firmament of American patriotic mythology is the image of the tireless and fearless Secret Service agent on the motorcade limousine running board, eagle eyes darting from one potential danger to another, interposing himself between his incorrigible flesh-pressing boss and the crush of admirers who may conceal that little man with a handgun, a bad relationship with his mother and the suicidal need for mass notoriety. The Secret Service likes to be thought of as a crew of unsung all-American heroes.

As the last line of defense of the hallowed "institution of the presidency," the U.S. imperialist chief's private army has long been cloaked in secrecy. American capitalism has erected a battlement of laws making the president a virtual king-for-four-years, and singling out threats against presidents as federal crimes with draconian penalties. Following Watergate, liberal pressure led to exposure of a few of the past crimes of a panoply of spy outfits, but the Secret Service was hardly touched. Indeed, even as pious politicians were touting meaningless cosmetic "reforms" of the CIA/FBI in 1974-75 (now being tossed aside under the pressure of renewed Cold War), the Secret Service was being pressed to *step up* its intelligence work in the aftermath of the Squeaky/Sally attacks on Gerald Ford.

As a measure of its insulation, agency chief Knight is the only administration official with the nerve to call for Congressional consideration of "preventive detention" legislation. "Presidential protection" is the timeworn pretext for readying political concentration camps: after the 1971 repeal of "emergency" detention provisions of the Internal Security Act, it was the prime excuse for maintaining the "Administrative Index" (ADEX) list of prospective radical roundup victims (see "What Is the ADEX File?" *WV* No. 151, 1 April 1977).

The dearth of hard information about the Secret Service, shielded from most of the standard liberal muckraking by the presidential halo, is testimony, in part, to the strong esprit de corps within this relatively small, homogeneous elite palace guard. And they have plenty of consorts in the cover-up. One agent approvingly wrote some 45 years ago, "Where the safety of the President is concerned, the great papers and press associations of the country cooperate to suppress news and often the stories they voluntarily 'kill' are the best of the year" (Wilkie, *American Secret Service Agent*). While its meagre published history consists mainly of self-congratulatory and unrevealing memoirs, some of the very people the Secret Service are supposed to protect have been more frank. Sara Delano Roosevelt, FDR's mother, reportedly once surveyed a living-room full of Secret Service agents and VIPs and opined that "Franklin should never have gone into politics. Look at these strange people around him all the time. Why, they look like a lot of gangsters" (Reilly, *Reilly of the White House* [1947]). "Franklin" completed the image by motoring in a bullet-proof limo seized from Al Capone for taxes. And Truman himself said the Secret Service made him feel like Capone (U.E. Baugham, *Secret Service Chief* [1962]).

Behind the Myth

As late as last year, Secret Service boss Knight claimed that there had never been an allegation of "abuse of power" against the agency in its 113-year history. This is a bald-faced lie. The Secret Service was started by that gang of professional crooks and murderers, the Pinkertons, whose record of provocation and terror is notorious—from the frame-up executions of the "Molly Maguires" to the murder of strikers in the McCormick-Harvester strike that culminated in the 1886 Haymarket bombing. And from its 19th-century origins in the infamous rent-a-cop agency through its days as the Treasury Department's G-men until today, the Secret Service has been up to its elbows in the business of class oppression.

As the only federal spy agency in existence before 1908 (aside from military intelligence), the Secret Service under the guise of "presidential protection" began to build an apparatus to perform a variety of dirty tricks. Among its acts of provocation were an 1893 effort to infiltrate Coxey's "army" of the unemployed, which was brutally beaten on arriving in Washington. Its repressive activities apparently culminated during the Spanish-American War, which marked the emergence of the U.S. as an imperialist power. William McKinley turned the Secret Service over to the War Department and hundreds of civilians were placed under surveillance, many arrested and some held for court-martial as alleged Spanish spies. McKinley, however, was assassinated in 1901.

During World War I Treasury Secretary William McAdoo had hopes for major expansion of the Secret Service, but instead the agency was eclipsed by the burgeoning FBI. From then until 1963, the Secret Service was heard from only rarely, at such times as its assaults on the IWW prior to the Palmer Raids, or its promotion of a red-subversion scare around the time of the 1932 "Bonus Army" which was trampled by General Douglas MacArthur's troops. But in general J. Edgar Hoover had successfully reduced this competing spy agency to a shrinking circle of thugs around the president. Shrinking until Dallas, 1963.

Following the 1963 assassination of John F. Kennedy, the Warren Commission gave the Secret Service a new lease on life. Ironically, after Dallas two agents in JFK's entourage received gold medal awards. And charged by the Warren Commission with insufficient efforts to anticipate politically motivated threats to the president's life, the agency responded by investigating tens of thousands of people, including thousands of left activists.

From a 450-man, $5.8 million budget operation in 1963, the agency had swollen to 1,650 members with a $115 million budget by 1977. It provided the National Security Agency with "watch lists" for the interception of internation-

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Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Friday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd floor
(near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 427-0003

$25,000 Needed

PDC Launches Fund Drive for Margolis Suit

When Carter's Secret Service invaded the Communications Workers of America (CWA) national convention last July 16, they didn't expect much of a fight in defense of the rights of labor. When they manhandled, handcuffed and dragged Jane Margolis, an elected delegate representing thousands of phone workers, off the floor, they thought these Gestapo tactics would go unprotested. When the Secret Service gagged Margolis and attempted to silence her criticisms of the anti-labor policies of the "Human Rights" president, they thought they would not have to answer for this egregious and unprecedented violation of fundamental constitutional and democratic rights. These Praetorian Guards turned political censors thought they could get away with it, making intimidation and suppression of political dissent and criticism easier next time.

But the Secret Service was wrong. They underestimated Jane Margolis and they misjudged the temper of the labor movement. Jane is a fighter and well-known labor leader. Currently a steward and Executive Board member in CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, she has also served on the Executive Board of CWA Local 9415, Oakland. For seven years Margolis has been a leader of the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in the CWA, and this was the second CWA national convention where she served as an elected delegate. Immediately after she was seized by Secret Service agents, over *seven hundred* phone workers signed telegrams of protest.

Jane has retained noted trial attorney Charles Garry to sue the Secret Service. Outraged at having their union and democratic rights trampled upon, members of CWA Locals 9410 and 9415 formed the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) to support the suit. UCASSH has already generated significant support and numerous endorsements from CWA locals and other unions throughout the country and from many prominent individuals committed to the defense of democratic rights.

But where does a phone worker get the money to sue the government? The federal government can mobilize enormous resources, including legions of Justice Department lawyers paid for at taxpayers' expense. They can render any legal action—no matter how just the cause or clear-cut the issues—a long and costly battle. In this society no worker can hope to take on the federal government and its secret police agencies without broad financial support. Whether or not the Secret Service gets away with it depends on you and your support.

This is no ordinary lawsuit: the independence of labor from coercive state control is at issue. If the government's secret police agencies can silence this union leader on the floor of her own convention, then no section of the labor movement is safe from suppression. When Carter addressed the CWA convention his austerity and anti-labor policies had plunged his public standing to a historic low, beneath even that of Vietnam War criminal and Watergate gangster Richard Nixon. Now Carter's anti-Soviet Cold War drive has been accompanied with demands to "unleash" the FBI/CIA, to put a lid on Watergate/COINTELPRO exposures.

Jon P. Fishback

Detroit, July 16, 1979: if Jane Margolis can be dragged off the convention floor of her own union, then no unionist is safe from government harassment.

The Margolis case takes on added importance in the context of these calls to return to the days of the McCarthy era.

In the words of James T. Farrell, who spoke out in defense of the Trotskyist leaders railroaded to jail under the Smith Act in 1941: "It is axiomatic that there can be no freedom in a society if labor is not free." It is to champion those cases and causes whose victorious outcome is in the interests of all labor that the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) was formed. In accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, the PDC stands in the tradition of the early International Labor Defense established by James P. Cannon. From fighting for the freedom of framed-up L.A. black student Philip Allen to saving the life of endangered Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz, the PDC has sought to reassert the principles of anti-sectarian class-struggle defense.

The PDC is now launching a major fund-raising campaign on behalf of the Margolis case and UCASSH. We call upon all those committed to the defense of the fundamental constitutional and democratic rights at stake in this case, and all those committed to the defense of the independence of the labor movement, to send a contribution to UCASSH today. They need and deserve your support. ■

Enclosed is my contribution

of $ _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Phone: ( ) _____

Organization: _____

Union Affiliation: _____

Make checks payable to:
Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment or UCASSH

UCASSH
P.O. Box 12324
San Francisco, CA 94112

Partial List of Endorsers of Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment

Gary Adkins, Executive Board, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles
AFSCME Local 1695, University of California, Berkeley
Tom Alba, Executive Board, CWA Local 1150, New York
Christopher Alston, pioneer member UAW; former President, Local 429, UAW
American Postel Workers Union, San Francisco
Blanche Bebb, Executive Board member Hospital & Institutional Workers Union, Local 250
Bob Blauner, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley; member AFT Local 1474
M. Burawoy, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley
Tom Burns, President, CWA Local 9201, Portland, Oregon
Marge Clouser, Executive Boerd member CWA Local 9410, San Francisco
CWA Local 9201, Portlend, Oregon
CWA Local 5011, Lockport, Illinois
Frank Donner, Attorney
Dianna Doughtie, Business Agent, AFSCME Local 2700; member Contra Costa Central Labor Council
Richard Fraser, New American Movement
Earl Gilman, Executive Board, Sen Francisco Chapter, SEIU Local 535; member San Frencisco Central Labor Council
William Goodman, Attorney, Detroit, Michigan
Fernando R. Guerrero, Board of Governors, OCAW Local 1-1978
Bill Hampton, December 4th Committee; Hampton/Clark lawsuit
Paul Harris, President, Nationel Lawyers Guild
David Herreshoff, Professor, Weyne State Univarsity
Jerome L. Himmelstein, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley
IBT, Chauffeurs Local 265, San Francisco
G.T. (Jake) Jacobs, Secretary-Treasurer, OCAW Local 1-5
Randall Johnese, Field Representative, SEIU Locel 535; member, Alamede Central Labor Council
Frank Luzzarro, Executive Council, AFT Local 3157, San Diego
Gerald Lefcourt, Attorney
Sidney Lens, Author
Henry M. Levin, Professor, School of Education, Stenford University
Walter Lippmann, Chairperson, Human Rights Committee, SEIU Local 535
Jeff Lustig, Lecturer, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley; AFT Local 1474
Gretchen Mackler, President, AFT Local 1528
Jeffrey Macklar, Board of Directors, Haywerd Unified Teachers Association/California Teachers Association/National Educetion Association
Robert Meeropol, *Socialist Review*; younger son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
Militant Action Caucus, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles
Militant Action Caucus, CWA Local 9410, Sen Francisco
Kate Millett, Author
Lynne Morel, Steward, Chevron Negotiating Committea, OCAW Locel 1-5
Howard Myron, Chief Steward, Long Lines Division, Local 9415, Oakland
Charles D. Najbergier, Executive Board, SEIU Local 535
National Association of Letter Carriers Brench 228, Pasadena
National Lawyers Guild
Richard Rubenstein, Antioch Law School, Washington, D.C.
Bernard Sepiro, President, District Council #2, Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union, Los Angeles
Henry Schmidt, Retired Internetional Vice-President, ILWU; leader of 1934 San Francisco General Strike; defendant in Bridges/Robertson/Schmidt lawsuit
Peter Dale Scott, English Department, U.C. Berkeley; AFT Local 1474
SEIU Local 535 State Executive Board
John Snow, Bargaining Committeemen, UAW Locel 600
United Electrical Local 1412
Doron Weinbarg, Constitutionel Rights Attorney, San Francisco
Jewell White, President, CWA Local 5011, Lockport, Illinois
Robert F. Williams, Author, *Negroes With Guns*
Bruce Wright, Statewide Executive Board, United Professors of Californie; member AFT Locel 1588, Los Angeles
Howard Zinn, American Association of University Professors, Boston University Chapter
CWA Stewards endorsing as individuals:
Local 9410, Sen Francisco: 28
Local 9415, Oaklend: 1
Local 11502, Los Angeles: 11
Local 11513, Los Angeles: 1
Local 1150, New York City: 1
Locel 4015, Plymouth, Michigan: 1

Organizations listed efter individuals are for identificetion purposes only.

"The accusations [of CIA interference in Afghanistan] are a crude ruse to cover up Soviet imperialism...."
—*State Department spokesman Hodding Carter III, New York Times, 3 January*

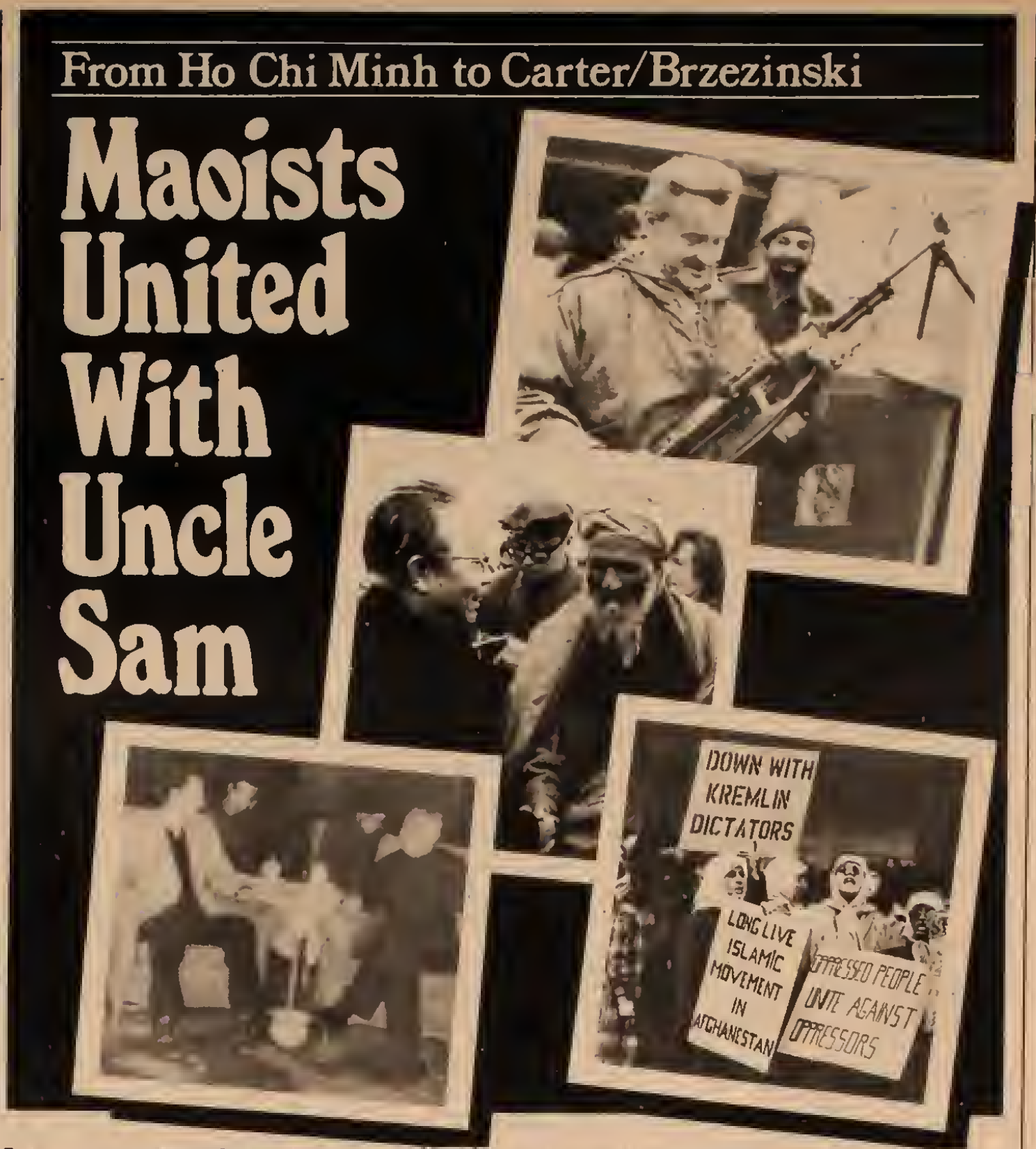
"Moscow was correctly condemned by the UN for its hegemonic intrusion into a nonaligned, neighboring state and it should withdraw."
—*Guardian, 6 February*

"The invasion of Afghanistan by about 100,000 Soviet troops is a blatant and vicious act of imperialist aggression that must be resolutely condemned and opposed by all progressive people."
—*Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), The Call, 14 January*

"In blitzkrieging Afghanistan the Soviet social-imperialist (socialist in words, imperialist in deeds) has exposed its true imperialist nature."
—*Communist Workers Party, Workers Viewpoint, 9 February*

From Ho Chi Minh to Carter/Brzezinski

Maoists United With Uncle Sam



Reaction down the line. From the top: Brzezinski at the Khyber, Chinese foreign foreign minister with Afghan rebels, Islamic demonstrators at Soviet consulate in S.F., Mike Klonsky goes to Peking.

Afghanistan is a flash of lightning which illuminates better than anything else the real contours of the world political landscape.

The United States' response to Russia's Afghanistan intervention has removed all diplomatic cover from the flowering alliance between American imperialism and Maoist/Stalinist China. Immediately, U.S. war minister Harold Brown was dispatched to Peking where he called for "complementary actions in the field of defense as well as diplomacy." A few weeks later Washington openly agreed to rearm the People's Liberation Army with modern weaponry. The *New York Times* (25 January) reported: "The United States in a major policy shift related to the Afghanistan crisis, announced today it was willing to sell military equipment to China for the first time."

Afghanistan has also torn the veil from the Western Maoists' direct support to Jimmy Carter and the imperialist war machine. Most blatant were those who bill themselves as official spokesmen for the Peking bureaucracy. The Klonsky family's Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML) proclaimed that "the strategic Russian plan for global domination ...was brought closer to fruition when Soviet troops marched into Kabul" (*Call*, 7 January)..And in each successive issue of their yellow rag the Klonskyites seek to rival the Hearst and Murdoch press in their unbridled anti-Sovietism. They openly support the Pentagon and vociferously attack the present administration from the right, asking, "Can Carter Moves Stop Soviet War Machine?" Their answer:

> "The continuing compromise and vacillation of the U.S. imperialists in response to Soviet expansionism was evident in what Carter could have, but did not do, following the invasion."
> —*Call*, 14 January

According to the CP-ML Carter's crimes consist of "so far refus[ing] to give direct aid to the Afghan rebels" and refusing to lift a "ban on sales of sophisticated arms to China for that nation's self-defense," as well as failure to impose a "total embargo of all strategic materials trade with the USSR." Now that at least two of these three conditions are being met, one would think the Klonskys would be satisifed. But no. After Carter's bellicose "state of the union" speech they grant that it "appears" the U.S. commander-in-chief "has at last discovered the aggressive, expansionist character of the USSR." But they still tax him for "three years of White House policies that have amounted to appeasement of the Soviet Union"!

But it is not just Peking's parrots. All manner of dissident American Maoists (and a slew of social democrats) are calling along with Carter/Brzezinski for Soviet troops out of Afghanistan. Unlike the craven Klonskyites, many of these groups still try to adopt a "third camp" posture. Thus the pro-"Gang of Four" Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of Bob Avakian headlined, "Superpowers Square Off Over Afghanistan" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 11 January). But when it comes down to brass tacks, all the difference between the pro-Peking, pro-Tirana and unattached Maoists gives way as Washington calls for a crusade against Soviet "hegemonism."

For those soft-core Maoists who cling to memories of the New Left, Afghanistan presents anguishing problems, as does just about every other major problem of the class struggle. The perennial bellweather of "independent radicalism," the *Guardian* (16 January), emphasized that "the main blow has to be delivered against...the U.S." Nevertheless, it contends that "Moscow has converted it [Afghanistan] into a pawn in the global chessgame the revisionist leadership of the Soviet superpower is playing with U.S. imperialism...." On the other hand, former *Guardian* editor Irwin Silber, traditionally less anti-Soviet, speaking for his National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs, said Afghanistan "is not a sign of a new wave of Soviet intervention." Meanwhile, the tail on the Maoist running dog of U.S. imperialism is the handful of Shachtmanite grouplets who chime in with their condemnations of the "state-capitalist" USSR gobbling up yet another tiny country (remember "poor little Finland").

Today the remnants of the New Left "anti-imperialists" of the 1960s have reunited with their "own" imperialist masters. During the mid-'60s, when Washington was more hostile to Peking than toward the Kremlin, a new generation of radicals arose who opposed the Soviet Union in the name of "Third World" nationalism. But today over Afghanistan it is the American ruling class which invokes rhetoric of "hegemonism" and "superpowerism" against the Soviet degenerated workers state. Those leftists, whatever they call themselves, who *deny* that the USSR is a proletarian state (although bureaucratically degenerated) find themselves—some more, some less willingly—on the same side of the barricades as U.S. imperialism. There are and can be no neutrals in the renewed Cold War.

Afghanistan is a flash of lightning which illuminates better than anything else the real contours of the world political landscape. Those leftists, whatever they call themselves, who deny that the USSR is a proletarian state (although bureaucratically degenerated) find themselves, some more, some less willingly, on the same side of the barricades as U.S. imperialism.

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Maoism and Munich

While a number of ostensibly Trotskyist groups try to belittle the significance of the Afghanistan crisis (and the decisive importance of the "Russian question"), saying as did the American Socialist Workers Party that "the issue is not Soviet intervention," the rest of the political spectrum has been sizing up the new global alignment in historic perspective. But where authentic Trotskyists insist that Carter/Brzezinski's new Cold War is an

imperialist drive aimed at wiping out the gains of the October Revolution, the Maoists are calling for a new "anti-fascist alliance"...with the imperialists and against the Soviet Union. The *Call* (21 January) sums it up:

> "Simply stated, past alliances and traditional ideologies are no longer the cutting edge in demarcating friends from enemies in the international arena. Today, a worldwide united front against hegemonism is taking shape and becoming a living reality."

The CP-ML calls Carter's previous policies "reminiscent of the early appeasement by Western nations of rising fascist military power in pre-war Germany."

The adventurist/hysterical Communist Workers Party (CWP, formerly Workers Viewpoint Organization) also makes the bizarre Munich analogy. The CWP believes that post-Mao China has reverted from socialism to just another "relatively weak third world country." But in the face of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the CWP's squabble with the current gang in power in Peking is buried and it warns that the "U.S. is trying to set China up for the biggest Munich ever." It criticizes Carter for continuing to "appease the Soviet Union with half-steps like the grain embargo...." But if these are "half-steps," then the CWP should desire a full-scale imperialist onslaught against Russia. It just doesn't say it out loud like the *Call* does.

Seeing an opening to score against their historic rivals, the Klonskyites, the Avakian RCP published an article attacking their Peking-endorsed competitors' blatant social-chauvinism. Despite its formal "two superpowers" position, however, the RCP praises the "resolute struggle of the Afghani people for their freedom" (passing over in silence the imperialist aid flowing to the Islamic rebels). And the Avakianites still describe the Soviet Union as "a fascist state" (*Red Papers* 7). But if this is true, by Stalinist logic the RCP *ought* to bloc with Carter against the USSR, just as Stalin demanded a "united front against fascism" with the imperialist allies in World War II.

In the last analysis, all of the Maoists have come down on the side of U.S. imperialism and for "punishing Soviet hegemonism." And this has definite consequences. How can *any* Maoist group legitimately oppose the draft, for instance. The CP-ML, at least, is well aware of the problem. They only present a thin veneer of opposing conscription, simply questioning why it is necessary since the U.S. already has 50,000 troops in Korea (*Call*, 4 February). But for the RCP, CWP, CPUSA-ML, et al., to say they are against the draft is pure hypocrisy. After all, how can you call for greater NATO preparedness against the "polar bear" without giving the generals the manpower they need?

But the counterrevolutionary crimes of the Maoists flowing from the U.S./China alliance will not stop there. With all their analogies to Stalin's policy in World War II, it should be remembered what treachery the Stalinists committed then. In the United States there was support to the CIO no-strike pledge, opposing and even recruiting scabs to break the 1943-44 coal miners strikes, breaking the 1944 Montgomery Ward strike, supporting internment of Japanese Americans in concentration camps and support for atom-bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The CP of Browder and Foster literally became finks for the bosses and FDR—and in the name of waging the "war effort." And don't forget how they turned in Trotskyist seamen to the Coast Guard and beat the drums for the prosecution of the Minneapolis Teamster and Socialist Workers Party leaders, in order to "exterminate the Trotskyite Fifth Column from the life of our nation" (*Daily Worker*, 16 August 1941).

In Europe, where they had real weight in the working class, the Stalinists literally disarmed the proletariat after having waged the resistance struggle, in order to head off revolution and "continue anti-fascist unity" (i.e., accept the hegemony of American imperialism). Today the small American Maoist sects don't have the weight to carry out betrayals on even a fraction of the scale of those perpetrated by the CPUSA. But we can expect the worst: Maoists becoming outright provocateurs, testifying to new HUACs, etc., all in the name of forging their "united front against hegemonism" with Wall Street, the Pentagon and the White House.

Guardian Bellweather

As usual when the Afghanistan question arose, the *Guardian* avoided taking a position for several weeks while testing the waters. Finally in their 16 January issue they came out with a front-page editorial. While rather limp compared to the fire-breathing pro-imperialism of the hard-line Peking camp followers, in the end its position came down on the same side of the fence:

> "Moscow was wrong to invade Afghanistan and its 50,000 troops should be withdrawn. The USSR cannot justify limiting the sovereignty of socialist Afghanistan, regardless of pretext. The principal motivation for the adventure was big-power hegemonism carried out in contention with U.S. imperialism, not advancing the class struggle or 'defending' Afghanistan."

So what is all this talk about the "sovereignty" of "socialist" Afghanistan? Neither is Afghanistan a nation (but a state composed of various nationalities and tribes), nor is it socialist. It is a petty-bourgeois regime which has been closely allied with Russia and is now being drawn ever more firmly into the Soviet orbit. The *Guardian* tries to pretend that revolutions should not be extended by foreign invasion. But as we pointed out in our last issue (see "Resolutely Denounce Maoist Running Dogs...," *WV* No. 149), the same hue and cry was raised by the bourgeoisie in 1959 over China's invasion of Tibet. Of course, Jack Smith learned his "Marxism" from Irwin Silber who took it straight from Stalin's lips in his famous interview with Roy Howard: "The export of revolution is nonsense." But *this* nonsense has nothing in common with Lenin, who wrote explicitly:

> "The victorious proletariat...having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production would *confront* the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity, come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their States."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "The United States of Europe Slogan" (1915)

Moreover, when civil war is raging, a liberal attitude raising national self-determination to the ultimate principle can become downright criminal. Consider Hungary in 1919. In good part due to its own errors, the Soviet regime of Bela Kun alienated probably a majority of Hungary's peasantry and national minorities. The passive opposition of the petty-bourgeois masses to the Budapest-based workers government contributed to the victory of Admiral Horthy's white army, backed by the imperialists, and with it the extermination of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard. Stalin's later caveat against exporting revolution to the contrary, during the four-and-a-half months of Soviet Hungary's existence the Russian Bolsheviks did everything in their power to link up with it. Lenin specifically ordered the Ukrainian Red Army to advance into Galicia and Bukovina, a step "essential for contact with Soviet Hungary."

In late July, just before the end, Lenin was forced to inform Bela Kun: "We are aware of Hungary's grave and dangerous situation and are doing all we can. But speedy assistance is sometimes physically impossible. Try to hold out as

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Bitter Memories of Life in Kabul

"The Sun Never Shines on Afghan Women"

The Afghoniston conflict is one of the first shooting wors in which the oppression of women has been the central social issue. Even American bourgeois journolists hove been struck by the barbaric enslavement of women which the reactionory Afghan rebels defend. "It's called the bride price," begon o recent Wall Street Journal *(8 February) article heodlined: "Afghon Communists Battle Poverty, Poor Hygiene, Entrenched Attitudes."*

The New York Times' *Jomes P. Sterba pointed out that "it was the Kabul revolutionory Government's granting of new rights to women thot pushed orthodox Moslem men in the Pashtoon villoges of eostern Afghanistan into picking up their guns" (*New York Times, *9 Februory). As one of Brzezinski's "freedom fighters" told hini, "The Government said our women had to ottend meetings and our children had to go to schools. This threotens our religion. We had to fight."*

In a recent presentation in New York Phyllis Anwor, speaking from personal experience, brought home the bitterness of women's oppression in Afghanistan of the mullahs and khons. Comrode Anwor was the first foreign womon morried to o native Afghon to refuse to put on the veil when she lived there in the 1940s. We print below excerpts from her remorks.

I spent three years, back in the 40s, living Afghan-style in Afghanistan. When you think about a Moslem country you think about the oppression of women, but there is more to oppression in Afghanistan than just women—there's plenty to go around.

Women's veils there make an Iranian veil look silly. They're made up of 30 yards of muslin folded into half-inch folds. The veil is enormously heavy, without even eye slits. And eight-year-old girls wore this veil at the school where I taught—which by the way had to be called a hospital to fool the mullahs. So here were these kids traipsing over dusty roads in a black cover. In a country which should be a haven for TB sanitariums, the women have a very high rate of tuberculosis and practically never have the sun shine on them.

The bride price is part of the business of passing down fortunes. A man as a rule can't marry until he's in his 30s, as it costs a lot of money. He always wants a 14- or 15-year-old bride. It is not considered at all unusual for a 60-year-old man to take a 14-year-old bride when he's worn out some poor woman and wants a new wife. You know a man can divorce a woman—I was once divorced this way—by sending her a postcard that says three times "I hereby divorce you" and it's done. If a woman wants to divorce a man, he supposedly has to return her dowry money to her family, but since they're all so poor he has of course already spent it. So he simply makes her life so miserable she's perfectly willing to give up that money and then she can have her divorce—and then go back to her family where she's a household slave because she's now too old to ever get a husband again.

On the day I came to Kabul there was a demonstration. The mullahs were demonstrating because they felt that the veil was inadequate—men were looking at women's ankles, from which they could tell if the women were rich or poor, young or old, and this was disturbing to the mullahs. They wanted the women to wear balloon pants, the kind uneducated Afghan men wear, but the variety with feet in them, like kids' pajamas, and then they should wear clogs and that way the men wouldn't be so interested in looking at their ankles.

It isn't really a life for the men either. This matter of the oppression of women is a very serious matter for men, particularly in the city where you don't have farm animals available. So in the city there is a great blooming of part-time or temporary homosexuality with emphasis on pretty young boys. There you don't have to worry about your little girls going down to Times Square. They're safe, except at the hands of the house servants. But boys are liable to get kidnapped. Many high-class members of the government were known for having stables of pretty young boys.

There is every kind of oppression. In 1950 I saw a chart put out by the UN on yearly average income and Haiti and Afghanistan were at the bottom. $50 per capita per year. That's bad enough in Haiti—it's perfectly terrible in Afghanistan, where winters start about the first of January and go on for months, cold and lots of snow. Then there is religion. Afghanistan is the reverse of Iran—Sunnis are the majority and the oppressed minority are the Shia. A Shi'ite could not progress in the government beyond the level of school superintendent, no Shi'ite could serve in the foreign service, and so on, and they all lived together in a ghetto in Kabul.

All religious laws were enforced by the government, and half the school time when we were there was religious education. When it's fast time and you forget and walk out of the building with a cigarette in your hand or you take a drink out of the brook—which is lethal to do—before you die you'll get a good beating. And police do it right then and there on the spot.

Those of our relatives who have come here moved heaven and earth not to have to go back. When I was there many women said to me that they would be willing for anybody to take over Afghanistan, including Russia, because it couldn't *possibly* be worse under anybody else. Of course, they don't say that to the men, because they know where their bread and butter comes from. But the women, while they're ignorantly religious, were really so desperate they were willing to take anything. I'm sure in their hearts they're mighty happy to see the Soviet soldiers come. ■

Young women of Kabul reject the veil.

General Zia and "Free World" Olympics

Jimmy Carter's new hero in his crazed anti-Soviet crusade is Pakistani military dictator Mohammad Zia ul-Haq. This "soldier of Islam" is a nasty cross between the deposed shah of Iran and a Khomeini with atomic weapons. It was because of the nuclear ambitions of the Islamabad regime that the U.S. Congress cut off its massive military aid to Pakistan years ago, letting its Peking ally do the job instead.

But with the new "Carter Doctrine" Zia has again become an ally of the "Free World" and was offered $400 million in immediate military aid for openers. Dismissing the offer as "peanuts," Zia wanted even more baksheesh—and with no "human rights" strings attached. Last month a cocky Zia laid it on the line for some squeamish American correspondents:

> "Forget about your Western ideals and Western standards of freedom and democracy. You are in a Moslem developing country. And Islam says if somebody says anything against your integrity, against your religion, against your everything, chop him—teach him a lesson."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 21 January 1980

AP

Economist

Left: Pakistan, bastion of the "Free World"; Right: Brzezinski's "soldier of Islam," General Zia.

Zia "chops" hard and often. His Islamic army raped and massacred tens of thousands of Bengalis during the 1971 civil war in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and has brutally suppressed minority peoples such as the Baluchis—one of those "fiercely independent and deeply religious Islamic peoples" that Carter wants to "save" from atheistic communism.

Scuttling his hypocritical "Human Rights" bombast, Carter has come up with a list of sites for his alternative "Free World" Olympics that includes Zia's Pakistan. Of course, if they were allowed to participate at all, women athletes would have to compete separately and in purdah (veiled). Who knows, Zia might even enter some Pakistani mullahs to "chop"—tongues out of blasphemers and heads off infidels. Along with executing former prime minister Ali Bhutto, accused of such decadent Western vices as drinking, Zia has introduced an Islamic code of "justice" prescribing flogging for adulterers and cutting the hands off thieves.

Another of Carter's choices for an alternate Olympics site is Pinochet's Chile. Perhaps Carter has in mind holding the games in the Santiago stadium where thousands of leftists and trade-union militants were held and many hundreds killed after the 1973 coup? We are opposed to Washington's attempt to pull off an anti-Soviet boycott of the Moscow games. But if ever there were a place fitting for Carter's "Free World" counter-Olympics, it is surely the bloody Santiago stadium. ■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 7)

long as you can." But the military campaign did not succeed, to the great misfortune of the socialist cause. Likewise the Red Army was unable to cross the Vistula at Warsaw in 1921, thus preventing a link up (by direct invasion of Poland) with the German proletariat. But had the Bolsheviks managed to save the Hungarian Soviet Republic, imperialist spokesmen and social democrats throughout the world would have denounced "Soviet Russian imperialism" for trampling on the national sovereignty of the Hungarian people.

The key to the *Guardian*'s position is that "the price, however, is the conversion of independent, basically non-aligned Afghanistan into an extension of the Soviet political system." We recall for our readers that back in October 1979 the *Guardian* supported the "progressive" Kabul regime, already militarily dependent on Soviet advisers and arms, against the feudalist rebels. When a left-nationalist bourgeois regime is fighting reaction, the *Guardian* can support it. But when there's actually a possibility that feudal-capitalist property relations will be overthrown, when the power of the mullahs can in fact be broken, when women might be liberated from the veil—*then* these petty-bourgeois radicals are against it. For these dregs of the New Left, counterrevolution from within is preferable to social revolution from without!

The Taraki/Amin regime proved unable to carry out its program of limited democratic reforms in the face of the feudalist-Islamic insurgency. And this petty-bourgeois national government, based on a section of the old officer corps (the April 1978 "revolution" was a leftist military coup), was, of course, organically incapable of effecting a social revolution. In the imperialist epoch there is no middle road—either it's the power of the landlords, usurers and mullahs or the power of the proletarian state. Only *now*, when the armed forces of the Soviet degenerated workers state are dominant in Afghanistan, has a social revolution (albeit bureaucratically deformed) become possible.

Bitter Fruits of New Leftism

For years the New Left considered the "Russian question" a scholastic topic of dispute among the irrelevant "old left." (The *Guardian* continues this attitude today, and still can't decide the class character of the Soviet Union.) To early SDSers the Cold War was dead, Russia was part of the rich white man's world, a co-partner with the United States for conservatism on a world scale. The real struggle was between the "Third World"—China, Vietnam, Cuba—and U.S. imperialism. Carl Oglesby, perhaps the most prominent New Left "theoretician," wrote in his book *Containment and Change* (1967) that the Chinese Revolution "had nothing at all to do with communism," but only with "independence" struggles. On Vietnam he said that "one should be able to show somehow that the issue of the Vietnam war is not Western freedom versus Eastern slavery, but foreign versus local control of Vietnam." Generalizing on the global situation, he said:

> "With the Soviet Union, we have gone from confrontation to detente. The relationship is no longer defined by its anger and uncertainties. Its bitterness has lost the old edge, become blunted by the mundane securities of daily usage. Direct military collision is feared and avoided equally by both sides, crises are referred to hot lines instead of war rooms, and one sometimes wonders if there is not something still springier in the air: a slow convergence of political aims. The European Cold War no longer finds Russians and Americans peering at each other through gunsights. Instead we have the experience of virtually integrated aid programs in Afghanistan [!!] and India."

Thirteen years later it would be hard to think of a statement more wrong in its impressionism.

The myriad Maoist sects have long since come to terms with the Peking/U.S. alliance which has been developing ever since Nixon's trip to China in 1972, while the United States was raining bombs on Vietnam. In the face of such events as Chinese support to the CIA-financed South African-led invasion of Angola in 1976, many pulled back, seeking to return to the good old days of "anti-imperialist unity." But in Angola it was war-by-proxy between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Now it's face-to-face over Afghanistan and there is no escaping. They must choose their camps.

American Maoism had its origins in the grafting of New Leftism and Stalinism. This was embodied in the Vietnamese Revolution, in which a successful struggle against American imperialism was carried out under Stalinist leadership. To the impressionist New Leftists, the "Third World" Vietnamese Stalinists seemed qualitatively more revolutionary than the Soviets. From here it was only a short step to embracing Mao's theory of rival superpowers.

But with the heating up of the Cold War and the emergence of a Washington/Peking axis, the Maoists have come full circle. To attempt to steer a middle ground between American imperialism and "Soviet social-imperialism" has served only the most vile and reactionary ends. Thus the Maoists, putting aside their internal squabbles, united behind Khomeini. After all, wasn't he anti-Carter, anti-Brezhnev and a man of action who fought for "national liberation"? So those who a decade ago were cheering the heroic Vietnamese today back a religious fanatic who wants to turn the clock back to the seventh century—and whose "anti-imperialism" is about to be dumped in favor of a new anti-Soviet alliance with Carter.

There is no middle ground. The events in Afghanistan only underscore the fact that those who refuse to defend the Soviet Union against American imperialism will inexorably be driven into the arms of the State Department and NATO. While Stalin once subordinated the proletarian revolution to an alliance with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, for Maoists the popular front against "Soviet social-imperialism" can only be constructed as a bloc with the most vicious, anti-Communist sections of the ruling class.

The underpinnings of Stalinism rest on the false doctrine of socialism in one country, the ideology of the narrow, nationalist bureaucracy that rests on the foundations of a collectivized economy but in fact is opposed to the program of proletarian revolution. The attempt to counterpose China (or Albania) to Russia as the socialist fatherland has proved a dead end. The rapprochement of China with American capitalism has demonstrated that the Maos and Dengs, under the guise of building "socialism" in *their* country, are as willing to sell out revolution as the Stalins and Brezhnevs—and prepared to join a global counterrevolutionary alliance with the main imperialist power, aimed at breaking the strength of the main anti-capitalist state power (the Soviet Union), besides. Increasingly confronted by the reality of these betrayals, the Maoist movement has degenerated into a collection of politically irrelevant sects like Progressive Labor, macho cults like Avakian's RCP, or open apologists for U.S. imperialism à la Klonksy.

It is only revolutionary Trotskyism that has withstood the test of history. The Trotskyists have steadfastly defended the Soviet Union (and the other deformed workers states) against imperialist reaction while calling for workers' political revolution against the class-collaborationist Stalinist bureaucracies who undermine the defense of the revolution. Only the Trotskyists have fought consistently against the popular front and other class betrayals. And it is only revolutionary Trotskyism, as upheld by the international Spartacist tendency, that offers a program for world revolution through genuine proletarian internationalism. ■

Harvester...

(continued from page 3)

and Melba Stacy, a veteran of Harlan County, Kentucky labor wars and the wife of an IH striker, called for mass picketing at Melrose Park. However, the Local 6 bureaucrats have preached respect for court injunctions barring such militant picketing, the only means of quickly bringing the company to its knees. And ironically, while the Local's Education Committee is currently showing films depicting great union battles against the companies and their armed thugs, the Local 6 leaders steadfastly oppose putting *into practice* any of the tactics that built the labor movement.

What is critically necessary is the building of a class-struggle leadership that can provide a real opposition to Solidarity House. Such a leadership would call for mass picketing to halt scabbing and for reopening the Caterpillar and John Deere contracts, thus laying the basis for a union-wide fight to win jobs for all through a genuine shorter workweek with a big pay boost. Key to such a fight is a break with the Democratic Party, whose viciously anti-working-class character is being underscored by Chicago mayor Byrne's current union-busting spree. Instead of providing a platform for Democratic Party office-seekers, as Local 6 did at today's rally, the UAW must fight for a workers party and a workers government. ■

Hostages...

(continued from page 1)

weeks the mullah fanatics and their left idolizers hailed the taking of U.S. hostages as a deepening of the "anti-imperialist" Iranian revolution. For 15 weeks the mullahs appealed to the Iranian masses' justified hatred of the shah and his U.S. backers, promising to clean out the nest of spies that inhabit the U.S. embassy and to force the U.S. to return the butcher shah for trial. In Iran it has become increasingly evident that the taking of hostages was a *diversion* from the economic and social problems wracking the country. The people of Iran are tiring of rule by mullah madness; political circuses can have only temporary attraction for a people who need bread.

In this context, an early advocate of a deal with the U.S. on the hostages, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, is being touted as the rising star, with Ayatollah Khomeini's death-bed (?) blessing. As foreign minister, on November 13 Bani-Sadr came out for an international commission in exchange for releasing the hostages—a suggestion for which he was dumped from his post and replaced by Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, a "hard" on the hostage question. But after Afghanistan, Bani-Sadr won a landslide victory in the mullah-fixed election as he attacked the hostage-takers as a "government within a government."

In the U.S., the media is promoting Bani-Sadr—and no wonder. Having campaigned as an anti-Russian hard-liner, Bani-Sadr echoed Carter's saber-rattling speech on Afghanistan: "How can we expect that the Russians won't get the idea of creating the same fate for Iran?" (*New York Times*, 8 February). And he has called for shipping military hardware to the Afghan rebels.

That his commission is centrally an anti-Soviet ploy was underlined last week when Irish diplomat Sean MacBride, a co-founder of Amnesty International and supposed friend of the USSR, was dropped by Kurt Waldheim from the projected five-man commission because "both Teheran and Washington were disturbed about what they regard as the closeness of MacBride's views with those of the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*, 16 February).

This UN commission cannot be anything but a whitewash. The idea that such a commission agreed upon by Carter and Khomeini could investigate the crimes of the shah and his U.S. imperialist backers is a cruel hoax being perpetrated against the people of Iran. Putting the shah on the Peacock Throne was part of U.S. strategic global anti-Soviet calculations. A deal based on an alliance between the Iranian mullahs and the U.S. imperialists is hardly in a position to "investigate." The mullahs can't reveal the crimes of U.S. imperialism and its Iranian gangs—because the mullahs are among the criminals.

This is not the first time the mullahs have seen the need to choose between U.S. imperialism and the "godless red menace." They made their choice when they backed the shah in the CIA-engineered coup that overthrew the nationalist premier Mossadeq in August 1953 and reinstalled the shah to the power he clung to for decades. Kermit Roosevelt, then head of CIA operations in Teheran, has written in his book *Countercoup* (1979)—suppressed after publication—that an "alliance with the mullahs" was the CIA's "first line of attack" against Mossadeq.

Teheran embassy hostages.

UPI

As Mossadeq had proposed reforms such as extending the vote to women, relaxation of the regulation of liquor sales, land reform and the nationalization of large companies—reforms which made direct inroads upon the feudal social privileges of the Shi'ite clergy—a wedge was driven between the National Front and the *ulema*. Then the CIA began funneling funds to the mullahs in preparation for the August coup. The *chaque-keshan*, lumpenproletarian gangs associated with the mosque who were the "enforcers" of mullah justice, grew enormously. Ervand Abrahamian graphically describes the role of the mullah-led mobs in the coup:

> "As troops occupied government offices and thirty-seven tanks attacked the Premier's residence, thugs paid by the CIA and affiliated with the reactionary clerical leaders gathered mobs from the red-light district and marched through Tehran to provide the accoustical effects for the military coup d'etat.
>
> —"The Opposition Forces," *MERIP Reports* No. 75/76

Since the fall of the shah, the problem for the U.S. has been how to maintain Iran as a bastion of anti-Sovietism. The problem for the mullahs has been how to consolidate a state power (in particular to crush the rebellious national and religious minorities). The mullahs' claim to be anti-shah and anti-CIA retains a powerful hold on the Iranian masses. In this dangerous deception the mullahs are given full-time aid by the reformist left.

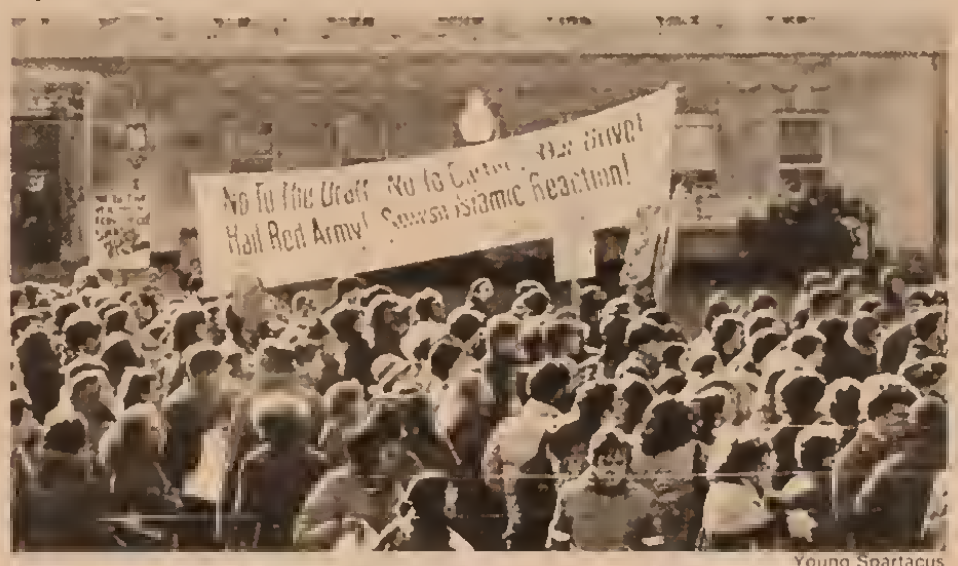
As the mullah regime lines up over Afghanistan, the leftists who supported the Islamic fundamentalists are once again forced to stare into the face of its reactionary character. What will they say this time? Is the commission a sellout of "revolutionary" intentions? Or a further exposure by the mullahs of the CIA-shah connection? Or perhaps they will call for a more "revolutionary" Islamic commission independent of "superpowers" to investigate the crimes of imperialism.

One thing is clear: the "Russian question" now defines and dominates the politics of the left throughout the world, and particularly along the polarizing Russian border. The problems of Iran still remain super-heated in a society that is still in a state of semi-anarchy, with the most powerful and militant proletariat in the region and a population that remains armed on the streets. Iran's problems remain to be solved by proletarian revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party. In Iran that role can be played only by those who do not hail Khomeini, and who do hail the Red Army in Afghanistan. ■

War Fever...

(continued from page 1)

clash between communist internationalism and the reformists' support to their "own" bourgeoisie came out sharply at two recent events called by the nascent Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) in New York and Michigan. At a February 9 anti-draft rally sponsored by CARD at Times Square, the fake-lefts howled when former Congresswoman Bella Abzug was met by militant Spartacist chants of "Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!" At a subsequent CARD meeting several pacifists expressed horror at the SL/SYL presence in the demo, particularly over our prominent slogan "Hail Red Army!" (people might get the wrong idea), but backed off from an official exclusion.



Young Spartacus

Anti-draft demonstration at Columbia University, January 30.

Not so at CARD's Midwestern Regional Conference in Kalamazoo, Michigan February 16, where an alliance of Maoists and social democrats joined forces to physically bar SYL members from entering the conference room. The conference was dominated by the so-called Revolutionary Student Brigade, whose parent group, the "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters" calls for "unified, collective action by the world community against Soviet aggression." The pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) sat on their hands as the SYL was excluded, but when they put forward a routine motion condemning U.S. threats over Afghanistan the Maoists voted it down, demanding that the USSR be condemned. The SWP/YSA finally voted for a motion condemning *all* military intervention in Afghanistan. Pacifist in form, this resolution is actually *political support to Jimmy Carter* as he threatens World War III over "Soviet aggression"!

The current differences over foreign policy in the Democratic Party are only tactical shadings within the ruling class over how best to prosecute the imperialist drive against the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. This was expressed in Ted Kennedy's statement, distributed in flyers at anti-draft rallies, that "I oppose registration when it only means reams of computer printouts that would only be a paper curtain against the Soviet troops." And it's not just mainstream Democrats who are serving as counsel to the Pentagon. The despicable former SDS leader Tom Hayden warned protesters at a UCLA demonstration that other politicians are "playing with the politics of your patriotism," and "troops would be useless in Iran, Afghanistan, and the Persian Gulf." But what if they weren't "useless"? Radicals who form coalitions with such bourgeois politicians are paving the way to imperialist war.

In the tradition of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, the SL/SYL opposes class-collaborationist alliances with the capitalist politicians and their "patriotic" tactical opposition to the draft. We say: Not one penny, not one man to the imperialist army—the butchers of My Lai and atom bombers of Hiroshima/Nagasaki! Because we seek to build a consciously anti-imperialist movement we have a basis to appeal to oppressed minorities in the U.S., many of whom opposed the Vietnam War as an attack by an imperial power against former colonial subjects. But the present anti-draft movement is overwhelmingly, almost exclusively, white and campus bound and may be easily bought off by class privileges (e.g., student deferments). In contrast, for poor blacks facing depression-level unemployment in the ghetto, the army frequently appears as a step up economically and socially (leading to a heavily black military which the bourgeoisie considers unreliable, another reason why reinstituting the draft is on the agenda). Poor and working people have no choice, and if conscription is imposed communists would oppose all socially discriminatory or privileged exemptions including the exemption of women and students.

So there's a lot of talk about reviving the '60s. Tired pacifists come out of the woodwork and college youth take a few halting steps toward what they perceive as radical politics, with pleas to "give peace a chance" and chants of "Hell no, we won't go!" To those who would repeat the impotent gestures of draft "resistance," we reply with our famous *Spartacist* headline from 1968: "You WILL Go"—to fight against imperialism and for socialism within the conscript army. Where the reformists built a class-collaborationist "peace" movement that disappeared as soon as U.S. troops left Vietnam, as Trotskyists we fight for a working-class program to overthrow capitalism—the source of imperialist war. And we fought for it then. During the Vietnam War our banner proclaimed, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" Today we boldly say, "Hail Red Army! Down With Islamic Reaction!" ■

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE FORUM

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Speaker: Bonnie Brodie, SYL National Committee

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
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7:30 p.m.
125 Tillett Hall
Livingston College

For further information: (212) 732-7860

Life and Death on the Waterfront

On February 11 an explosion on an oil utility barge, the Peter Frank, *in Bayonne, New Jersey caused the death of one worker and seriously injured another. Immediately the TV and press rushed to the scene to cover another disaster. But the media did not report that the yard where the explosion took place was a notorious anti-union employer whose wretched working conditions amounted to a death trap which sooner or later had to blow.*

Jack Heyman, a seaman and trade-union militant of many years' standing, was working on a nearby barge when the explosion occurred, and he rescued another worker from probable death on the flaming Peter Frank. *Heyman, a 1978 candidate of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus for secretary-treasurer of the National Maritime Union (NMU), is currently a member of Local 333, which represents many of the tug, harbor and barge workers on the East Coast. In an interview with* WV, *he tells the story behind the explosion.*

Parola/NY Post

Deadly wreck: barge Peter Frank after explosion.

WV: Could you describe the explosion?

Hayman: The barge I was working on was in the yard to be cleaned. The explosion went a few hundred feet up into the air, and much of the debris came down on my barge. People were running all over the place in panic, scared that other barges in the area could go up. I had some training at the NMU school in firefighting and first aid, so I had a sense of—you know—what course of action to take.

WV Photo

Jack Heyman

As people were fleeing the explosion, they were yelling, "The men are still on the barge." So I tried to get on the bow of the barge, but there was just too much smoke and flames. I worked my way along a barge that was next to the one on fire and did manage to get to the stern where I found one of the workers. He had managed to climb out of the engine room up the ladder. But any skin on his body not covered by clothing was completely burned off. His hair was singed and he seemed to be blind, or at least couldn't see for that moment. So I grabbed him under the arms and tried to drag him across the barge that was tied up next to the *Peter Frank*. Finally, I got help and we got him on the dock. His name is Juan Setias and he's now in the Cornell Hospital burn center.

WV: When did the rescue teams get there?

Heyman: It's a funny thing about the New York harbor. The bargemen and tugboatmen have radios on their units, and when there's ever any kind of emergency like this, it's spread out over the air immediately. There's a sense of camaraderie among waterfront workers, and so they were the first on the scene. There was much publicity about the Coast Guard and the Fire Department in terms of helping put out the fire. But in fact, credit should be given to members of Local 333 who were the first ones on the scene, not only to help rescue the guy who was injured, but also to help put out the fire.

WV: Obviously you've got to be safety-conscious in this industry. Government figures show that in 1975, there were 520 lost work days per each 100 workers due to occupational injury and illness in maritime, higher than any other occupational group.

Heyman: I've been sailing on the deep-sea ships, the tankers, freighters and also tugboats and barges for the last 12 years. I'm captain on the B-50 and most barges only have two-man crews. In fact, nowadays you find some barges that carry 150,000 barrels or more, which is as much as ships were carrying just a few years ago. So this particular aspect of the maritime industry has been hit very much by automation. And you know, when you talk about small manning scales, you're talking about a safety issue.

Just last week we pulled up to a terminal and we made our connections with the hose to load and they only had one man on the dock. Now, this is really unsafe. We're talking about one man hooking up a hose, standing by the valve, and then having to run to a pump in case there's a spill or something to shut down the pump. And sometimes these pump rooms are a couple hundred yards away.

WV: What about this Standard Tank Cleaning company, where the accident occurred? What kind of place is it?

Hayman: Well, you know the whole oil industry is dangerous, but this one yard in particular was a death trap. You had conditions there that were indescribable. There was quite often welding going on in the middle of tank-cleaning operations. I was told that this isn't the first time there's been an explosion in that yard. Everybody on the waterfront knew this place was going to blow sooner or later.

WV: Was it union or unorganized?

Heyman: As far as I know, the company has always stifled any kind of union organizing drive. The tugboats and barges had once been organized by Local 333, but there was a raid by the Marine Engineers.

WV: So you are basically talking about a situation here where most of the workers had no union protection?

Heyman: That's right. Anybody who is represented by Local 333 has the right to refuse unsafe work and the union will back you up. On the other hand, workers that are at the complete mercy of the company have no recourse. Either you work in unsafe jobs or you're fired.

WV: You've been active as a militant in maritime unions for several years. What were your experiences in fighting to unionize non-union ships, boats and tugs?

Heyman: You know, when you talk about organizing the unorganized, you're talking about the oil companies. They're the ones running the foreign flag ships, the so-called runaway ships. And the conditions that these guys work under could only be described as slave conditions. I mean, you see some ships with Pakistani, Indian or Filipino crews—these guys are making only $100 a month, if that, and have no union representation whatsover.

In the NMU—in fact I ran for office on the Militant-Solidarity Caucus slate—we ran on a program of organizing these ships. It's important because unless they're organized they pose a threat to all of organized labor. In fact, one of the consequences of the refusal of maritime labor leaders to organize the runaways is that the U.S. companies save millions in wages and impose these slave conditions by registering their ships abroad.

WV: There is now a Coast Guard investigation of this accident. What do you think of these federal agencies that are supposed to safeguard health and safety standards?

Heyman: You know, a lot of guys think that the Coast Guard or government agencies like OSHA are going to protect them, and union officials often build these same illusions. But recently, to give an example, there was a postal worker killed at the Bulk Mail Center in New Jersey. Then they had a federal investigation but shortly afterward another worker almost got killed. As for the Coast Guard, it's nothing but waterfront cops and an agency of a government run by big business, which is just going to follow the dictates of big business. Generally, what these agencies do is put the blame for industrial accidents on the workers and whitewash the companies' criminal role.

So the Coast Guard, while they were late in showing up at the explosion at the *Peter Frank*—in fact they just got there right before the cameras got there, the news media—they were pretty active in strikebreaking during the tug strike last summer. They were escorting scab boats and in fact themselves towed scab garbage scows throughout the strike.

Really, the only guarantee for safety and health on the job is a strong union safety committee that can shut down production when things are unsafe. It's not reliance on the government, but only the building of a strong militant labor movement that can defend our interests. And on the waterfront that's a life or death question. ■

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Thugs...

(continued from page 4)

al communications and was intimately involved in planning and overseeing the police riot against demonstrators at the 1968 Chicago convention. The Secret Service also strong-armed anti-Nixon protesters during the 1970 pre-term election campaign, blatantly routing anti-war demonstrators at a Nixon-Billy Graham rally in North Carolina. It supplied information for politically motivated IRS audits.

After the agency's exposure for roping off IAM picketers from public view to give Carter a good press, a prickly assistant director John Warner blustered "We're not a political agency. Our guys are bipartisan public servants" (*New York Times*, 10 February). But the facts speak otherwise. The Secret Service was, of course, up to its neck in Watergate, from recommending Watergate burglar James McCord to be Nixon's campaign "security coordinator" to installing the White House tapes. But Nixon successfully invoked "executive privilege" to prevent agency testimony to the Senate Watergate Committee.

The voices of liberalism have cried out for reform of capitalism's secret police—though never to get rid of them, of course. The lasting effect of such Congressional watchdog committees and other "oversight" measures can be gauged by the fact that under the impact of the Afghanistan and Iran crises, Carter has introduced legislation not only freeing the spy agencies from previous minimal restraints, but for the first time establishing an "official secrets act" making it illegal to expose the identities of undercover agents even where the agents commit crimes. And all along the liberals genuflected before the presidency.

So, too, the reformists. It was a sign of the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party toward social-democratic reformism that they sent condolences to the widow Kennedy following the 1963 assassination. This reflected a more general attitude toward the government—these cretinist "consistent democrats" really believed if they just fought their lawsuits and acted "respectable," they'd be treated just like any other (bourgeois) party. Their touching faith in the capitalist government was not shaken even by the 1976 revelations that the Secret Service had blanketed a Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention with every conceivable kind of electronic and physical surveillance.

According to information obtained by the SWP's "socialist Watersuit," the Secret Service tape recorded and photographed the entire 1971 YSA convention from positions inside a projection booth and under the stage of the convention hall. The 4 June 1976 *Militant* reports that agents recorded and photographed every person who spoke at the Houston meeting, spending the next three months matching pictures to tapes to put together an "information kit" on the SWP/YSA. The "kits" were then forwarded to Secret Service offices in San Diego and Miami for the 1972 Democratic and Republican conventions. Among other uses, they were to aid a proposed scheme of Nixon "plumber" G. Gordon Liddy to organize violence against radical protesters at the Republican convention.

Yet only months after this disclosure, SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo was still among the faithful, demanding Secret Service protection during his 1976 campaign! The undying trust of Camejo and the SWP in the bourgeois army and cops to "protect" minorities and the left is well known (remember "federal troops to Boston" in 1974!). But one wonders why the Secret Service side even bothered with their hide-and-seek operation in Houston. Had it merely asked permission to attend the conference, undoubtedly the SWP social democrats would have said, "Come on in."

In sharp contrast to the rose-colored reformism of the Watersuiters is the present campaign against Secret Service harassment being waged on behalf of union militant Jane Margolis. This campaign, rooted in the labor movement, exposes and fights the real danger of the government's secret police. Particularly in this period of Carter's renewed Cold War, it is urgent that all unionists, socialists and those committed to democratic rights come forward to defend the labor movement against the state's attempts to muzzle it. We urge our readers to respond generously to the fund drive for the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (see accompanying article, page 3). Jane Margolis vs. the Secret Service is your fight. ■

British Steel...

(continued from page 12)

Poor old Ted Grant would seek to preserve the Labour Party three decades into the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A Strategy to Win

Steel workers: don't let your strike be derailed by these traitors after so many weeks of bitter struggle and sacrifice! Here are the key elements of a strategy to win:

For mass picketing to shut down all production and movement of steel! As one picket put it outside Sheerness, instead of mass rallies in the streets the unions should organise "mass rallies" outside factory gates to shut down production and deal with scabs. Until recently virtually all the flying picketing has been organised from South Yorkshire; until 2,000 workers surrounded Hadfields on February 14, there have seldom been even 200 at any one site. Open up the pickets to all trade unionists and strike supporters, as has already been done in Scotland! One day of effective mass picketing at Hadfields closed that factory down. Leading "left" Yorkshire miners leader Arthur Scargill had led several hundred miners to join the pickets at Hadfields. Fine. But earlier he sanctioned the continuing handling of steel by Yorkshire miners; and even the transport of steel from pit to pit. Why doesn't "King Arthur" bring out all the Yorkshire miners on indefinite strike action! Add the tens of thousands of miners to the flying pickets! Mass delegations of strikers should be sent to Fords and BL plants and other major steel users to call on the workers not only to stop handling steel but to join the strike.

No pay, no steel! Not one penny less than 20 per cent, without strings or productivity deals. As one Welsh striker said, "I don't want to go back and be doing two men's jobs for less money." All pay rises must be retroactive to the start of the strike. But 20 per cent will mean nothing to the 52,000 workers threatened with BSC's redundancy heap. Nor will it do anything to stop Wales from being laid waste by the government's industrial policies. The strike must officially demand: *No redundancies [layoffs]! Not one more job lost!*

Demand that the TUC call an immediate national general strike to smash the Tory/employer offensive! Of course Murray and his cronies can't be relied upon to lead such a struggle, but the TUC is the only body with sufficient authority to call a general strike right now. Yet they will only call it when they feel it breathing down their necks, and then will do everything in their power to sell it out.

So don't let them! *For joint co-ordinated regional and national strike committees!* The steel strike committees in the various regions must be linked up nationally, subject to election and recall by regular mass meetings, to ensure full membership control over every aspect of the strike and over negotiations. Call a conference of elected delegates from all the regional committees to elect a national strike committee!

Every sector of the union movement which has outstanding claims or will be affected by the steel redundancies (like the miners) must come out *now*. Leyland workers: Don't wait for the layoffs! Steel strike committees must come together with other strike committees, stewards committees, local trades councils and other appropriate bodies to co-ordinate their activities. Joint committees of all striking unions could, both while fighting for and during a general strike, organise effective picketing and defence guards against scabs and strikebreakers and exercise control over the distribution of food, medicine and other essential supplies to the workers.

The steel strike is not just an isolated "industrial dispute" but a first-rate social and political confrontation threatening the very existence of the Tory government. Militants must demand that a general strike take up aims which meet the interests of the entire working class and the oppressed against the massive attacks of the government and employers:

Reverse the wave of redundancies—save the jobs at BL and BSC! For work sharing on full pay! For plant occupations against closures!

For a sliding scale of wages and pensions pegged to every percentage point increase in the cost of living and coupled with immediate across-the-board increases.

Reverse the cuts in social services and education—Labour's as well as the Tories'! *No to trade protectionism and racist immigration controls! Down with the anti-abortion Corrie bill!*

Defend the workers' organisations! Bury the Prior Bill! Smash all the victimisations of trade-union militants—Reinstate Derek Robinson as BL Longbridge convenor!

Revolutionary Leadership and the Struggle for Power

But a general strike, whatever its immediate demands, also poses the *question of power*. The elected strike committees which are necessary to ensure victory against inevitable attempts at bureaucratic sabotage could, like the Councils of Action of 1926, become a focus for dual power. In a general strike situation, they would be compelled to take over essential functions of the state like the operation of essential services and the maintenance of order in the workers' districts.

Given the pack of class traitors who currently are at the head of the labour movement, and the lack of a mass revolutionary alternative, it is clear that a general strike today could not lead directly to the workers' seizure of power. But it could succeed in achieving limited aims, and thereby open the road to a pre-revolutionary situation, as the reformists are clearly exposed as lackeys of the capitalists and as the most militant strikers come to recognise the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. As Leon Trotsky wrote during the 1926 general strike:

> "This by no means implies, however, that the present strike is faced by the alternative of all or nothing.... The more widely it develops, the more violently it shakes the foundations of capitalism, the more completely it sheds the treacherous and opportunist leaders, the more difficult will it be for bourgeois reaction to go over to the counteroffensive, the less will the proletarian organisations suffer, the sooner shall we reach the next, more decisive stage of the fight."

All the reformist bureaucrats and charlatans have their own pet schemes for propping up decaying British capitalism. And the fake revolutionaries tag along behind, all unwilling and unable to chart a course for the proletariat to confront and defeat the capitalist class. The Communist Party has sufficient weight in key sectors of the working class to pull sectors of the union movement numbering hundreds of thousands—car workers, miners—out on strike alongside the steel workers. Yet with 40,000 facing the sack at Leyland and CPer Robinson still outside the gate, it uses its influence to echo the Bennites' chauvinist protectionism, boost the TUC's empty anti-cuts campaigns and (as at Fords Dagenham) look the other way as scab steel is sneaked into the plants.

Joining the CP in criminal refusal to fight for a general strike is the Socialist Workers Party, whose *Socialist Worker* lead article (9 February) blares that a "fightback" can "start" [!] with the TUC-initiated March 9 Sunday anti-cuts outing! And the SWP's *Real Steel News* takes up little beyond the 20 per cent pay claim as the goal for the strike—except to add its own voice to the crusade for import controls. The centrist International Marxist Group [IMG] finally decided to call for a general strike several weeks after militant steel workers began to do so—but it still sets its call safely off in mid-March, not today.

The problems of the working class will not be solved by putting Callaghan/Benn back on the Westminster benches, as all the labour traitors try to argue. The capitalists are ravaging the country: shutting down factories, sending millions of workers onto the dole queues [unemployment lines], squandering lives and destroying valuable productive forces in the name of profit. Only socialist revolution for a workers government can create a rationally planned economy and give British workers a future.

During their nearly two months of struggle the steel workers have quickly outstripped the right-wing bureaucratic trades unionism of their misleaders. They have demonstrated their readiness for militant struggle. But militancy is not enough. They are pitted against the entire capitalist class and its state, and they need a weapon to take on that enemy—a programme to unify the proletariat in struggle and a leadership which breaks from social-democratic Labourism to provide a revolutionary solution to the extreme social decay and crisis of British capitalism. Then they will be prepared for "the next, more decisive stage of the fight."

Victory to the steel strike—General strike now! Not Sirs, Callaghan, Scargill or Benn—For a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement! Forward to a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class! ■

NEW YORK SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

Eyewitness Report

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Guest Speakers: Edward (Corky) Banadict
membar, Militant-Solidarity Caucus in tha NMU

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Massive Steel Strike Rocks Thatcher

General Strike Posed in Britain

On-the-Spot Report

For the past month and a half more than 150,000 British steel workers have been fighting a bitter strike, the most important class conflict on the island since a Tory government was brought down by the 1974 coal strike. Yet the American press has maintained a virtually total blackout on this crucial battle, perhaps because the Thatcher government is Washington's only sure ally in Europe. We bring here to our readers an on-the-spot report from our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain.

Spartacist Britain

Flying pickets call on Sheerness steel workers to come out, stop scab trucks.

LONDON, February 17—British steel strikers are today locked in a vital class battle against the Tory government and the capitalist class that it serves. Their strike, now in its seventh week and still increasing in militancy, threatens to spark an explosive class-wide offensive against all the Tories' anti-union and austerity policies. Its outcome could determine the social and political situation in this country for years. It must be won!

For the ruling class, the steel strike is a test case for the right-wing monetarist policies of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Secretary of State for Industry Keith Joseph. Josephism means 40,000 workers thrown on the scrap heap at nationalised British Leyland and more than 50,000 at government-owned British Steel. It means driving workers ever deeper into poverty in a desperate attempt to restore profitability to bankrupt British capitalism. And behind the Tories' pretence of "non-intervention" lies the mailed fist of the bosses' state.

Nearly 200 strikers have already been arrested on picket lines throughout the country; some have been brutally beaten. The militant strike committee at Rotherham has had its phones tapped. The strike has been threatened with court injunctions. And in response to the success of flying picket squads despatched from Rotherham and elsewhere, the Tories have tightened the provisions of the union-bashing Prior Bill.

This strike is a test for the working class. Defeat for the steel workers would mean a major setback for the whole class and would pave the way for unprecedented legal shackles on trade-union rights. But victory could turn the Prior Bill into a scrap of paper and provide a tremendous impetus to further class struggle. Thatcher remembers very well that Ted Heath's Conservative government fell in 1974 in an attempt to take on the unions. Hers could be next.

The phrase "General Strike" is on everyone's lips. All the ingredients are there, save an authoritative revolutionary leadership of the working class. The stockpiles which were carefully built up by industry over the autumn and early winter are fast disappearing. The CBI [Confederation of British Industry] has warned that the country could "grind to a halt" by the end of the month. Meanwhile workers in other strategic industrial sectors stand poised for strikes of their own. Half of London's dockers are already out. Unions representing 20,000 water workers turned down a 19 per cent management offer, threatening to strike February 25. And even as British Leyland workers overwhelmingly rejected an insulting 5 per cent pay offer, management was declaring a *de facto* lockout of 40,000 employees. Meanwhile, the Ayatollah of BL, Sir Michael Edwardes, adamantly refuses to reinstate victimised Longbridge convenor Derek Robinson.

Militant steel workers have recognised the obvious link between their struggle and that at Leyland. For the past week and a half flying pickets have been despatched to the key parts plant at Castle Bromwich, which if shut down would soon affect the whole of BL. Yet still the union bureaucrats dither and delay, hoping to derail any possibility of joint struggle with the steel workers—and certainly of a general strike.

The Enemy Within

The steel strikers have had to overcome enormous obstacles to come as far as they have, not least their own "leaders." One Rotherham picket put it well: "The most dangerous enemy in this strike isn't Margaret Thatcher, Keith Joseph or BSC management. It's Bill Sirs." The strikers wondered aloud when the ISTC [Iron and Steel Trades Confederation] general secretary will get his knighthood for services rendered to the capitalists—they call him "Sir Sirs."

The *only* reason there has been effective flying picketing at all is that militant strike committees have ignored Sirs' frantic instructions to stop. While the membership demands 20 per cent without strings, Sirs keeps trying for a "compromise" far below that and tied to job-loss productivity deals. While strikers have to scrape by hand-to-mouth on their meagre savings, Sirs and his fellow national bureaucrats sit on millions of pounds in the ISTC treasury with not a penny released for strike pay. (Now Thatcher is again threatening to cut off social security benefits to strikers' families by "deeming" that they had received union strike pay—even if they had not!)

Sirs waited five weeks to call out the private sector, then bowed to Lord Denning's ruling outlawing this extension of the strike. *Then* he tried to stop its resumption after the Law Lords reversed Denning's decision—only to be voted down unanimously by his own Executive. Having dawdled for so long before pulling out private steel, he waited only a few days to arrange a backstabbing, behind-the-scenes return to work for the large Hadfields private firm in Sheffield—a betrayal so blatant that the Rotherham strike committee ISTC members demanded his dismissal from office. Sirs quickly backed down this time, but he is a proven traitor. He can't even show his face in South Yorkshire without being heckled by angry strikers. Sack him!

And Bill Sirs isn't the only traitor. The craft and general steel workers' leaders have ignominiously tried to get a separate scab settlement with management—which the workers threw out—underlining the need for one industrial union throughout the steel industry. Moreover, despite pious promises at the beginning of the strike that steel would be blacked ["hot-cargoed" or boycotted], huge shipments keep coming into and being transported around the country, often with the connivance of top union officials.

Every initiative to broaden the strike towards a general strike has been stifled by the TUC [Trades Union Congress]. It forced the postponement of the all-out January 21 Welsh general strike until March, sanctioning a token one-day stoppage to blow off steam in the meantime. Since then Congress House has desperately manoeuvred against angry Welsh miners, steel and railway workers in an attempt to junk the regional general strike altogether.

Meanwhile their friends on the Labour benches at Westminster have been campaigning, not for victory to the steel strike, but for government intervention to stop it! [Labour Party leader] Jim Callaghan and his gang want new wage controls; they don't even oppose the Prior Bill, only wanting to amend it. Tony Benn echoes Callaghan's programme for a new pay ceiling, while joining hands with the likes of Sir Michael Edwardes in his pleas for protectionist import controls.

Such controls will *not* save jobs, but merely set British workers against foreign workers as other governments retaliate with their own embargoes. Capitalist import controls are a policy for trade war, which inevitably leads towards real imperialist war, and must be flatly *opposed*. It is not in the least surprising that those labour misleaders who advocate protectionism also fall into lockstep behind the Iron Lady's Cold War mongering against the Soviet Union—in both cases they declare their willingness to serve up the workers as imperialist cannon fodder.

A party which genuinely fought for the working class would be straining every muscle right now to rally support for the steel workers, denouncing the Tories' attacks and using the platform of Parliament to campaign for a general strike. But the flabby social democrats of Westminster, right and "left" alike, are not lifting a finger in support of the steel strikers. Hardly surprising, since only one year ago *they* were on the government benches, slashing wages and trying to break the militant strikes of local government manual workers.

Another side to the capitalist wage-cutting/union-bashing drive is a big red scare and a witchhunt against "Trotskyist infiltration" into the Labour Party. The right-wing press is in a frenzy over "Red Robbo," leading Communist Party trade unionist Derek Robinson: "Red Robbo on the Run" (*Evening News*, 8 February), "End of Line for Red Robbo" (*Evening Mail*, 24 January). The most important shop floor leader in the big nationalised car manufacturer, Robinson was sacked last November for opposing Leylands' job-slashing plan. Clearly, for the ruling class, preventing Red Robbo's reinstatement is key to breaking the influence of the left in the labour movement.

Along with the campaign against CPer Robinson there is a hue and cry about "Trotskyists" in the Labour Party. When the party's National Executive rejected expelling Ted Heslin, a supporter of the centrist Workers Socialist League, the right-wing *Daily Mail* (24 January) blared on its front page: "Victory for Red Ted." Then there is the perennial witchhunt against Ted Grant's *Militant* group, Labour's "house Marxists," who for years have loyally administered the official Young Socialists. A stodgy Victorian caricature of Marxism, Grant's *Militant* group is utterly loyal to Labourism.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 251 — 7 March 1980

No Détente Illusions—Victory to Soviet Army in Afghanistan!

Cold War II?

Kretz/Stern

From the halls of Congress to the Khyber Pass, Carter and Brzezinski deploy their weapons to "punish" the Russians. They are making the Moscow Olympics a vicarious battleground. And when the U.S. Olympic hockey team beat the superior Russian team at Lake Placid, a tidal wave of patriotic fervor broke across the U.S. A nationally televised NBA basketball game was interrupted by a public address announcement that the U.S. team had won the gold medal. The crowd came to its feet cheering. The band struck up "The Star Spangled Banner" and the audience sang with a reverence not seen in years. For the first time since the 1950s, America is experiencing a popular mood of anti-Soviet jingoism.

Once again the media is filled with 1950s-style calls to help "freedom fighters" "contain" Soviet "aggression." Once again we hear cries to unleash the "reformed" FBI and strengthen the CIA. The presidential candidates differ only in disputing the degree of Carter's "effectiveness" against the USSR: will the grain boycott really starve the people of Russia before it bankrupts the people of Iowa? In the union movement a bureaucracy tempered in social patriotism spearheads a reactionary boycott of Soviet ships and cargo. The anti-draft demonstrations are infected with chauvinism as the leaders wave the flag and dodge the question of defense of the Soviet Union vs. defense of imperialism. Behind the Cold War rhetoric is an increasing U.S. arsenal readying for nuclear war. We Marxists say: No to the imperialist draft—Smash Carter's war drive—Victory to the Red Army in Afghanistan!

Post-Vietnam distrust of the government is still a fact of life. But the antiwar movement led by the liberal imperialists and tailed by the reformist left was built on refusing to draw the class line between U.S. imperialism and the deformed workers states. And so the "Vietnam syndrome" is not a terminal disease for pro-imperialist public opinion. A recently released Gallup poll counted 64 percent in favor of American military action "if the Russians invade the Persian Gulf."

But even if the U.S. rulers can erode lingering resistance to American military adventures, they cannot bring back the Cold War in its old form. Unlike the post-World War II period, the other imperialists are less allies and more rivals. And while last month's headlines

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Smash White Supremacism! Black Workers to Power!

Rhodesia Election Settles Nothing

MARCH 4—The nearly three million blacks who went to the polls in Rhodesia last week demonstrated their hatred for white-supremacist rule. The reigning black front-man for the white ruling caste, Abel Muzorewa, was utterly wiped out, losing even in his tribal homeland. The "moderate" Joshua Nkomo was shown up as strictly a tribalist politician, holding only Matabeleland. The big victor was the "Marxist" Robert Mugabe, unexpectedly gaining 57 of the 80 parliamentary seats allotted to blacks.

For their architects in the London Foreign Office, these elections were seen as the last chance for a relatively peaceful transition to a neo-colonial Zimbabwe, safe for imperialist exploitation. For the black masses, however, any election under imperialist auspices and a constitution which maintains the privileged status of the white settler caste is a fraud. Every black leader, from the former stooge prime minister Bishop Muzorewa to the nationalist guerrilla chiefs Mugabe and Nkomo, agreed in advance to give the 4 percent white population twenty of the parliamentary seats as well as a virtual ten-year ban on constitutional amendments.

Moreover, the door by which Britain returned to Rhodesia 15 years after the white settler Unilateral Declaration of Independence was opened by none other than Mugabe and Nkomo. Not only agreeing to the imperialist settlement hammered out at London's Lancaster House, they positively *welcomed* the return of Rhodesia to the status of a British colony and the arrival of 1,200 Commonwealth troops and the colonial governor Lord Soames.

Nkomo won the formal seal of approval from the white settler leader Ian Smith, while Mugabe, running for white support, announced his desire for "coexistence" with South Africa. He even asked Lord Soames to stay on after the election, projecting "a role similar to that of the late Lord Mountbatten in India after independence" ([London] *Times*, 28 February). Mugabe has promised to recognize "historical, social and political realities of Zimbabwe." Paramount among these "realities" is "the capitalist system which cannot be transformed over night" so that "private enterprise will have to continue until the circumstances are ripe for socialist change" (*New York Times*, 14 February).

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Mass Picketing Key to OCAW Strike Victory

Nearly 60,000 Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) members walked off their jobs January 8 in the first nationwide strike against the major oil companies since 1969. The union is negotiating a re-opener clause in the second year of a two-year contract and is demanding a dollar-an-hour pay increase as well as fully paid medical coverage. But despite outbursts of militancy reminiscent of the coal miners strike of 1977-78, the oil strike now going into its third month may be in serious trouble. What is needed is mass picketing to shut the oil industry down and solidarity action from the rest of the labor movement. It was an important beginning when West Coast dock workers *shut down Los Angeles harbor* March 1 in solidarity with their striking OCAW brothers (see box).

In particular, the failure of the national OCAW leadership to shut down the refineries and appeal to other unions to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) scab petroleum products is key to the present precarious situation. Across the country there are reports of numerous arrests and violence against strikers. And now the Big Oil giants are compiling lists of militants to be fired and mobilizing the capitalist courts to go after strikers with injunctions and arrests.

The focus of the strike is the Gulf Coast, particularly Texas, where the OCAW stronghold of 20,000 members has a history of strike militancy. Here, rank-and-file unionists started off the strike by going after scabs with a vengeance. On the second day of the strike at Houston's Atlantic Richfield (ARCO) refinery, despite a show of force of 20 police squad cars, some 250 pickets turned out to stop wholesale scabherding. As one picket told *WV*:

> "People would run over to where there's big piles of rocks and bricks lying on the side of the road. If the scabs came out of that gate they'd really catch it. After the second morning they started bringing in buses because the scabs' cars weren't holding up to this. At about ten minutes to seven, here comes the scab bus. By the time they got to the maintenance gate they were already pretty battered. As they pulled in, it was like a hailstorm of rocks."

Things are still pretty hot at ARCO. After Houston OCAW Local 4-227 officials made a deal with management to keep pickets away from the contractors' gates in exchange for the company dropping a suit against the union's alleged picket-line "violence," the membership overturned it at a February 7 local meeting. The next morning a picket line of some 75 people appeared at the contractors' gate. Not only is the suit continuing, but ARCO is circulating a lengthening list of names of workers threatened with firing once the strike is over. On February 14 a mass women's picket line held in defiance of an injunction against strikers' pickets infuriated the company, which went to court, singling out some 40 union militants and socialists for contempt of court citations.

But the Gulf is not the only area where oil strikers have shown their desire for action. At Long Beach, California on February 13, some 400 shouting, foot-stomping OCAW strikers from Local 1-128 rallied and cheered the formation of a ten-union Los Angeles Harbor Council including the UAW, UE, ILWU and Teamsters, and castigated the SIU (Seafarers) for scabbing on the OCAW strike. In the Midwest during mid-January, oil trucks were stopped at the Energy Cooperative plant in East Chicago, Indiana, and company security stated it was powerless to clear strikers from the entrances. Nearby, mass pickets at an Indiana Amoco refinery prevented deliveries and non-striking contractors from entering the plant. Amoco officials complained of bags of nails strewn in the road, shattered windshields and hoses and valves missing from their trucks.

Since the beginning, however, OCAW International president Robert Goss has been running the strike with timid business-union tactics. In this heavily capital-intensive industry, it is virtually impossible to win without militant tactics of class-struggle unionism: every day thousands of supervisors and technicians cross the OCAW picket lines. A union spokesman recently told *WV* that refinery capacity utilization, 85.9 percent when the strike began, has only dropped to 80.3 percent since then (about the level it was when the companies manufactured their oil "crisis" last year). Solid picket lines extended to every plant and terminal to *shut down Big Oil* are key to victory in this strike. And militant labor solidarity is essential: OCAW must enlist the support of the transportation unions—Teamsters, maritime and railroad unions—to prevent struck oil from being marketed!

But Goss & Co. have no intention of organizing militant picket lines or of actively seeking the support of transport unions in hot-cargoing struck oil. Nor do they have much of a leg to stand on in such an appeal since Local 8-801, which represents Mobil seamen, is currently carrying scab oil. Some OCAW locals which represent terminal workers in the Northeast have not been called out. And government tankers run by the Military Sealift Command and crewed by the National Maritime Union have been loading at the Shell docks despite picket boats at the Houston refineries. These scab actions must be stopped!

Last year OCAW was the first union to negotiate a contract under Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines, and the union tops settled for a meager 8.3 percent. By contrast, increases in oil companies' profits last year were astronomical, some rocketing over 100 percent! So, the OCAW ranks want theirs. Reportedly, local negotiating committees last week turned down a 10 percent wage offer with no substantial change in the medical plan. But while oil workers are holding out to win, Goss's defeatist strategy is eroding the possibilities of victory. Ominously, OCAW has signed contracts with 12 "independent" oil companies and 1,500 former strikers are back at work under contracts which an International official admitted, "... wouldn't equal the rate of inflation."

How to Win the Strike

In any serious confrontation with the bosses, striking unions come face-to-face with the capitalist state in the form of riot-equipped cops and injunction-equipped judges. In such a struggle the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats repeatedly surrender before the battle is joined. Yet there is popular hatred of the oil companies by the American public, many of whom had to wait for hours last summer in gas lines to pay $1.50 a gallon. A stinging defeat for the oil barons at the hands of OCAW would awaken wide sympathy.

By raising the demand "Expropriate Big Oil," the union could tap into this outrage against the bloodsucking energy trusts. But a real fight against this most arrogant section of the U.S. ruling class requires a class-struggle union leadership. Instead, the OCAW bureaucracy is tied to capitalist politicians like Carter, who decontrolled oil prices last year, and Kennedy, who came out for mandatory wage controls to make workers pay for rampaging inflation. What is needed is a complete break from the Democratic and Republican parties of big business, and a workers party to lead the fight for a workers government.

Militant oil workers must reject the OCAW bureaucracy's defeatist tactics and sell-out "independent" settlements. No one should go back to work until every local has a contract. No reprisals! Shut down every refinery and terminal in the U.S. and Canada! Elected strike committees must coordinate effective mass picketing and approach the transport unions to hot-cargo scab oil. With such militant tactics OCAW could win a substantial wage boost, 100 percent cost-of-living escalator in addition to fully paid medical coverage. And a solid victory in a nationwide oil strike could be the springboard for a drive to organize the unorganized, starting in Jimmy Carter's "right-to-work" South.

Thousands of American oil workers remain outside the OCAW, accounting for 30 percent of U.S. refining capacity. Some of these workers are organized by other AFL-CIO unions and the Teamsters, but many are unorganized. Exxon, for instance, one of the world's largest corporations, is almost totally non-union, from its Arabian oil fields to the tankers, to the refineries and clerical employees. One industrial union of refinery, terminal and pipeline workers, backed up by militant solidarity of the entire labor movement, would have the power to shut down Big Oil cold. Victory to the OCAW strike! ■

WV Photo

ILWU Local 13 contingent at March 1 rally. One-day dock shutdown cost bosses millions.

L.A. Harbor Shutdown to Support OCAW Strike

LOS ANGELES, March 1—Longshoremen here demonstrated their solidarity with 60,000 striking oil workers today by shutting down the L.A. port in a one-day work stoppage. Giant container cranes ground to a halt as waterfront workers stood together in struggle with their class brothers. In addition, 3,000 southern California trade unionists rallied in solidarity with the OCAW strike. Altogether it was the most powerful show of labor muscle in the Los Angeles region since a 1946 McDonnell-Douglas aircraft strike rally.

The work stoppage was carried out by ILWU Local 13. According to dock union officials, it was 98 percent effective, as other unions respected the action, including the marine shipyard workers, marine firemen and several craft unions. However, the action was weakened by the decision to exempt military and passenger ships, as well as perishables, from the one-day strike.

The strike-support rally was called by the Harbor Coalition (formed by some ten union locals including OCAW, ILWU and Teamsters), and labor contingents from some 30 L.A.-area unions enthusiastically participated. The protesters took to the streets, marching from Banning Park to the ILWU Local 13 hall in Wilmington where the rally was held. A UE (electrical workers) contingent chanted, "Down with the capitalists—Up with the workers" while supporters of the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA (phone workers) marched with their placard calling for "Victory to the OCAW Strike! Break with Democratic and Republican Parties—Build a Workers Party!"

An IBT official at the rally remarked that this was a rare occasion—the first time in years that the Teamsters had appeared in the ILWU hall. But more than just token displays are needed. While NMU and SIU seamen, for example, marched in the demonstration, their unions are continuing to handle scab oil. It is urgent that labor bolster the lagging OCAW strike with mass picketing and "hot-cargoing" by the transport unions. This is the way forward to victory for the oil strikers!

Steel Strikers Hit Back at Thatcher

For a British General Strike!

LONDON, March 4—"What do we want? 20 per cent! How do we get it? General strike!" shouted two thousand striking steel workers as they marched through the streets of Sheffield today. Storming and occupying the local British Steel Corporation headquarters, they showed what they thought about management's latest attempt to force an end to the strike on BSC terms. Taking thousands of the ballot papers on BSC's latest offer—which had been distributed by the corporation over the heads of the unions during the previous week—they dumped them out of windows and from the roof and set them afire in two raging bonfires below.

After ten weeks of tireless mass picketing; after brutal police bashings, hundreds of arrests, murderous arson and midnight cop raids on strike headquarters; after ten weeks of vicious backstabbing by people who call themselves workers leaders, the strikers are as determined as ever to see the struggle through to victory. From Sheffield, Rotherham, Scotland and South Wales the message is the same: A ballot from BSC isn't going to stop us when the government, press, courts and cops have failed. "Time's hardened a lot of people," said one strike militant outside ISTC [Iron and Steel Trades Confederation] headquarters in London. "They didn't know what it was about—thought it was about wages. Now we know it's not. If we lose this one the trade-union movement's done."

Defeat for the steel workers would mean 50,000 jobs immediately threatened, one-third the total at British Steel. And at British Leylands, another nationalised corporation, the Tory government's sacking of BL chief convenor Derek Robinson is a big step towards straitjacketing the shop stewards structure, the heart of the trade-union movement. But Sunday outings, like the one called by the TUC [Trades Union Congress] for March 9, will not stop the criminal cuts in social services nor defend wages against the ravages of 20 per cent inflation. And [Labour Party leaders] Callaghan and Benn speechifying in Westminster won't kill the Prior anti-strike bill—even if the Labour fakers *wanted* to kill it—and it certainly won't get Robinson reinstated.

But a general strike could! Militants in every sector must demand their unions join the steel workers out on strike; they must organise joint strike committees and send delegates from them to a national strike conference which can check bureaucratic sabotage and insure the greatest degree of unity. Force the TUC to call an immediate, indefinite, national general strike around the aims of reversing the redundancies [layoffs], the attacks on the unions, the social service cuts, and of winning a sliding scale of wages and pensions to protect against inflation and work sharing on full pay! It is necessary to smash the Tory anti-labour programme and the hated Thatcher government. Thus a victorious general strike, even begun around necessarily limited, defensive aims, could open up a pre-revolutionary perspective. Otherwise, decaying British capitalism must bleed the working people—whose living standard is already among the lowest in Europe. At the same time, the seemingly unstoppable decay of British society will spawn reactionary despair among the petty-bourgeoisie.

General Strike—Workers Government

Militancy has clearly not been the missing ingredient in this strike—effective direction is. The strike is at a crossroads—it urgently cries out for a leadership not only prepared to fight, but one which breaks out of the narrow confines of simple trade unionism.

Newsline

Steel pickets battle cops at Sheerness Plant.

A successful mass picket which shut down Hadfields and the overwhelming "no" vote against a separate deal by BSC craft workers on February 14 created a powerful momentum to extend the strike to Leylands, the mines and the water workers. A week later the momentum had been checked in a series of bureaucratically inflicted setbacks which set the bourgeoisie screaming for joy. BL Longbridge workers overruled a strike call to defend Robinson, 2,000 massed pickets failed to shut down the scab bastion at Sheerness, and Welsh miners voted by 46 pits to 8 against their leadership's strike recommendation. In the last week private steel workers have been returning to work as well.

The reason is not some "new sense of reality on the shop floor" as claimed by the bourgeois press, but old-fashioned treachery. When Robinson was sacked in November, BL workers walked off their jobs in the thousands. They wanted to fight. But AUEW [engineering workers] leader Terry Duffy—with the criminal acquiescence of Robinson and his fellow Communist Party convenors—got them back to await the outcome of his scab "inquiry," allowing Leylands management two months to carry out a massive propaganda campaign against "Red Robbo." The Welsh miners' vote, in turn, came only days after the Welsh TUC postponed its general strike call. But the militancy of the strikers remains unabated, as shown by 11,000 angry demonstrators at strike rallies in Scunthorpe and Rotherham on March 1 and 2, and by the 2,000 strikers at Sheffield who burned their ballots today.

What is needed is not simply more militancy. It is necessary to break from the capitalist framework of sectional struggles for a piece of an ever-shrinking pie. What militant economist trade unionism offers as a "political" programme is the Labour Party. Callaghan "leads" the workers by calling for the arrest of strike pickets; Benn is all for "socialism" in the future but wants wage and import controls right now. Indeed, not a single Labour MP [member of Parliament] has campaigned for a general strike. And what is the Labour Party going to "lead" the workers to? The Westminster benches? Socialism can never come about that way! A workers revolution is needed to smash the capitalist state and eradicate the bourgeoisie's economic and political power.

Needed: A Revolutionary Leadership

A workers government must grow out of and be based on organs of working-class power (strike committees, factory committees, councils of action, soviets). And above all to win it requires the leadership of a communist vanguard party. The Labour Party can only govern in the framework of capitalist parliamentarianism, which it works to uphold against any threat of revolution. In the wake of years of Labourite wage-cutting large parts of its working-class base are today distinctly unenthusiastic about another Labour cabinet. But with a bit of Tory-bashing rhetoric, and in the absence of a credible revolutionary alternative, the working class will again direct its expectations to its historic party with its organic links to the trade-union movement.

As for the "left" alternatives to Labour, their programme the workers is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that they all called for a vote to five more years of Labour "social con-trick" in the last election, and their failure to present any sort of a viable perspective for victory during the present crucial class battle. The Communist Party, with substantial support among miners and car workers, has not done a thing to pull any sectors out on indefinite strike action. And the Socialist Workers Party, the largest "far left" group, refuses to this day to call for a general strike—much to the evident disgruntlement of some of its members. And while centrist groups like the IMG and WSL have belatedly called for a general strike, they are currently enthusing over the TUC's Sunday "day of action" as a step forward.

It is no accident that despite our modest resources and limited history as an organised tendency in Britain, the Spartacist League's intervention has met a resonant response among militant strikers. Our leaflets calling on BL workers to join the steel workers in strike action were posted on notice boards inside Leylands. There was a similar receptivity to an SL leaflet distributed to the March 2 Rotherham strike rally, where our chants for a general strike (repeated at Sheffield today) were enthusiastically taken up. And now also our demands to burn the BSC ballots. So apparent is the vacuum of leadership in this strike that even a relatively small nucleus of communist militants in the strike committees could have some impact on the course of the struggle.

The Labour traitors and fake-lefts instinctively draw back from the general strike because it quickly poses the question of questions: which class shall rule? But this is the issue in Britain today, and *the* issue in this strike. There is no perspective short of a revolutionary confrontation for threatened steel men, car workers and others facing tens of thousands of redundancies due to the moribund state of uncompetitive British capitalism. The bourgeois press has been fantasising about returning to a pastoral economy by junking the decrepit industrial plant, a tangible sign of demoralisation, while more ominously the fascists are gathering in the shadows. Meanwhile, Thatcher's cabinet is talking with the monetarist starvation expert Milton Friedman, whose programme can't be implemented by anything less than a Chilean-style coup.

While the union-hating Tories may long for such a "final solution" they can't get it yet. Their real problem is inability to confront other imperialist powers economically—remember, Britain couldn't even win the "Cod War" with Iceland! And the capitalists' alternative to a strike victory is a faster fall into miserable poverty and imperialist war. Only a Trotskyist party, which poses the issues clearly and presents a transitional programme leading from today's struggles to a socialist federation of the British Isles, can split the working-class base of Labour away from its pro-capitalist misleaders. While various pseudo-socialists call for a new Labour victory and tail after Len Murray's TUC, there is only one organisation in Britain that has a programme for the working class to put British capitalism out of its misery. That organisation is the Spartacist League, section of the international Spartacist tendency, fighting for a reborn Fourth International and world socialist revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 251 **7 March 1980**

Scab Thornett Purges Trotskyist Opposition

ADAPTED FROM SPARTACIST BRITAIN, NO. 18 FEBRUARY 1980

At a specially convened national conference on January 12 the right-centrist Workers Socialist League (WSL) carried out a bureaucratic purge of a left-wing opposition, the Leninist Faction (LF). This is the most important split from the WSL since early 1978, when the Trotskyist Faction (TF) left to fuse with the London Spartacist Group and form the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B). Two years ago most of these lately expelled cadres were active fighters against the Trotskyist Faction—indeed one, Mark Hyde, co-authored the only attempt at a serious reply to the TF by the then WSL majority. Now these militants have themselves re-examined and rejected the bankrupt programme and record of the WSL.

The appearance of the Leninist Faction has awakened considerable interest in the British ostensibly Trotskyist milieu—which includes more than a half dozen stagnating small groups without significant international ties, and whose largest organisation, the International Marxist Group, is obviously experiencing internal turmoil over its anti-Soviet line on Afghanistan. At a London forum held by the LF on February 8, Mark Hyde told an audience of 60 that in contrast to the traditional philistinism of the British left, the Faction began with the international questions, notably Iran and Nicaragua. The main LF speaker, Di Parkin (former convenor of the WSL's women's commission), emphasised the necessity for a perspective of revolutionary regroupment around the Trotskyist programme. The meeting was attended by WSL leaders Tony Richardson, who attempted to justify the suspension and expulsion of the LF solely for its political positions, and Alan Thornett, who was driven to a frenzy by denunciations of his scabbing at British Leylands last year.

The LF had its origins in the Left Tendency (LT) which was formed in May 1979 initially around the question of the fight to reforge the Fourth International. In late June two WSL Executive members, Alan Clinton and John Lister, attacked the LT for "echoing" Spartacist positions. Utterly belying its pretence of "fighting Pablo-ism," the WSL believes there is a broad family of Trotskyism, and in their attack Lister and Clinton explicitly repudiated the International Committee's fight against Pablo's liquidationism in the 1950s and early 1960s. Throughout the summer and autumn the WSL leadership pursued the logic of their embrace of the "world Trotskyist movement," making increasingly brazen manoeuvres aimed at getting in with the "big-time" fake-Trotskyists—first Mandel's United Secretariat and then the rotten-bloc Lambert/Moreno Parity Committee.

WSL leader Alan Thornett: kudos for Khomeini, scabbing at Cowley.

Spartacist Britain

To date the end product of all these opportunist gyrations has been nil. Instead the WSL is left stuck in a "Liaison Committee" with its traditional minuscule sub-reformist partners in the U.S. Socialist League (Democratic Centralist), an even smaller Danish group, and the Italian GBL, who have endeared themselves to Thornett by providing a more "sophisticated" cover for capitulation to popular frontism than the WSL can manage by its own efforts. The leaflet reprinted below was distributed by the LF to the "International Conference" called by the WSL for late December 1979, which resulted in the establishment of the "Liaison Committee."

Scabbing at Cowley

A decisive turning point for the LT was WSL leader and Cowley deputy convenor Alan Thornett's scabbing during last summer's national engineering strikes when faced with a reactionary anti-strike mobilisation by backward workers in his plant (see *Spartacist Britain* No. 15, October 1979). In fact, information given by the LF makes clear that Thornett's role was, if possible, even more despicable than it appeared at the time. For Thornett's usual allies in the plant leadership, including senior shop steward Bob Fryer, *wanted* a picket line to stop the scabs and Thornett had to fight *against* them in order to *turn them into scabs*. Fryer and others, who were at the time rightly more concerned about maintaining a national strike than heading off threats to their trade-union positions, were characterised by Thornett inside the WSL as "syndicalists" who did not understand that it was all a "question of leadership"!

Initially Thornett's scabbing met with widespread resistance in the WSL (including among other Cowley workers). But even though some Cowley WSLers had to face being denounced as scabs by long-time trade unionists (and even by elements in the bureaucracy who saw a good opportunity to blast away some of Thornett's richly undeserved kudos), most restless WSLers fell back into line. However, for the LT Cowley showed definitively for Britain what the leadership's support for Khomeini's movement in Iran showed internationally—that the WSL was quite capable of flipping right over the class line and *betraying* on an occasion when the need for principles clashed with its opportunist appetites.

The formation of the Leninist Faction came when the WSL leadership tried to mount a witchhunt by giving the LT an ultimatum to come up with their "areas of agreement with the WSL and areas of disagreement with the iSt [international Spartacist tendency]," or else. The LF's founding document "Centrism or Bolshevism—The Choice Facing the WSL" stated that the Faction was "as yet in no position to make a finished assessment of the politics of the iSt" but solidarised with the basic thrust of Spartacist positions on Iran, Ireland, opposition to popular fronts, and the need for a fighting propaganda perspective. For the first time the oppositionists presented a rounded programmatic critique of and alternative to the centrism of the WSL majority.

The leadership reacted by forcing through the LF's suspension, and for the next six weeks they were systematically excluded from all WSL internal activities (and even some ostensibly "public" ones). Finally on January 12 after first excluding two members of the youth organisation who were sympathetic to the LF, and then denying the right to any discussion, the leadership summarily pushed through its purge at a Special Conference.

Alan Thornett's parochial-workerist WSL is certainly not finished with internal crisis and strife—as the LF explicitly recognized in its final document:

> "Should the threats of expulsion that have been made by leading members be carried out the WSL will not wait long before it faces another struggle (perhaps the Sverdlov Faction!?), and another. The reason for this prognosis is straightforward—unstable and degenerating centrism must find itself repeatedly assaulted by the Bolshevik politics which it finds itself unable to politically answer."
>
> —"The Fight for the Proletarian Programme," 11 January 1980

The road taken by the Trotskyist Faction, and now being pursued by the LF, is the only one for members of the WSL who seek the road to proletarian revolution. The LF's struggle also has lessons for would-be revolutionists internationally. The final LF document solidarises with the iSt's nine points for international Trotskyist regroupment (see "Document of the First Delegated Conference of the iSt," in *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter, 1979-80). The LF has stated its intent to fight for these programmatic positions. Currently, while the faction has also stated its eagerness to discuss with other groupings in order to further test its positions and familiarise itself with other views, the LF and SL/B are preparing discussions on outstanding questions.

Leninist Faction Statement

> "The efforts of the centrists to reconcile the irreconcilable and to save, by means of patching the pieces, what is fated to be destroyed are foredoomed. The new epoch requires a new International. The primary condition for success on this road is the close consolidation nationally and internationally of the genuine proletarian revolutionists, the disciples of Marx and Lenin, on a common programme, and under a common banner."
>
> —*"Open Letter for the Fourth International"* [1935]. *Documents of the Fourth International*

The WSL hosts this preconference towards the formation of an international tendency in *disregard of this primary condition*. Gathered here are disparate groups from different countries with no common programme or common banner. The split in the United Secretariat (USFI)—following from its complete failure to uphold a revolutionary line in *any* recent events of the class struggle—and the ferment among ostensible Trotskyists internationally have brought exceptional opportunities for revolutionary regroupment on a principled programme. But all the WSL can do is attempt to replicate in miniature the grander rotten blocs of Moreno/Lambert and Mandel/Barnes. And *excluded* from the conference and *suspended* from the WSL are the members and supporters of the Leninist Faction—including three National Committee members (among them the National Secretary of the youth organisation) and members of area leaderships in London and Yorkshire. We are being bureaucratically witchhunted because of our fight to turn the WSL away from the centrism of the majority leadership and onto the road of Trotskyism.

The Leninist Faction (formerly Left Tendency) was formed in May this year, taking as its starting point opposition to the WSL majority's international per-

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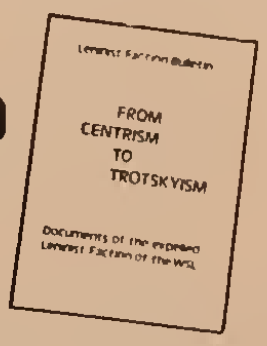
Leninist Faction Bulletin

From Centrism to Trotskyism

Documents of the expelled Leninist Faction of the WSL



Order from: Leninist Faction, BM Box 380, London WC1V 6XX, England
Price: 75p

Interview with Jane Margolis

"Determined to Protect the Rights of Labor"

Last July 16, Jane Margolis, an elected delegate and executive board member of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410, was seized by Secret Service agents and dragged off the floor of the CWA annual convention at Detroit's Cobo Hall. The incident immediately touched off a wave of protest from CWA members in her San Francisco local and from trade unionists and defenders of democratic rights across the country. Since then a million-dollar lawsuit has been initiated by the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) to protest the government's blatant, illegal attack on the rights of labor. Last week WV interviewed Jane Margolis by telephone on recent developments in the case.

Jane Margolis won't be silenced. Following Secret Service attack, elected delegate Margolis returns to post at 1979 CWA convention.

WV Photo

WV: It's been several months since you filed a suit against the Secret Service for violating your rights to speak at your own union convention. Where does the case stand now in the court battle?

Jane: As could be expected, they've been putting up every obstacle, making it difficult for an ordinary worker and citizen to pursue a civil suit against the government. On February 29, we had our first day in court. The Secret Service is stalling. Using a recent Supreme Court decision, they say we cannot file the papers in California, that we have to bear the expense and fly ourselves and legal staff, counsel, to Detroit or Washington, D.C., which is an obvious added expense and burden. But we are determined to protect the rights of labor. And we won't be stopped by this legal harassment.

WV: The Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment—UCASSH—was formed by CWA members in the Bay Area to pursue your case against government intervention in the union movement. Could you tell us about the support UCASSH has been gaining?

Jane: Over the last couple of weeks we've been speaking to hundreds of trade unionists in the Bay Area and in Los Angeles at their union meetings, at exec board meetings, at labor support rallies, and news of the case has truly traveled throughout the labor movement in the Bay Area.

Our case has gotten a warm reception. The list of endorsers shows the support that we've been getting in the labor movement. But behind many of the endorsements are other stories of government harassment against the labor movement. We have received letters of support from striking OCAW workers as far away as Houston, Texas. We've received letters of support from postal workers from the West Coast all the way to West Haven, Connecticut. Just today we received a letter of outrage against government meddling in the labor movement from an AFSCME brother in Milwaukee. Several brothers in the NMU have written us with their support. And I've just heard that some brothers in the mines are going to be trying to raise support motions and financial support in the UMW.

These are just samples of the letters that have been coming in from unionists around the country. And support from socialists, too. Jim Robertson, national chairman of the Spartacist League, was one of the first people to protest me being dragged out of the union conven-

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Beat Back CWA Purge Attempt

L.A. Phone Workers Defend Militant Leader

LOS ANGELES—By a two-to-one margin, the members of Local 11502 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) voted on February 19 to defeat a bureaucratic scheme aimed at ousting Militant Action Caucus (MAC) leader Gary Adkins from the Local's executive board. Adkins had been elected by the predominantly black and Chicano membership of the old downtown Local 11501 which subsequently merged with Local 11502. Just a few weeks after the merger, however, Local president Warren Downing, who was not accustomed to facing a militant opposition, demanded that Adkins resign from the exec board on the pretext that his work headquarters had been transferred to a different jurisdiction.

Downing's "reasoning" was dishonest from top to bottom and clearly intended to justify a political purge. Under the terms of the merger agreement, Adkins remained an exec board "member at large" and does not represent any specific sub-section of the Local. Furthermore, the attempted ouster was an insult to the membership since Adkins is an *elected* member of the exec board (running second in a field of twelve) and Downing wanted to replace him with one of an increasing number of *appointed* officials.

Many Local 11502 members saw this not only as an attack on union democracy, but also as an attempt to silence militant opposition to the CWA bureaucrats' sellout policies in a contract year. Adkins' supporters gathered 700 signatures on a petition opposing the purge and Local members were mobilized to vote for a motion demanding that the militant finish out his elected term. Downing's pretext was so flimsy that the Local By-Law Committee was forced to recommend that Adkins retain his seat. Yet even in the face of widespread membership support for Adkins, the majority of the executive board contemptuously voted against him.

WV Photo

Los Angeles CWA militant leader Gary Adkins

Adkins has been a militant oppositionist for several years. He was elected CWA convention delegate in 1978 and worked with the San Francisco MAC in fighting for the local right to strike. Last year he ran for convention delegate along with fellow oppositionist Rudy Nevel on a class-struggle program. Adkins was also present at the Detroit CWA convention last summer, where Jane Margolis, a leading MAC spokesman and a delegate from Local 9410 in San Francisco, was hauled off the floor by the Secret Service. After discussions with the San Francisco militants, Adkins, Nevel and other phone workers who support the caucus program, formed the Los Angeles Militant Action Caucus.

The attempted purge was not the first attack on the newly formed L.A. MAC. In response to the November 3 Klan/Nazi murders of five Communist Workers Party (CWP) members in Greensboro, North Carolina, the caucus immediately issued a leaflet calling for labor action to protest the killings. Pacific Telephone responded by disciplining several MAC members for distributing the leaflet. Instead of protesting the fascist murders, Downing and the Local bureaucrats caved in to company pressure and attacked MAC. The exec board passed a motion restricting the right of oppositionists to use union bulletin boards and Downing attempted to decertify MAC steward Barbara Britton for passing out the anti-Klan leaflet. This attempted purge also was defeated, however, because of overwhelming opposition to the move in Britton's garage.

In opposition to a MAC motion which called for labor/black/Chicano

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Cold War II?

"Joint chiefs" of U.S. imperialism

Moore/Gamma-Liaison

(continued from page 1)
were all about Afghanistan, this month they are about inflation, headed this month for a 20 percent annual rate as "tight money" policy has become a joke. And the arms build-up only feeds inflation. The capitalists' program is grinding austerity for the workers. Whether they can make it stick is another matter.

Afghanistan has heated up the Cold War mood that has run at different temperatures since the October Revolution overturned capitalism in Russia. Can the U.S. imperialists bring off "Cold War II"? We reprint below excerpts from a report by Spartacist League National Chairman James Robertson to the California Spartacist comrades.

If you look back over about the last year, the gang in Washington has been increasingly restless. They committed a series of atrocities along the way. You remember the phony Cuba crisis where some 1,500 Russian troops that had been in Cuba from its inception suddenly were discovered? There was a great confrontation, which blew up in Carter's face, and in fact was one of the contributory factors to his precipitous loss of popularity and the then assumption that he wasn't going to get re-elected.

Okay, so here's this bunch. They had the phony Cuba crisis, and then real hard stuff. Do you remember seizing the Soviet Aeroflot liner at Kennedy because it had a ballerina that was trying to get away from her rotten husband and get back to cash in on her loyalty chips in Moscow? Apparently she's not a very good ballerina, but now she's getting all the first roles in Moscow. And of course she wanted to go back. But you remember what the government did? Real big violation stuff.

Then they stumbled into their little difficulties in Iran, and I remember that the American government said, "We're going to raise in the Security Council the question of demanding that the hostages be let go. And if the Russians vote against it, we will take this as a hostile act!" And so the Russians abstained on the issue, and then the Americans got their Afghan thing to play. Suddenly, from saying, "My, how could Russia commit a hostile act against our state interests," then bang! Now they're being very clear, they're arming the Afghani mongrels that they find drifting around on the Pakistani side of the border.

Carter wants anti-Soviet alliance with "revolutionary" mullahs.

CIO

Philadelphia, 1946: government goes after UE strike. Anti-Red purges had domestic as well as international causes.

Massive escalation—very overt.

And of course, a lot of accoutrements, like a new charter for the CIA, *de facto*, and they'll work out *de jure* later. They've got Zbigniew Brzezinski running around. He almost got offed. Remember he turned to a Pakistani soldier and said, "Son, can you use that submachine gun?" And the soldier said, "You try." He said, "No, no, you try." So the guy pulls the trigger and of course automatic weapons when you don't hold them right start firing all over the place. And we almost lost one of our revered advisers at the Khyber Pass, while he was shouting, "On to Kabul!"

So, is there a second Cold War? Well, Carter wants to get elected and "the fatherland is in danger" is a way to try it. It's a pretty big deal. Now, the Russians are genuinely annoyed and I know that we did put in *Workers Vanguard* what Brezhnev had to say. He said that these people are irresponsible. He said it very succinctly, better than our press did, which is why we quoted the Russians. Well, if there's going to be a second Cold War, what kind of compass do we have? One wants to think perhaps about the first Cold War and see what conditions tend to be the same and those that are very different.

The United States emerged the unique victor from the Second World War. The European bourgeoisie had holes in their shoes. The Americans had an absolute monopoly on nuclear weapons. They had over 50 percent of the industrial production of what I think is called the "free world." And considering the state of Russian production at the time, they may have had an absolute majority of all productive capacity on the planet. They had naked power and no other capable of contending with or even modifying their policies.

At the same time they emerged victor, it was a victor in a world they didn't very much like. And remember, from the standpoint of American socialists, we see an enormous difference between the Stalinists' victory in China, the massive militancy of revisionist workers parties in Europe, and militant trade unionism in the United States—all these things taking place in '45-'46. But from the standpoint of the American bourgeoisie, I think they had a more unitary and less rational outlook. I recall sometime later some of the creatures of the Nixon administration, their minister of the interior and his nutty wife, standing and watching a demonstration from the windows of the Justice Department—these utterly tame peaceniks over the Vietnam War—and the woman turned around and said to her husband, "My god, it looks like the Russian Revolution!"

Well, if you examine the press at the time, the American bourgeoisie with all their power faced an enormous escalating American strike wave and a labor movement that was saturated with 100,000 reds, controlling perhaps a quarter of the structure of the labor movement. A troops-come-home movement in Europe, but especially in Asia, which had to be conceded to. A very large majority of the population of West Europe overtly organized and yearning for some sort of socialism or communism; all of the institutional structures like monarchies and right-wing parliamentary devices and the rest crumbling. Churchill thrown out in favor of a Labour Party, which it's hard to believe now, but it marched into Parliament singing "The Red Flag"—in Britain, the conservative bastion in Europe. Russian soldiers deep into Germany and in the Balkans, and what they saw as a thoroughgoing communistic revolution in China. And yet they had raw and unique power. And that confrontation was the Cold War, basically.

The interesting point is that from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, the domestic witchhunt, which was a part of the Cold War, was not subjectively on their part an irrational mindless reflex of, "Well, we've got the CIA running around internationally, doing dirty tricks, so the FBI wants to do their thing here." No, they saw it in a little more unitary way—that it was necessary to break the back of and discipline the American labor movement as part and parcel of the whole thing. From *their* standpoint, 20 million workers in militant strikes and winning big concessions in the United States was of a piece with all the rest of the developments around the globe. In other words, they overestimated—but then, why shouldn't they?

And the thing was pretty hard. One could go into lots of stories characterizing it. One thing that is apparently true and not sufficiently well-known is that just before the CIA was reconstituted out of the fragments of the OSS, the Americans allegedly made the greatest coup—they got a defecting chief of security of the Polish state in place. I guess it was the Dulles boys probably [who] played a game and they managed to feed to Stalin information which the paranoid old man was quite prepared to believe: that every Stalinist leader in East Europe who had not both been in Moscow during the Second World War *and* was a hopelessly mindless pro-Russian hack—that if those *two* qualities were not met, in fact the men involved were American agents. The Americans, to their immense pleasure, because they wanted to draw a perfect line—no national communism—got the Russians to run what are called the Tito purges, thereby laying the basis for the perspective of "rollback." Remember that slogan, "rollback" or "containment"?

This was the greatest coup, that they got the Russians to purge tens of thousands of Communists, and the Communists who most had roots in their own nations. The enthusiasm, of course, led them immediately to found the CIA in order to institutionalize this kind of technique and to go on to ever higher and higher successes. Well, they never got any ever higher and higher successes. They managed to "save" Guatemala, they managed to "save" Iran via coups. And I can't think of anything else that they did. They certainly didn't "save" Cuba very well. Theodore Draper said that the Bay of Pigs was one of those truly rare things in political life—a perfect failure, without any redeeming consequence whatsoever. (Although, while we may never know about it, it also had something to do with the premature demise of the first president who hired the Mafia to run whores into the White House... which is how he ought to go down in history... "Camelot.")

Well, they ran this Cold War for a long time, a series of confrontations, especially the Korean War. And the domestic high point of it, I'm sure, was the execution of the Rosenbergs. Did their best to smash insurgencies more or less successfully in the Philippines and a dozen other places. Very expensive, of course. Not particularly in American blood, but in American wealth. It was the basis for the situation now. With absolute American economic and military power, the Americans were in a position to make the world eat dollars, billions and billions of dollars. And furthermore, to propagate the charming myth that gold was demonetized, that it had no meaning, only the dollar was a unit of exchange. They simply forced these billions and billions of dollars on the rest of the capitalist world. Which meanwhile, of course, economically, was making a pretty steady comeback.

especially those areas that had been fortunate enough to have their outmoded industrial apparatus removed by American air power during the Second World War, particularly Germany and Japan, so that they had a clean field to start with. That is, they had a highly skilled labor force, all of the raw materials, all of the managerial expertise and they were not weighed down by an archaic investment in old apparatus, in old physical plant.

So, a series of quantitative developments took place: the undermining of the American dollar (and of course Vietnam vastly accelerated all of this), the growth in industrial and military potential for a number of other capitalist powers. This stuff ran on and on, and the American politicians working with the "After me, the deluge" proposition, acting like the mayors of New York, except that the American presidents have state power. So, they will never have a New York City-type problem because they'll just print more money (they thought) based on American hegemony. But American hegemony became undermined and it collapsed. There's a nice date for it: the 15th of August 1971 Nixon devalued the dollar—let it float, I think—did a whole bunch of other things at the same time. And it was the official declaration that American hegemony, absolute power, was over.

The Russians just toughed it out in that whole period by and large, armed like hell, and took a defensive posture, took whatever dives they could, took whatever advantages they could. It's funny that the Americans are screaming about the Near East now, because—was it 1958?—Khrushchev was going to see Eisenhower, and the Iraqi Communists were at the leadership of quite a good proletarian upheaval and the Russians gave those orders to the Iraqi Communist Party that caused it to be beheaded, its leaders, its central committee murdered. And all so that the Russian leadership could go have a nice chat with Eisenhower at Camp David. That was Iraq. The Iraqi Ba'athist Party has never forgotten the menace, of course. Didn't they just execute another 20 Communists in the army? That's right—

Echoes of post-war anti-Communism in Carter's war drive.

Healy said it was a good thing, I remember that.

So, the Russian bureaucracy took a very conservative policy, pretty empirical, and toughed it out and retained the posture of trying to deal with the Americans with a carrot and a stick, hanging tough when they could, doing this or that, seeking trade, what have you. They're still doing the same kind of thing, not much different, been pretty continuous in their policies. And the Americans after '71—it wasn't particularly Watergate or even the defeat in Vietnam—those are psychological—but American power atrophied relative to the rest of the world. You can look at the nuclear proliferation—that's another index of it all. So that even the Indians and the Israelis both have atom bombs. Everybody knows that the Japanese could have all that they ever wanted within six months if any one manufacturer decided to have them. And the South Africans are grinding away and have all the prerequisites, maybe a bit more than prerequisites, etc.

And I notice funny things going on even in South America. Carter tried another tack. Remember "Human Rights"? So, he annoyed the Brazilian and Argentine generals by demanding that they practice "Human Rights," an idea which was quite novel to them. And I notice now that the Brazilian generals are happily denouncing the Israelis for not respecting Arab "Human Rights" and the Argentine generals are pointing

Paris Match

UPI

Generals of Cold War I: Joseph McCarthy, Senate witchhunter; The brothers Dulles, Allen of the CIA and John Foster of the State Department.

out that the Russian gold reserves are very large indeed and it's a good market for wheat. Even the not-very-powerful inmates of the backyard of American imperialism are pretty uppity.

So, I don't know that the American bourgeoisie can bring this off, a new Cold War. I really don't. Maybe they will. Maybe there's something there, the crucial element that eludes me, but I don't see it. Furthermore, there's not even much point in making a massive assault on sections of the American population, only obnoxious groups like the Spartacist League and a few thousand more need to be taken care of. And the erstwhile Trotskyists of the SWP, god knows, are tame enough. The Maoists, who used to be quite numerous and still more or less are, are now firm allies of American imperialism, and by and large endorse the proposition that NATO must be stronger in order to fight the Russians and all that. The American labor movement remains pretty tractable.

But don't think we're not going to get some casualties. We got one. Fred Zierenberg was the most seriously injured of all of our central cadre in Frankfurt. But don't think that there weren't other guys stabbed in the belly, people kicked in the head and smashed around. A murderous attack. Maoists using Afghani counterrevolutionary assassins.

The other thing is, something that has been just about entirely suppressed in the American press, there is one hell of a steel strike going on in Britain, tending to lead to a very, very heavy confrontation with the government. Now, you have to understand British conditions not to be carried away with what happened in a number of places: uniquely, our Spartacist League of Britain leaflet was posted by the men around a lot of the strike areas. You've got to remember that for them a communist fraction is about the same thing as a union caucus for us, because they're a more advanced working class. So it didn't mean that they're embracing communism, rather that they perfectly well expect that socialists, Trotskyists, Stalinists, what have you, are an organic part of the working class. And if they like something, you don't have this sense of dual unionism—you post and embrace it as part of your section of the workforce, as a good expression. So we got a lot of that. That was good.

Okay, I've already given you the main point. I don't know how the Americans are going to be able to bring it off, because they've got to try to keep a bunch of substantial capitalist powers in line. They have to try to orchestrate it. The Americans still are not good at orchestration. They've deeply offended the Japanese over the approach to China and in general in blocking with the Common Market against Japanese imperialism. And the Common Market itself is not united. In fact, the Common Market in effect is just a cover name for West Germany, as any French president will tell you.

And so I don't know that they're going to be able to bring it off. Furthermore, it's pretty irrational. It does suggest, however, that if American power is not smashed in the world, the world as we know it will end. That is, at one or another point along the way, and rather sooner than later on the scale of world history, some bunch in Washington is going to find themselves, however irrationally, rammed into a corner and start something that goes nuclear and escalates somewhere. Rather sooner than later. Or maybe one of their clients, like the Israelis, will pull something like that and then pull others in. Not necessarily this time—there's no reason to say that it would not be now, but in the course of the undulations of the imperialist system. And particularly the role of the Americans, they're a pretty deadly bunch, they're going to start a nuclear war. This is just a useful reminder, because sometimes when things go along fairly smoothly and the government's talking about "Human Rights" and they're not actively pouring napalm on insurgent dark-skinned peoples right this year, and all that kind of stuff, it's easy to fall back and take the mask of the bourgeoisie for good coin. And then, of course, they get a little bit jammed up, the mask slips, you see the mass killing, mass insanity; all this talk about sacredness of treaties, "Human Rights" and the rest, just utterly wiped out. So that right now, the official position of the United States is that human freedom means what the Afghani mullahs want. That is "freedom"! You know what that is. Isn't it great—they got a Russian colonel and they stripped all the skin off him while he was still alive. Thus they struck a blow for "freedom." They shoot every schoolteacher they can get, because reading is Communist. And all this stuff about women—that's "freedom" now. That's the official American position—it's out there raw.

We happened to be looking at a program about the teenage Central Asian gymnasts and I thought about Afghanistan and the hideous oppression of women. This Nelli Kim I believe is the daughter of a Tatar and a North Korean, a product of the "enemy" side in the Korean War. And I thought maybe in a generation there will be an Afghan Nelli Kim, quite liberated and quite successful. In fact, that's probably fundamental. It is not at all clear to me that the course of the Afghan revolution was very well thought out. It's not our place really, it's very difficult to do and there's not much material. Apparently the entire young intelligentsia of Kabul was pro-Communist as they understood it, and they had no other social base in the countryside. And they didn't do any salami tactics, you know, they didn't separate out and take on first the landlords, and then maybe the mullahs and then maybe somebody else and upgrade the peasantry and do this and that. So they managed to unite the nation against the intelligentsia. And then they started being exterminated. Furthermore, except that Russia was not far away, they did the same thing with the army that Allende did in Chile—he relied on it. But there was another army nearby.

So one could be critical. But we're being critical of people who were shot to death for wanting to teach little girls to read and write. Or worse than shot to death. And I do not believe that any sane person can deny that the present perspective for Afghanistan, which has been a lost place for a few hundred years, is such that the people in a generation will be immensely better off.

So Carter thinks he's pulled something pretty smart. A felt offense to the American nation took place—namely the seizure of the American embassy personnel. Of course they're all spies. Every member of every embassy from all time has always been a spy. That is their job. They're put in a foreign country in order to look around. Do you understand that? What an absurdity. The Persian empire has existed for a long time and they have had many ambassadors and they've always been spies. It's absurd. But what Carter's managed to do, is that somewhere you get the idea that it was the Russian army that's holding the people in Iran. Meanwhile, of course, as soon as they start beating the drums over Afghanistan, they soften the line on the ayatollah, begin to say, "Look, we're both members of ruling classes. Don't you understand? The Russians are *Commies*! We must unite against them. Just let these 50 people go, we don't care what you do, we'll give you all the guns in the world in order to pursue your ruling-class revolution." And that's the shift that's being attempted.

Now I don't place a lot of credit on present public opinion. I don't think that a lot of people liked Churchill's Fulton, Missouri speech in 1947 that was the official inauguration of the Cold War. But insofar as I am capable of sampling the middle-class political responses in the Midwest, the position that is reported back is that, "Yeah, we're ready to fight for our country, but what's this Afghanistan? Carter just wants to get elected president." That is the current American folk response. I'll tell you, it can be shifted. These things are highly manipulable. They are dependent variables. But it's nice to know that. ■

Ed Lee

12 July 1914—29 December 1979

According to the friends of his last years, this long-time trade unionist and former communist died holding generally anarchist views and, it is said, sympathizing with an Ed Sadlowski takeover of the Steelworkers, the union in which Ed Lee had a long-time membership until his retirement. One might wonder, then, why a communist newspaper would choose to note his passing. But there was more to Ed Lee than his last dozen years. He pretty well embodied in his own experiences and earlier active role much of the history of 40 years of the Bay Area communist and trade-union movements.

While Ed Lee talked well, at length and knowledgeably about many political, social and scientific questions, all who knew him testified that he was always unusually modest about himself. Therefore his friends and old comrades are at some difficulty in supplying precise biographical details, except those that appear in the available records. We are grateful to his brother, Herb, and to Micheline Gordon, whom Ed married in 1948 and with whom he lived until 1958, for filling in valuable background.

Ed Lee, derived from a San Francisco middle-class background, was a brilliant biology and botany student and Phi Beta Kappa who walked away from a Ph.D. at the University of California (Berkeley) at the last minute. Though maintaining a lifelong interest in science (even as late as 1948 he was elected to the California Academy of Sciences) Ed in the Depression 1930s deliberately chose Communism and the machinists' trade as his life.

He joined the Communist Party in the mid-1930s and from the very beginning was set a bit apart. Ed recalled that when the new members were being asked why they had joined, the bulk gave responses more appropriate to the YMCA or a temperance union; Ed caused some disturbance by announcing that he'd joined to make the revolution. Always a leftist, he hated the smarmy days of Rooseveltian popular frontism and saw the Hitler-Stalin Pact as opening floodgates of Communist participation in living class struggles and agitation overtly and directly for socialism.

He became a leading member of the San Francisco machinists' union during the Second World War. At the end of the war those militant machinists struck, some months earlier than the bulk of the American labor movement, to make up for the "no-strike pledge" losses of the war years. Implacable opposition by the bosses, savage strike-breaking by the International Association of Machinists top leadership, and finally stab-in-the-back betrayal by the Communist Party broke the strike after three months. The Communist club in the machinists went to the end of the road with their fellow unionists. The CP's *Political Affairs* tells the sequel. "The Struggle Against Deviations and Factionalism in San Francisco" by Oleta O'Connor Yates (*Political Affairs*, December 1946) states:

> "Action was finally taken against this 'Left' factional grouping. Vern Smith, Walter Lambert, Ed Lee and a number of their followers were expelled from the Party for participation in an anti-Party, 'Left'-sectarian factional grouping, and the membership was warned against further association with these expelled people."

Or as Ed's brother said after Ed's death, "Ed always fought for the right of the workers to make a living with dignity"—a sentiment heartily acknowledged by his former colleagues on the executive board of machinists Local 1304 of the United Steelworkers.

Ed was expelled from the CP on 8 August 1946 and was among some hundreds who in that period sought to rally the CP to a class-struggle perspective of trade-union militancy and opposition to the Democratic Party. California CP head William Schneiderman (who, interestingly, started political life as a Young Workers League leader in the Cannon faction of the old CP and even continued to read the first issues of Cannon's *Militant* until Lovestone's burglars in 1929 stole Cannon's private files and found the connection) and San Francisco henchperson Oleta O'Connor Yates were arch-Browderites. As a result of the famous "Duclos Letter," General Secretary Browder was finding himself eliminated as a "revisionist"; but not Browderism and the Browderites! Schneiderman & Co. sacrificed Browder and then wiped out the understandably bitter anti-Browder militants and "Third Period" holdovers.

These left Stalinists spent some months attempting to shape a few hundreds, mainly in Northern California and New York City, into a new formation. But the sad fact that Stalin backed the CPUSA came home and the nascent groupings disintegrated. In Northern California two comrades made it over to the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party. One of them was Ed Lee, who intelligently reacted to the "Trotskyite"-baiting by sympathetically reading Trotsky.

About 1948, Ed finally joined the SWP, where Pabloism was just beginning to flower. But after Ed's experiences in the CP and his close personal association with a comrade from the "state-cap" Johnson faction, he was not about to acquiesce to this new anti-working-class revision of Marxism. In the 1950-52 period of subterranean faction fight in the SWP, as Ed told the story, a young agent of Bert Cochran (America's ostensible Pablo loyalist) came out to the West Coast and privately confronted Ed with the shocking word that Cannon was resisting Pablo, the secretary of the Fourth International. Ed was not impressed: "Good," he said. "I'm against him myself."

After the Cochranite Central Committee members had been expelled, the SWP was re-registering its membership to clean out the rank-and-file Cochranites. On stubborn principle—having already joined the SWP once—Ed refused to re-register. The SWP could hardly expel a most premature anti-Pabloite in a Pabloite round-up. National Organizational Secretary Tom Kerry is supposed to have written Ed a letter telling him to just not make an issue out of it. And Ed didn't. The fragmentary documentary evidence indicates that after the failure to crystalize a left Stalinist grouping in 1946, Ed beat a fundamental retreat to the role of critic within the communist workers movement.

But Ed Lee continued to be a good party cadre as he continued to be a good trade-union militant. In this period he was frequently elected to the executive bodies of his union and of the East Bay SWP. In those years he played an extremely valuable pedagogical role training younger and newer comrades, including some who went on to found the Spartacist League, in the history, lessons and traditions of communism and of the Bay Area labor movement.

He rallied early to the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, forerunner of the Spartacist League, in its struggle against the consummation of revisionism in the SWP around Cuba and reunification with the Pabloists. But while he remained thoughtful and committed to the communist future of the working class, his political perceptions had become rigid. Thus he announced (Bay Area RT meeting, 29 April 1963) that he wanted "to be on record against calling Cuba a workers state of any sort." And these views and critic's posture slowly deprived us of the comrade's advice and work until finally (Bay Area SL minutes, 20 November 1966) our then Bay Area chairman, Geoff White, moved "that Comrade Ed be dropped from membership in the SL on grounds of non-attendance, non-participation and non-payment of sustainer."

Ed's last 13 years saw him out of social struggle, but he continued his lifelong interest in botany and other biological sciences. He didn't have much when he died; he was living on a union pension and social security. He left nothing behind but a microscope, a very old jalopy and a 1940s' record player. Mercifully, when cancer struck him he died very suddenly with only a day's warning. Thus ended the life of a man who under not very advantageous conditions did his best for 40 years to be a good communist and a defender of the working class. ■

Ed Lee, sitting left, with fellow members of the Executive Board and officers of International Association of Machinists Local 1327, San Francisco, August 1945.

Detroit Cops on Torture Rampage

DETROIT—The cold-blooded murder of a black man in the Second (Vernor) Precinct cellblock and a subsequent lawsuit by the victim's family have unleashed a wave of revelations by former victims of cop terror here. Daily there have been new reports in the press of vicious blackjack beatings, electric shock treatments and savage physical assaults routinely practiced by the racist Detroit police. The exposures have also torn the mask off Coleman Young's "New" Detroit where the cops were supposedly "reformed," and the hated trigger-happy STRESS squads which gunned down dozens of blacks a thing of the past.

Young rode to power in 1973 largely on his promise to fight the openly bonapartist Detroit Police Officers Association. He was supported by the city's fake-leftists who helped foster the dangerous illusion that a black face in City Hall could somehow alter the character of the cops and make them more "responsive" to the community. But the more Chrysler layoffs mount, the more black youth unemployment skyrockets, the more Mayor Young as all capitalist politicians before him will rely on naked repression to keep the bourgeois order.

On February 3, Edgar Smith, a 39-year-old black man, was brutally clubbed with a blackjack in a cellblock at the Vernor precinct station and left to die of a ruptured spleen. Discovering the dead prisoner, police guards pulled out their cattle prod, a battery-powered device which delivers a high-intensity electric shock, and stung him in an effort at revival. A $5 million lawsuit brought by Smith's family against the policemen in the city of Detroit touched off a series of testimonials verifying the use of cattle prods (the "stick") to "subdue unruly prisoners" in the Vernor and other precincts.

Last week three more people filed lawsuits and others spoke at an outraged community meeting, all describing the beatings and shock treatments they received at the hands of the police. A black youth picked up for a minor traffic violation recounted how he was given the "stick": "I felt it go through my whole body—I still have pain in my neck and shoulders" (*Detroit News*, 27 February). This has erupted into a full-scale scandal about Coleman Young's police department, exposing their systematic use of procedures notorious as part of the torture arsenal common to Latin American dictatorships.

WV Photo

Coleman Young's "reformed" police protect Nazi bookstore, 1978.

At City Hall, police officials made no attempt to deny the regular use of blackjacks and cattle prods on prisoners. Police chief William Hart evaded the question by promising to "uphold the confidence and support of Detroit's citizens" by "pursuing all violators of the law." His meaning can be measured by the fact that Edgar Smith, who was arrested for "investigation for burglary," is dead, while the killer-cop, John Pawlak, is walking the streets freely on $5,000 bail, facing the watered-down charge of "involuntary manslaughter"! Hart has arrogantly refused to appear before the City Council until the police department completes its own "internal investigation," that is, cover-up.

The City Council feigned indignation at the exposures and called for an investigation by an "outside agency," which turns out to be Mayor Young's Board of Police Commissioners—the phony civilian review board appointed by Young as a public relations tool of his administration. The "objectivity" of this board was revealed when the *New York Times* (23 February) published a letter by the chairman of the board, Walter E. Douglas (president of the powerful "New Detroit" financier group), claiming that "police-community relations are at an all-time high"—this in the middle of the unfolding exposure of Detroit police torture! Any review or investigation conducted by the Young administration will certainly be a whitewash.

Attempts by the cops to secure greater independence from any form of civilian control must also be opposed. Detroit police are currently proposing the purchase of $300,000 of radio "scrambling" devices to keep the media, which monitor police calls regularly, from listening to "sensitive" conversations. These clandestine killers must not be allowed to make themselves judge, jury, executioner and censor as well to avoid public exposure.

Certainly the racist, bonapartist Detroit Police Officers Association has resisted Young's cosmetic reforms, such as a black facelift to the cops through "affirmative action," and every effort of the bourgeois liberal-black city administration to maintain its civilian control. At the same time Young has not hesitated to employ the full force of police terror against Detroit's poor and working masses. In the summer of 1975, Young ordered virtual police occupation of the Livernois area where blacks took to the streets to protest the killing of a black youth by a racist bar owner. Two summers ago the mayor ordered the cops to defend a Nazi recruitment headquarters against community outrage in the very same Vernor precinct, resulting in scores of arrests. And only last November, Young attempted unsuccessfully to stop Detroit-area blacks, auto workers and other citizens from demonstrating against the Greensboro KKK murders, threatening to arrest anti-Klan protesters.

As auto companies throw hundreds of thousands of workers onto the streets and city unemployment soars to over 17 percent, the more cop terror against the Detroit masses will intensify. The horrifying revelations of police torture demonstrate the extent to which Young will go in order to protect the privileges of capitalist rule. From the beginning, Young has turned his back on blacks in this city for the "brotherhood" of Jimmy Carter's Democratic Party and his class. Labor and blacks must fight for a workers party that will oust the Coleman Youngs, Jimmy Carters and their savage torture squadrons. In this labor and black town, the powerful union movement must not allow this campaign of racist torture to continue even one more day. Detroit labor must demand: Jail the Torturer Cops! ■

Rhodesia...

(continued from page 1)

General Peter Walls, commander of the army, has now replaced Ian Smith as the "great white hope" of the Rhodesia settlers. Imperialist leaders in London and Washington have broader strategic considerations and know that ultimately white settler Rhodesia is doomed. Many of the 200,000 Rhodesian whites, however, are prepared to defend their lifestyle down to the last swimming pool.

Walls has become the supreme negotiator playing for time on their behalf. First he visited Pretoria to assure the South Africans that he could contain the situation should Mugabe come to power; then he hopped over to Maputo to convince Mozambique's president Samora Machel that he need not worry about a white coup after the elections. In order to conciliate certain guerrilla forces, the general entered into secret parleys with Mugabe and Nkomo to ease their followers' "integration" into the army of the "new Zimbabwe."

Despite these maneuvers, all hell is now likely to break loose. The white settlers are not buying Mugabe's constant assurances of moderation. The conservative London *Economist* (23 February) reported:

> "Mr. Ian Smith and other white leaders have said that they cannot and will not accept a Marxist government. The possibility of a white-led military coup is dismissed at military headquarters, where it is maintained that the army will obey its new political masters, whoever they may be. Others take a less confident view."

At the same time, the black masses did not vote for the "Marxist" Mugabe so that white "private enterprise will have to continue." At the base Mugabe's electoral victory will be seen as the opening shot of an attack on the white power structure. Mugabe understands this and urged his followers to keep quiet: "If you break the law," he warned, "you will be arrested and punished for it." In a joint broadcast this message was seconded by General Walls, who, Mugabe reaffirmed, would remain commander-in-chief:

> "Anybody who gets out of line or for whatever reason starts disobeying the law will be dealt with effectively and swiftly—and I may say with quite a bit of enthusiasm."
> —*Ibid.*

In addition to the fundamental conflict between the toiling black masses and the white settler caste, there remains the tribalist enmity between Nkomo's Matabeles and the Shona-speaking followers of Mugabe. Add to this the direct intervention of imperialist Britain seeking to establish a stable neo-colony. The stage is thus set for a bloody, many-sided war.

In the face of a white-led coup attempt Marxists would of course stand for military victory of the black nationalist forces. But no political confidence whatsoever in proven traitors like Mugabe. Unlike them, we say get the imperialist troops, cops and colonial administrators out now! Down with General Peter Walls—Smash white supremacist rule! The liberation of southern Africa's black masses demands the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard party basing itself on the program of permanent revolution and centrally rooted in the strategic black proletariat of South Africa. ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

works) and a former member, along with William Lee, of the infamous "Mayor's Committee on Collective Bargaining," has denounced the Democratic Party and its "strikebreakers." But so far not a peep from either about real union *action* to smash Byrne's union-busting assault.

Labor unity does not, however, include the Chicago police, presently in a bargaining coalition with the Fire Fighters Union. The cops are Byrne's badge-toting gun thugs, who protect the banks and big businessmen. Who guards the fire houses to save scabs? Who put the cuffs on Frank Muscare? Who sent scabs across transit picket lines? Cops must be thrown out of the labor movement!

As we go to press Frank Muscare is still in jail. The immediate task facing Chicago's potentially explosive labor movement is to get him out and win the Fire Fighters strike! Byrne *can* be defeated. The old Daley machine is no more, and it's high time for Chicago workers to stand up for their rights. No contract, no work! Stop the layoffs! For a joint ATU/CTU/Fire Fighters bargaining committee and a strike of all Chicago public employees! CFL must organize a general strike!

Labor must mobilize to smash Byrne and her Democratic Party cohorts before they smash Chicago labor! ■

Leninist Faction...

(continued from page 4)

spectives. We argued that, contrary to the assertions of the leadership, there is no "world Trotskyist movement" encompassing everyone from the USFI to Moreno and Lambert (and even Gerry Healy!), as well as the smaller groups gathered here this weekend. We said that the Fourth International could not simply be repatched together but had to be rebuilt through a hard fight for the Trotskyist programme against the centrists and reformists internationally. Our critique of the leadership's document for this conference, "The Transitional Programme in Today's Class Struggle," centered on its utter failure to fight for such programmatic clarity, instead blurring over every question in a soggy mish-mash of abstract home-truths and blatant revisions of Trotskyism.

We raised and developed our differences on these and other questions—notably Iran, the national question, the popular front and trade union work—during the last seven months. And the response of the leadership was an apolitical wave of "Spartacist"-baiting, culminating in a cowardly, bureaucratic suspension at the 1 December "Special Conference" with a clear threat of expulsion if we refused to submit meekly and effectively renounce our political positions.

But we will not be silenced! We want to remain and fight within the WSL; however we will not tolerate or feel ourselves bound by this gross Healy-style suppression of our democratic rights. The Leninist Faction wishes to put its views before this conference, but since we have been denied the right to speak (or even attend) by the majority leadership, we have been forced to distribute this statement both to protest against our suppression and to put forward our positions. Anyone who is at all serious about fighting for the Trotskyist programme should demand that we be admitted to this conference, allowed to argue our positions, and reinstated with full democratic rights in the WSL.

The Positions We Have Fought For

The basic thread running through the politics of the majority leadership is a *failure to draw the class line*, to understand the distinction between Menshevism and Bolshevism. Five months ago we wrote:

> "The basis of Trotskyism as the revolutionary Marxism of today involves insistence on the distinct position of the working class as the only consistently revolutionary class. At no time can the dissolution of the proletariat—either on the level of theory or practice—into the 'oppressed masses' in general be tolerated."
>
> —"The Transitional Programme in Today's Class Struggle—A Critique," document of the Left Tendency

The WSL majority fails to make such a distinction in its constant talk of the "forward movement of the masses." This is particularly clear on Iran. The leadership blinded itself to the fundamentally *reactionary* nature of the Islamic movement against the Shah, claiming instead that "the Shah's regime ...has been swept aside by a mass movement at the head of which were the courageous strikes by workers in the oilfields, industry and government" ("The Transitional Programme in Today's Class Struggle"). In fact, in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, the workers of Iran were tragically unable to provide a *third road* against both the dictatorial monarchy and Khomeini's would-be dictatorial theocracy. Contrary to the bankrupt assertions of the majority, the mullahs *never* played a "progressive" role in Iran.

Similarly with the popular front. The WSL International Perspectives document of early 1978 argues against "the treachery of the Popular Front—which, by prostituting workers' independence to bourgeois political groupings, can lead only to the consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie, or in the worst instance, to a new Chile-style catastrophe" (reprinted in *Socialist Press*, No. 180). Nonetheless the leadership in practice pursues policies which help *put popular fronts in power*, using the mystification that voting for Allende in Chile, or for any workers party in a popular front, does *not* lead to such a consolidation and catastrophe! A line must be drawn *against* popular frontism, including no votes to any of the components of such a bourgeois formation.

On the national question in Ireland and the Middle East the majority has similarly adapted politically to non-proletarian national movements like the IRA and PLO, again utterly failing to draw the class line. And the same holds true on the question where the majority claims to feel most confident—trade union work.

The WSL sells its reputation internationally on the basis of its supposed serious fight in the working class and its "worker base." Yet the vast majority of this work is fake, mindless activism. And the "worker base" really only exists at all in the Cowley British Leyland car plants, where the WSL and its allies hold the trade union leadership in the Assembly Plant. The woeful truth is that the organisation's record even here is light years removed from communist work in the trade unions.

This was most graphically demonstrated in September when the WSL committed an actual *betrayal of principle*. During the two-million-strong national engineers' strike there was a reactionary anti-strike revolt in Cowley. In the face of this Alan Thornett *led the move* (initially against others in the plant leadership) *against* setting up a picket line to stop the scabbing. Thus the WSL worked and led others to work during a national strike—objectively scabbing on the strike. This is the sorry reality behind the organisation's "mass work" facade.

The bureaucratic methods and centrist programme of the WSL leadership cannot draw any sort of principled line among the sundry groups attending this preconference. From our knowledge of most of these groups, it is apparent that they too have a centrist political record and methodology. For example, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency coexisted for many years in a rotten international bloc with the Lambertist OCI and defends a conception of the "anti-imperialist united front" which amounts to a political bloc with the "national" bourgeoisie in Latin America. The Italian GBL has a rotten centrist position of voting for popular fronts which is very similar to that of the WSL majority. And as for the WSL's own long-standing international co-thinkers: the American SLDC is a grouping which openly supports the syndicalist positions of Albert Weishord against Cannon and Trotsky by attempting "mass trade union work" with about half-a-dozen people, while the Greek CIL upholds reactionary Healyite positions on the woman question and homosexuality and believes that the *only* forces which can contribute to rebuilding the Fourth International will derive from the International Committee tradition....

Any agreements reached between the leadership and these groupings will assuredly *not* be based on clear Trotskyist principle; nor will they lead to any real international democratic centralism with a common political practice. Any formal international bloc which emerges from this weekend's proceedings will look nothing like Trotsky's Movement for the Fourth International, but more like a Fourth Division replay of the London Bureau.

Moreover the WSL leadership, like sundry of the other groups at this conference, has also been trying to curry favour with the larger fake-Trotskyist rotten blocs—both with the USFI and, more recently, with Moreno/Lambert. Only last summer Alan Thornett was holding meetings with the leadership of the IMG and the organisation was ready to make thoroughly opportunist diplomatic pacts in an attempt to get into the USFI's "Eleventh World Congress." In August a National Aggregate passed a draft agreement with the USFI which stated:

> "1) The USFI and WSL are both organisations which see themselves as standing on the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International. Despite the substantial differences that exist—in particular the fact that the WSL does not recognise the USFI as 'the' Fourth International, characterises it as Pabloite, and fights for the reconstruction of the FI—there remains the *objective possibility of the WSL fusing with the USFI*. It is our duty to examine to what extent this is a concrete possibility through the opening of a discussion between our two organisations."
>
> —*Internal Information Bulletin*, 18-19 August 1979 (our emphasis)

This rotten pact, which involved an agreement to engage in public polemics "of an organisational character" against the USFI *only* with the latter's express agreement, became a dead letter solely because the USFI backed out. And since then the leadership's on-again, off-again flirtation with Moreno's Bolshevik Faction and the Lambertist OCI has been switched on once more, as the WSL has "welcomed" the BF/OCI initiatives and formally applied to *join* the Parity Committee formed by these two organisations (themselves widely divergent politically). Again, Moreno/Lambert seem to have shut the door in the leadership's face (at least for now), and *Socialist Press* No. 180 complains that "it begins to look as if the [Moreno/Lambert-organised] conference may not be as 'open' as it appeared and certainly will not take place for some time." Yet when Left Tendency comrades argued in early November that Moreno and Lambert were *not* Trotskyists and that the Parity Committee gambit was just a rotten manoeuvre, we were charged with "Spartacism" and the gears were set in motion for our suspension from the organisation. (Of course it would be quite principled to go to an open conference—if such were actually to be convened—in order to fight for the Trotskyist programme, but to seek to bloc politically with the likes of Moreno and Lambert, by *joining* their Parity Committee, is pure and simple opportunism.)

The WSL majority's pretensions of Trotskyist orthodoxy are demonstrably founded on sand. As Trotsky wrote about the centrists of his time:

> "We see here also the repetition of a rule that has been observed hundreds of times in the past on a much larger scale; centrists, even left centrists, always respect the opportunists and feel flattered and encouraged when they win their smiles. At the same time, the centrists are terribly outraged when the unbehaved 'sectarians' (i.e., Marxists) spoil the pleasure they derive from the smiles of friends at their right by inappropriate criticism. When the centrist makes his big combinations, he always bows low to the right and hisses to the left: shut up!"
>
> —"To Comrade Snevliet on the IAG Conference," *Writings 1934-35*

We will not be shut up—we will continue the fight for Trotskyist politics *despite* and *against* all the manoeuvres of the majority leadership. We are for *principled revolutionary regroupment* based on agreement on the fundamental programmatic tests of our time, on a modern-day equivalent of Trotsky's delineation of eleven fundamental principles for the International Left Opposition in 1933.

The leadership has engaged in 'Spartacist" name-calling in a pathetic attempt to avoid honest political struggle. Nevertheless, as we have stated in our documents, we *do* believe that the international Spartacist tendency has made a much more serious attempt to wage such a programmatic struggle than the WSL majority—around Iran, the popular front, the national question, communist work in the trade unions and more. And we are not about to sit back passively and be hounded out of the organisation solely for holding this, and our other political positions.

Rescind the suspensions! Demand that full democratic rights be restored to the comrades of the Leninist Faction!

Down with Healyite bureaucratism and Menshevik rotten blocs! For the rebuilding of the Fourth International through the fight for a genuinely Trotskyist programme!

Leninist Faction
28 December 1979

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Margolis Interview...

(continued from page 5)

tion and was one of the first people to endorse the case.

Besides official union endorsement, there have been many prominent civil libertarians that endorsed the case. William Kunstler is going to be putting out a letter signed by himself encouraging people to give financial contributions and support to the case. We've also gotten endorsements and support from well-known people like Daniel Berrigan and Robert Meeropol and the National Lawyers Guild. And also David Hilliard, who is an ex-leader of the Black Panther Party, has endorsed the case. If you remember—during the Vietnam War and under Nixon—he was arrested after an antiwar rally in Golden Gate Park because his speech allegedly threatened the life of the president. While that case was thrown out of court, he spent five years in jail on other frame-up charges.

WV: The UCASSH has urgently appealed for funds for this campaign. How has the fund raising been going?

Jane: Just this week we received over $2,000 in contributions to our UCASSH post office box. And we had a party last night of principally CWA members in which we raised $200 from small donations.

WV: What's the total of contributions so far to the UCASSH campaign?

Jane: We've raised over $7,000.

WV: And what do you project your legal expenses might run?

Jane: Our goal is to raise at least $25,000 for the defense. The Partisan Defense Committee has been doing the bulk of the fund raising and helping us to get in touch with the legal and civil libertarian people. All over the country. UCASSH can't say how grateful we have been for the PDC.

WV: Jane, what is the situation in the union right now?

Jane: Well, we are six months before the contract's up, and the company has started the contract fight early. They have begun their usual harassment level, victimizing workers right and left. In the last year and a half, over a hundred workers, including leading stewards, have been fired from the San Francisco Local alone. Recently a man of 14 years' seniority, an outstanding worker named Tim Bissell, was fired on a phony and fraudulent "productivity" charge.

They are trying to intimidate the entire workforce. And they've also been going unmercifully after union stewards and representatives. So that last week they came for me. Now, I'm an executive board member of the union, a prominent spokesman for militant union activities in the San Francisco Local. So a manager observed me as I was walking on my job to my next job and he falsely accused me of "conducting a meeting" as I was walking to my job. And I was put on "final warning" for dismissal because of this. It's a frame-up and it's a provocation.

WV: So what are you calling for to fight these victimizations?

Jane: They are trying to weaken us severely before the August contract fight so they can ram a sell-out contract down our throats. The Militant Action Caucus is going to be mobilizing for strike action at our March 18 union meeting, to stop the firings, drop the disciplines and stop the company harassment. This is the only strategy that will back the company down. And this union-busting attempt has been all over the country. Last week in Washington and Oregon thousands of CWA members were out protesting unsafe working conditions.

A woman splicer was suspended for refusing to go into a manhole alone. In Washington and Oregon it has always been company policy that you did not have to go into a manhole alone, but it was not in their contract. Just recently the company announced that they no longer were going to respect two-man crews, and they started ordering workers into the dangerous holes alone. A woman refused. She was suspended, and the workers, CWA workers in Washington and Oregon, walked out. *And the union was successful in winning no reprisals.*

Oh, and there was another case, in Los Angeles. The company a couple of weeks ago tried to hire on a built-in scab force of two hundred non-union Kelly Girls into CWA jobs. The Local executive board and stewards threatened to take the union out on strike, and the company backed down. But it is not only on the West Coast where there have been strike votes and action. Recently in New York, in the Long Lines Local 1150, the Local went out carrying signs, "Ma Bell Kills," and that's exactly what happened. Two phone workers, operators, were harassed to death. And the Local went out on strike.

WV: There's another CWA convention this coming summer....

Jane: And I absolutely intend to run for convention delegate. The Militant Action Caucus is going to be running a slate of delegates here in San Francisco and also in Los Angeles. Of course, I will take the floor against Jimmy Carter. He most likely *will* address the convention since Glenn Watts, our International president, is one of the first International presidents to back Carter. He is on the "Re-elect Carter" committee and I absolutely intend to make the point that labor must break with the Democratic Party, that we have no interest in supporting the strikebreakers Carter and Kennedy, who just recently came out for firm wage-price controls.

The response of the membership is that the people in the Militant Action Caucus are the only people that have the guts to stand up when it counts, and I'm very confident of being re-elected to the convention. In Los Angeles, the union bureaucracy tried to purge the Militant Action Caucus exec board member, Gary Adkins. And 700 members in a couple of days signed petitions protesting this political purge, and at last week's union meeting in Los Angeles they were successful in getting the membership mobilized and they defeated the bureaucracy's attempt to run Gary off the board.

WV: When you tried to oppose Carter's presence at last summer's CWA convention his popularity was at an all-time low. Since then, because of the Iranian embassy crisis and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, his popularity in the polls has risen. How has this affected your case?

Jane: I can expect that at the upcoming union convention a big emphasis of Watts and the International is going to be an attempt to mobilize the union delegates behind Carter's war drive and Carter's foreign policy. Carter is running for election on a program of threatening nuclear war against the Soviet Union. And we're going to be talking about this in our upcoming convention delegate leaflet, that the Soviets are not the enemies of the American working class. It is not the Russians who have broken our strikes and have cut our paychecks. The workers have a side in what is happening in Afghanistan. Look at the condition of women in Afghanistan, who have been literally bound and gagged. We want to see illiteracy wiped out, as an attempt is being made by the Soviet-backed regime in Afghanistan, versus what the Afghanistan mullahs are doing—they're shooting teachers in the back.

So at the last union meeting we had, I made a statement about what was going on in Iran. The local leadership had sent out a memo to all the union stewards calling on them to circulate a petition backing up Carter's efforts in Iran. I took the microphone; I announced to the membership that I as an executive board member refused to circulate the petition about Iran. I talked about the fact that Carter is attempting to whip us up into a war frenzy that we have absolutely no stake in. And further, that the draft that Carter was trying to impose was going to be used against workers and minorities.

So when I got up at the union meeting and stated that I was not going to help fan the flames of Carter's war drive, there was a lot of attention to what I was saying, and a lot of the workers were very sympathetic. They have learned over the years that what we say is true. ■

L.A. Phone...

(continued from page 5)

demonstrations to smash Klan terror, the bureaucracy pushed a resolution whitewashing the Klan murders, part of which read:

> "BE IT RESOLVED, That CWA Local 11502 goes on record opposing the Ku Klux Klan, Communist Workers Party, and any other totalitarian group that advocates violence to bring about social change."

This echoed the lies of the bourgeois press, which equated the victims with the perpetrators of the KKK terror. This is particularly obscene since the dead in Greensboro were themselves union activists and organizers. In order to defeat the MAC motion, the bureaucracy issued a "red scare" leaflet and hoped to assemble its right-wing supporters at the November 20 Local meeting. The leaflet attacked Adkins for his refusal to condemn the CWP and tried to stir up a McCarthyite witchhunt over the "emergence of pro-communist forces in our local." Since much of the membership is black and Chicano and was outraged at the Klan killings, the bureaucracy was unable to mobilize a hard anti-communist turnout at the union meeting. So Downing was forced to rely on a sometime social democrat, Ian McIntyre, to provide a more "militant" sounding defense of the bureaucracy's whitewash in order to keep the MAC motion from coming to a vote.

Just six weeks later, Downing was at it again, trying to run Adkins off the exec board. But MAC has shown that it is a serious opposition which is in the union to stay. In a leaflet which thanked the hundreds of Local 11502 members who demanded his retention on the exec board, Adkins stated, "It is a disgrace that every meeting is taken up with Downing's bureaucratic attacks. *What is needed is discussion over strategy to fight the company in this contract year.*" That is exactly the point. The phone company is clearly on a coast-to-coast offensive against the CWA. Heightened harassment and recurring victimizations are intended to demoralize the phone workers and eliminate the union's best fighters prior to the deadline for a strike. And only MAC has a strategy to fight back.

In both L.A. and San Francisco the caucus has announced its intention to run in delegate elections for this summer's CWA convention. MAC demands a *nationwide strike* in 1980 to win a catch-up pay hike and 100 percent COLA; an end to forced overtime, production quotas and paternalistic work rules; and a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to fight unemployment. Rejecting the bureaucrats' bottomless trust in the political parties of big business, Adkins and Nevel's delegate election brochure points the way forward for workers in every industry:

> "Capitalism offers the working class no future but plant closings, inflation, and war. There is only one sane solution: a workers' party based on the trade unions to take power from the capitalists and form a workers government—a government which will seize all major industry and establish a planned economy run to serve the needs of working people, not profit."

The emergence of MAC in Los Angeles is an important step toward the caucus becoming the nationally recognized, fighting alternative to the Watts bureaucracy. The Militant Action Caucus must be built throughout the union. Vote MAC! On to a nationwide, militant opposition in the CWA! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Lock Up Byrne! Let Out Muscare!

Labor: Shut Chicago Down!

CHICAGO, March 2—Four thousand five hundred firemen have been out on strike here since February 14. Their union president is in the slammer, the union is being fined thousands of dollars daily and the city threatens to fire every single striker. Eleven thousand transit workers are without a contract, facing binding arbitration imposed when the courts ordered them back to work in December. And hundreds of teachers are right now being thrown out of their jobs as the school board, on orders from the banks, imposes draconian cuts—the result of a defeated teachers strike in January.

Chicago rulers are waging a one-sided war against labor—if the unions don't fight back they will take it in the neck. The crisis is here. And the answer is simple: All together, all out now! Shut Chicago down!

Mayor Jane Byrne—popularly referred to as "Calamity Jane," "Ayatollah Jane" or "Crazy Jane"—has launched a cutthroat assault on the labor movement. Following her vicious assaults on the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) and the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), Byrne's latest attack on the striking Fire Fighters Union makes it clear that the very existence of *any* public employees union in Chicago is at stake. Even liberal Democratic alderman Martin Oberman, who worked hand in glove with Byrne to impose no-strike provisions on city employees, admits, "She doesn't want contracts with anybody.... She's trying to rev up public sentiment against labor in general."

Now Fire Fighters Union president Frank Muscare has been thrown in Cook County Jail for *five months* on "criminal contempt" charges, provoking a wave of anger and militancy among striking firemen. The judge's sentence and court behavior shocked even hardened Chicago reporters. "You, Frank Muscare, did it all with your big mouth. You have done a dastardly thing, and I am not sure you ever wanted a contract," Judge John Hechinger harassed the union leader, repeatedly interrupting Muscare's testimony with shouts "Liar! Liar!" Chicago labor must answer this kangaroo-court atrocity by showing a fist to city rulers who only understand the language of power.

Four thousand strikers and labor supporters militantly demonstrated in the downtown Loop on February 23, chanting "Shut It Down!" In the past several months, other mass labor rallies have hit Chicago, in support of the January teachers strike and the still continuing four-month-old bitter struggle of UAW workers against International Harvester. After Muscare's jailing, rumors flew for a few days of a possible "general strike" by Chicago unions, as fire fighter pickets massed at city work sites.

A united labor mobilization is urgently needed to smash Byrne's anti-union offensive! But the conservative union leaderships, including Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) tops, have stifled the powerful Chicago labor movement. The CFL ordered their members (including the well-patronized building trades unions) to cross picket lines the angry fire fighters had set up around building sites.

WV Photo

Striking fire fighters march to Civic Center February 23.

Meanwhile ATU, CTU and Fire Fighters union tops have gone to Byrne's chopping block in succession. This behavior is *criminal*—allowing each group of workers to be picked off one by one. Instead they should immediately form a joint bargaining committee and strike *together* against the mayor's war on labor. Then they could really put the fire under the CFL to organize a general strike.

Second-City Crisis

Chicago has been in trouble for a long time. The school system's massive financial woes began last year when Chicago's influential First National Bank (as well as Chase Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty, et al.) decided to turn off the spigot of loans to the heavily indebted Board of Education. This forced school employees to go payless for weeks, finally triggering a teachers strike. But the bankers took a hard line, and finally CTU president Robert Healy caved in, leading teachers back to work with a bare 504 jobs restored (out of 2,000 cut) and savage cuts in programs. (This was hailed as a "victory in hard times" by the cowardly, reformist Communist Party's *Daily World*.)

Meanwhile transit workers walked off the job December 17, paralyzing the city for four days while fighting to stop cuts in their traditional cost-of-living formula. The potentially powerful strike was broken, however, after ATU leaders capitulated to Byrne's scabherding tactics. Frustrated but still seething transit workers returned to work the very same day teachers missed their first paycheck. Had the city unions struck together then, the union-busting Byrne assault could have been stopped cold.

Now it's the firemen's turn on the block. Fines of $40,000 a day are levied against the union as its president sits in jail. Byrne is threatening to fire all the strikers and hire an entire new fire department. While she has begun the bureaucratic procedure to carry out her blustering threat, the "recruits" (scabs) can't even operate the fire engines and have to be bused to the sites. Nevertheless, her vindictive attack on the city workers unions is no joke. All Chicago labor must be called out to stop it!

Democrats Attack Labor, Blacks

Byrne is widely unpopular, viewed as unstable and vindictive. Even the *Chicago Tribune*'s arch-reactionary columnist Bob Wiedrich has written that "Each morning she must rise to crush or demean someone." Billboards advertising an all-news radio station ask, "What made the Mayor Byrne today?" But it's not the mayor's nasty personality that has the powers that be upset. It's that the old Daley machine is fragmenting, no longer able to piece off the interest groups which had their place at the table—the union bureaucrats, the bought-off black politicians, the ethnic neighborhood clubs. But government austerity is going to have to be enforced, say the bankers. Their question is, can Byrne do it?

Today the Democratic Party lashes out to make sure it's the working people who prove *their* "fiscal austerity." There is a real potential now for an alliance of Chicago unions with the large black population. The transit and teachers unions are heavily integrated, and the school crisis is widely seen by blacks as a direct attack on the city's impoverished minorities. It was the black vote which put Byrne in office, but a vote born of desperation. Her constituency of one short year ago is more than ready for a change.

Meanwhile "black capitalist" hustler *par excellence* Rev. Jesse Jackson has been waging a personal vendetta against Byrne for months over her refusal to appoint a black police superintendent or school superintendent. Recently Jackson has been negotiating on behalf of black Cook County prison guards—the same men who are keeping Frank Muscare and thousands of ghetto youth behind bars!—while setting up a scab school during the teachers strike and inciting black firemen to push for a union-busting affirmative action scheme. One of the union's main demands is defense of the seniority system.

The sellouts of the Chicago Federation of Labor have been invaluable to Byrne. The CFL has refused to honor the fire fighters' and teachers' picket lines, even allowing its members to handle fire hoses. What's behind this treachery is not only a long tradition of reliance on patronage plums, but the fact that (after threatening not to) Byrne has continued to pay "prevailing wage" rates to city craftsmen. Clearly she made a deal with CFL president William Lee, who's been her main labor man ever since. Lee's role in the fire strike has been to denounce the union and turn around city workers who want to honor the picket lines (and there are plenty). AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland was even prevailed upon at a Florida conference to make a special phone call to Lee to support this backstabbing.

For Labor Unity Against Byrne's Anti-Union Offensive!

The fire fighters strike has forced Chicago labor to pick sides. The powerful United Steelworkers (USWA) District 31, led by Ed Sadlowski supporter Jim Balanoff, has taken a formal stand in favor of the firemen. Alice Peurala, left-talking president of USWA Local 65 (U.S. Steel South-

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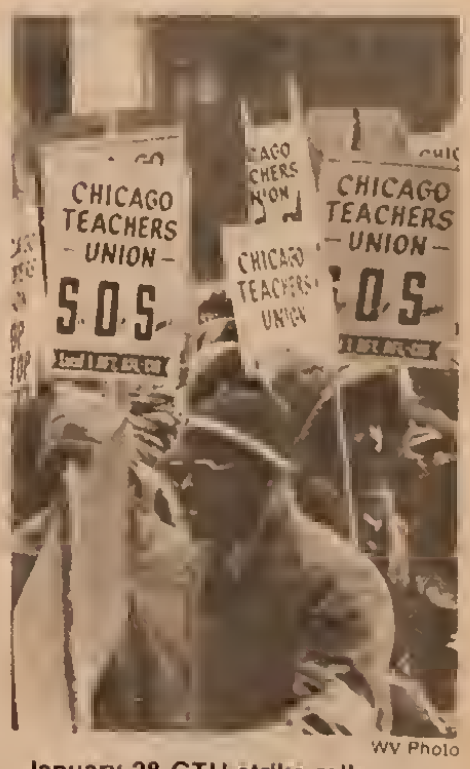


WV Photo

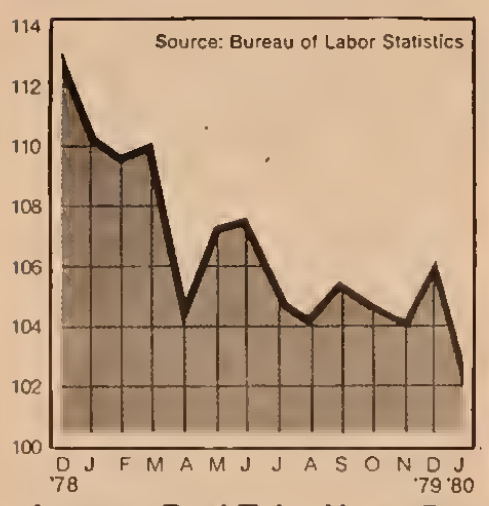
January 28 CTU strike rally.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 252 21 March 1980

Inflation Panic

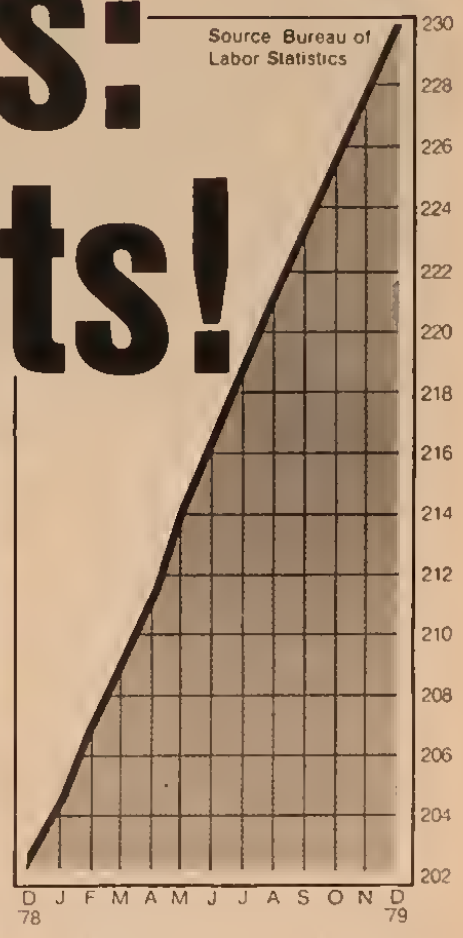
Carter to Workers: Let 'em Bite Bullets!



Average Real Take-Home Pay for Industrial Worker
(in 1967 dollars)

Kale/Chicago Tribune

Striking Chicago fire fighters rally, March 1980. City workers are told to pay for bosses' inflation.



Consumer Price Index
(1967=100)

Labor: Break Carter's Wage Limits!

"We are headed for national bankruptcy."
—Felix Rohatyn, Wall Street banker

MARCH 16—With prices rising at 18 percent a year, the United States is experiencing an inflation rate which used to be associated with Latin American banana republics. While the hostages in Iran and the Russians in Afghanistan are still catching headlines, American working people are less concerned with the supposed "red menace" than with feeding their family and meeting the mortgage payments. Gasoline and meat are on their way to becoming luxury items in what used to be called the richest country in the world. Carter demands a further slashing of vital social services while holding wages down; the bourgeois economists, nodding sagely, suggest that perhaps this would make a tiny dent in inflation. And the bought-off union "leaders" meekly agree to shove this program for continuing sacrifices down the workers' throats.

U.S. capitalists too are panicky over the shrinking dollar. Skyrocketing inflation has wreaked havoc in the financial markets, with the long-term bond market killed and stocks falling sharply. Bankers are going nuts just trying to maintain, let alone augment, the value of their money-capital. What is causing panic on Wall Street and in Fortune 500 boardrooms is that there is no reason to believe the present price explosion will stop. *Newsweek* (10 March) quoted a top White House aide: "Grown, thoughtful men are scared. It's *time* to be scared."

So Jimmy Carter tried to reassure jittery businessmen that the target of his economic policies continues to be the living standards of the workers and poor. His emergency measures call for a $13 billion cut in federal spending for social services, a 10-cent per gallon tax at the gas pumps, layoffs of federal employees, credit card restrictions... and of course, wage guidelines. As though he were addressing a nation of economic masochists, he demanded the need for "pain" and "discipline." As the White House brayed about the uplifting effects of Carter's program, liberal economist Arthur Okun mused:

> "I don't see how people will get a psychological lift because the government has asked them to shoot themselves in the foot."
> —*New York Times*, 16 March

Just as he blamed the "wastefulness" of Americans for last summer's gas lines, now Carter tries to sound like Billy Graham in blaming the credit-guzzling public for the irrationalities of capitalism. But all the talk of a "wage-price spiral" is pure bunk. In the last 12 months, the average real (adjusted for inflation) take-home pay of American industrial workers has fallen by *more than 10 percent* (see graphs). Meanwhile, basic necessities—food, housing, fuel, medical costs—are running at twice and three times the rate of inflation in the rest of the economy. Most Americans are in debt because they are trying to make ends meet in a super-inflated economy: if they are borrowing like crazy at 18 percent on credit cards, it's because prices are heading for 20 percent.

With price rises roughly double last year's rates, wages are being slashed as surely as if employers simply deducted it from the paychecks. And the centerpiece of Carter's "anti-inflation" program—"voluntary wage and price guidelines"—is to keep on driving workers' pay down. While there is a clamoring for mandatory controls, Carter relies on wage "guidelines" *because they are working*—for the bosses. And this is the responsibility of the labor bureaucracy, from Meany successor Lane Kirkland to liberal Doug Fraser, which has worked in tandem with the Democratic administration in keeping pay increases far below the inflation level. Just to catch up, the labor movement must be mobilized for an all-out wage offensive. And that means a political fight with the pro-capitalist misleaders who have reached a "national accord" for the workers to submit to the grinding heel of ever upward inflation.

Wall Street Jumps

Once again the capitalists are faced with an economy careening from panic to panic. Only yesterday it seemed it was the dollar crisis, then came the gold speculation fever. Now, without fixing that mess, the economy is poised before an inflationary blow-out and collapse. Yet the capitalists had no idea it was coming, how it happened or how to stop it. No wonder Jimmy Carter talks about having faith in the American economy: present bourgeois economic forecasting seems an elaborate religious ritual having considerably less connection to reality than primitive witch-doctoring (which usually has a core of empirical practice). Thus at the end of last year the Allied Social Scientists gathered in Atlanta with their computerized econometric models, neo-Keynesian dreams and shifting definitions of "money."

continued on page 8

Labor, Blacks, Chicanos: Stop KKK in California!

LOS ANGELES, March 17—Dressed in black uniforms and flaunting loaded revolvers, with attack dogs at their sides, a gang of Ku Klux Klansmen staged a murderous raid in the racially integrated community of Oceanside on Saturday. They used a baseball bat to smash the skull of an anti-Klan demonstrator among the several hundred who gathered in John Landes Park to protest the KKK provocation. The victim of Klan terror was hospitalized and has had more than 100 stitches for his head injury. Others were also injured including a San Diego reporter. As the cops stood by, the KKK picked off victims while the unorganized crowd tried to protect itself by hurling bottles and rocks at the armed fascists.

Oceanside is the latest outbreak of racist violence in an ominous pattern of Klan terror that threatens to bring the Greensboro massacre to California. Only a few weeks before, 150 Klansmen invaded Fontana, California to burn a cross in this steel town with a large Chicano and black population. When outraged residents called upon the local government for help, the city fathers answered with a cruel and dangerous joke. They invoked the "environmental pollution" laws limiting the Klan's burning crosses to no more than 25 feet in length.

In Chico, secret court hearings—just released—tell of two white hunters who admitted they shot and killed a black man with a deer rifle after not "finding any deer or cows to shoot" (*Oakland Tribune*, 19 February). And right in downtown San Francisco, the Klan waved their murderous weapons provocatively in front of the Federal Building in December.

This new wave of race-hate and terror must be stopped. But the Klan and the Nazis will not be defeated by reformist pleas to the capitalist government nor with isolated adventurist heroics. At Oceanside there was pressure on the city government to "ban the Klan," and when that didn't work small bands of leftists in Progressive Labor Party and the Revolutionary Socialist League tried to substitute themselves for mass action. They wound up leaving a few helpless individuals to face the paramilitary Klan alone.

The Klan *can* be stopped, with the mass force of the labor movement. That is the strategy of labor/black mobilization that was demonstrated in Detroit last November 10 when 500—mainly black workers—came out to protest the Klan massacre in Greensboro, saying: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" And that same strategy has been proposed by militant unionists trying to mobilize the powerful Bay Area labor movement to crush the Klan and the Nazis, who want to celebrate Hitler's birthday with a provocative show of race-terror on April 19 in San Francisco.

Unionists grouped around the class-struggle "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" newsletter and other militant workers' groups are pushing for a mass labor action to sweep the Nazis off the streets. "Labor organizing the black and latino communities behind it, must see to it that the Nazis don't set foot in SF April 19," a 14 February "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" leaflet demanded. Because of increasing demands for action from area unionists, on February 19 a labor-initiated public meeting to plan the anti-Klan demonstration was held at the ILWU Local 6 hall. But while militants were demanding a vote to call a counter-demonstration at the site of the planned Nazi rally, the union bureaucrats were appealing to labor-hating SF mayor Dianne Feinstein to ban the fascist march.

In the wake of Oceanside, Fontana and Greensboro what is needed is a massive mobilization to stop the racist killers. Labor must organize now to crush the KKK/Nazi fascists on April 19! ■

Bay Area ITU Local Backs Margolis Suit

Bay Area Typographical Union Local 21 voted unanimously at its February 24 meeting to support Jane Margolis' fight against Secret Service harassment. After hearing a presentation by UCASSH speaker Kathleen Burnham stressing the need to oppose government intervention into the labor movement, the Typographical Union members passed the following motion:

WHEREAS, On July 16, 1979, the United States Secret Service dragged Delegate Jane Margolis from the meeting of the national convention of her Union, the Communications Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, Sister Margolis, San Francisco Local 9410 Executive Board member, a shop steward and an elected convention delegate representing 3,500 phone workers had every right to be there; and

WHEREAS, Sister Margolis has filed a $1 million lawsuit against the Secret Service for this flagrant and brutal violation of her right to attend and speak at the sessions of her own union's convention; and

WHEREAS, Outraged phone workers have formed the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment, or UCASSH, to publicize this suit; and

WHEREAS, Labor unions everywhere have an interest in protecting the rights to free speech and assembly guaranteed under the U.S. Constitution; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Local 21 goes on record as supporting the lawsuit against the Secret Service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That Local 21 send Sister Margolis and UCASSH a message of solidarity and a check for $50.00 to help defray legal expenses.

Protests Against Knifing of German Spartacist

Protests and statements of solidarity continue to come in responding to the murderous knife attack January 25 on German Spartacist leader Fred Zierenberg by Afghan reactionaries and various foreign Maoists at Frankfurt University. Statements have been received and/or articles printed from several sections and sympathizing groups of the United Secretariat (USec), including the Swedish KAF, Chilean LCCh, German GIM, and the Dutch and Japanese sections. We reprint several of these below, as well as a statement from the Frankfurt Turkish People's House.

Letter from Japan

Tokyo
21 February 1980

Dear Editor,

I thought *WV* readers would be interested to know that news of the murder attempt against our comrade did reach Japan, and did reach the pages of the USec press. The following comes from *Sekai Kakumei*, 18 February 1980, No. 615. The article is signed Kazuko Fujimura.

> "This news just arrived from a comrade in West Germany.
> "Yesterday a shocking thing occurred. At a Frankfurt University teach-in on the Afghanistan problem, the TLD (ultra-sectarian self-styled Trotskyist) was attacked by a Maoist group, an Islamic group, and the Maoist-influenced General Union of Afghan Students, who used iron pipes and knives. One TLD member was critically injured while several others received serious wounds. Intra-left violence, which has become commonplace in Japan, is on the rise in Germany. Two weeks earlier a Turkish leftist, leafleting for a University forum in Berlin, was stabbed to death by a Turkish fascist and the protest demo for that was held only a few days ago. Clashes between left and right, Maoist and rightist combinations, and terrorism against the left, is no longer a climate exclusive to Italy and Spain but has spread to Germany as well. The GIM (German section of the FI) has warned about this danger and posed the question of a resolute challenge to this."

This comes from the vernacular weekly of the DYI (Japanese section of the USec). It is especially disgusting to read about the GIM's "warnings" in the pages of their fraternal group's press for a couple of reasons. Firstly the attack took place against the "ultra-sectarians" because they were the only ones with enough guts to defend the Soviet presence in Afghanistan—a position with which the DYI is sympathetic. And secondly the GIM's refusal to defend the TLD's later forum proves that their warnings are empty.

When the day comes to avenge this murderous deed, I wonder if the GIM will still be warning about these dangers.

Sincerely,
Stevens

KAF Statement

Stockholm
13 February 1980

ASTA
Frankfurt University
Frankfurt, West Germany

Comrades

We have been informed that members and sympathizers of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) were attacked and injured at a public meeting on Afghanistan that was arranged by the University of Frankfurt the 25th of January. The responsible for the attacks are said to be members of the General Union of Afghani Students Abroad (GUAFS), "Fight Back" and the ATIF/ATÖF.

In this way we would like to solidarize with the TLD in a protest against this horrifying attack on the democratic right of the TLD to put forward their opinions. Even if our party has deep political disagreements with the TLD and the "International Spartacist Tendency" we condemn the attempts to silence those who refuse to participate in the imperialist-led witchhunt against the Afghan revolution and the USSR. Stop the right-wing attacks!

for the Political Bureau
of the Communist Workers League
Swedish section of the Fourth
International
Håkan Blomqvist

LCCh Statement

To the Workers and Students of the
University of Frankfurt
To All Political Organizations
Claiming to Struggle for
Democracy, Proletarian
Revolution and Socialism

In response to the assaults and attacks suffered by members of the German Trotskyist League (section of the International Spartacist Tendency) on January 25 of this year as they were publicly expressing their viewpoint on the situation in Afghanistan, the Liga Comunista de Chile considers it its duty and responsibility to state the following:

We reject and repudiate the attack perpetrated by elements belonging to GUAFS, "Fight Back" and ATIF/ATÖF against members of the German Trotskyist League and characterize this attack as an outrageous and criminal act against the democratic rights won by the workers and student movement. The Liga Comunista de Chile, in addition to solidarizing with the comrades who were victims of these attacks, calls on all political organizations belonging to the workers and student movement of Frankfurt to close ranks against the use and practice of such gangster methods, typical of fascist groups, in order to eradicate them definitively from the workers and student organizations.

External Secretariat of the
Liga Comunista de Chile
4 February 1980

Frankfurt Turkish People's House Press Release

Frankfurt am Main
13 February 1980

We most sharply condemn the brutal attack by members of the Turkish Maoist organizations ATIF/ATÖF against supporters of the TLD at the forum of the Frankfurt ASTA on Afghanistan on 25 January 1980. We see this attack in the context of a constantly increasing anti-Soviet frenzy which is a slap in the face to all peace-loving people.

When one observes how these forces behave here, one can judge what deeds they would be capable of with the help of American military support.

We demand the most stringent punishment of those involved in this knifing.

Turkish People's House
Secretary, Board of Directors
Necati Özçelik

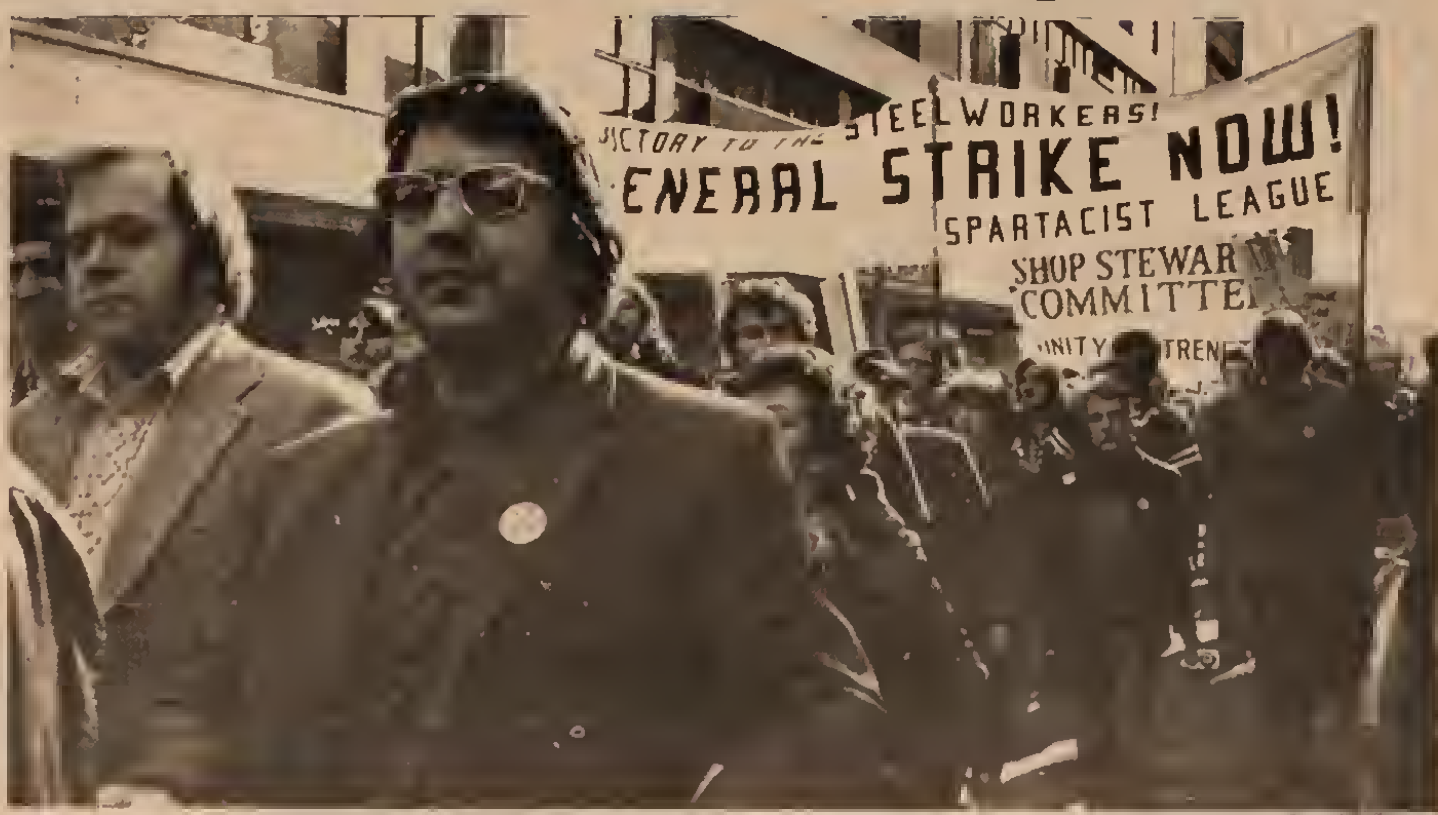
Spread the Strike to Beat Back Thatcher

British Steel Strikers Holding Out

LONDON, March 16—The British steel strike has become a bitterly fought war of attrition. The 150,000 striking British Steel Corporation (BSC) workers are dug in hard despite eleven weeks of mass arrests, press vilification and extreme financial hardship. Their strike has begun to have an impact on the economy. The attempts of their leaders to negotiate a sellout have thus far been of no avail, as BSC management and the Thatcher government have rejected any compromise.

What has most encouraged the Tories to hardline it is the criminal backstabbing and treachery of the union leaders, from the Trades Union Congress (TUC) to "left" bureaucrats like Yorkshire miners leader Arthur Scargill to Communist Party (CP) officials in the motor and engineering industries. With one or two exceptions earlier in the strike, these cowards have refused to mobilise their ranks to beef up the beleaguered pickets; they have looked the other way as lorry drivers belonging to the largest union in Britain have scabbed; and they have refused to join the steel workers on strike. Despite verbal directives to respect picket lines and "black" (refuse to handle) steel shipments, the TUC hasn't the slightest intention of implementing such policies. For they well understand that, were they to do so, the British economy would quickly grind to a halt, and a political class confrontation with the bosses would rapidly be precipitated. And that is the last thing that the bureaucrats and the social-democratic Labour Party want.

What is posed most urgently in Britain today is a general strike to smash the Tories' anti-working-class offensive and open the road to a real struggle to put a final end to decaying British capitalism. The Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) has been actively intervening in the strike with such a perspective and program—and gaining a serious hearing from steel worker militants looking for a road to win their battle. But the fake-lefts have capitulated to the bureaucracy's attempts to isolate the strikers, going so far as to apologise for and even participate in the scabbing. The following account of strike action during the last two weeks has been compiled by the SL/B from reports from South Yorkshire and other strike centers throughout Britain.



Spartacist Britain

Spartacist League/Britain marching in steel strike demonstration at Sheffield, February 18.

March 5: Bill Sirs, Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) general secretary, announces the "compromise" union initiative drawn up under the guidance of the TUC at a delegate conference. A nervous TUC has intervened, following a militant demonstration of Sheffield steel workers demanding a general strike. At the conference, several delegates from Wales demand that the union claim be extended to halt BSC's planned elimination of 50,000 jobs, while others call for a general strike. But the bureaucrats beat a massive retreat. The ISTC paper, *Steelworker Banner*, admits the new claim "will mean negotiating away many jobs." The pay claim too has been reduced to a base rate of about 15 per cent over 15 months.

March 7: The Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) finally instructs its drivers not to cross picket lines, nine weeks into the strike! At strike committee headquarters in South Yorkshire there is great excitement: if they picket key factories and the TGWU men follow directives, the country would grind to a halt. Plans are made to step up picketing at car factories and other major steel users next week.

But later that day a meeting of British Leylands convenors in Coventry votes against calling a strike at the nationalised motor company, even though the workforce had voted down the company's 5 per cent offer by two to one. Coachloads of steel workers join Leylands workers to lobby the meeting, but to no avail. The next morning the CP's *Morning Star* endorsed the no-strike decision.

March 9: More than 100,000 workers march through London at a TUC demonstration. The union tops are seeking a diversion. The insipid official banner reads, "The Government Must Change Course Now." The ISTC contingent is by far the most militant and spirited. Every time the steel workers are mentioned over the loudspeakers, cheers ring out from the crowd. TUC head Len Murray almost gets booed off the stage by steel workers and miners heckling and shouting "General Strike." Most of the "far left" organisations do not even mount contingents, while the reformist Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff refuses to demand a general strike. In contrast, SL supporters march behind a banner reading "Victory to the Steelworkers, General Strike Now." More than 500 copies of *Spartacist Britain* are sold at the demonstration.

March 10: Strikers fan out across the country to step up the picketing. About 20 arrive at Oxford to picket Leylands Cowley, expecting promised assistance from assembly plant deputy convenor and Workers Socialist League (WSL) leader Alan Thornett. A few students appear to help on the picket line as do Spartacist supporters and a couple of militant seamen visiting from the U.S. But not Thornett. Much to the disgruntlement of several strikers, this pseudo-revolutionary "leader" is nowhere to be found.

The strikers also discover just how hollow are the TGWU's new instructions. There are far too few pickets, and the vast majority of Cowley workers and TGWU drivers either don't see them or ignore them. The picketers call the local TGWU chief official, Ray Buckle, who claims he's received no instructions from national union headquarters. The picketers are furious.

But in Sheffield the same day 400 engineering [metal trades] stewards vote to instruct their members not to cross picket lines. Soon 8,000 engineering workers in 16 plants are out, with many joining the picket lines. Finally the strike is spreading!

March 12: The South Yorkshire strike committees try to throw up a mass picket at Hadfields scab private steel

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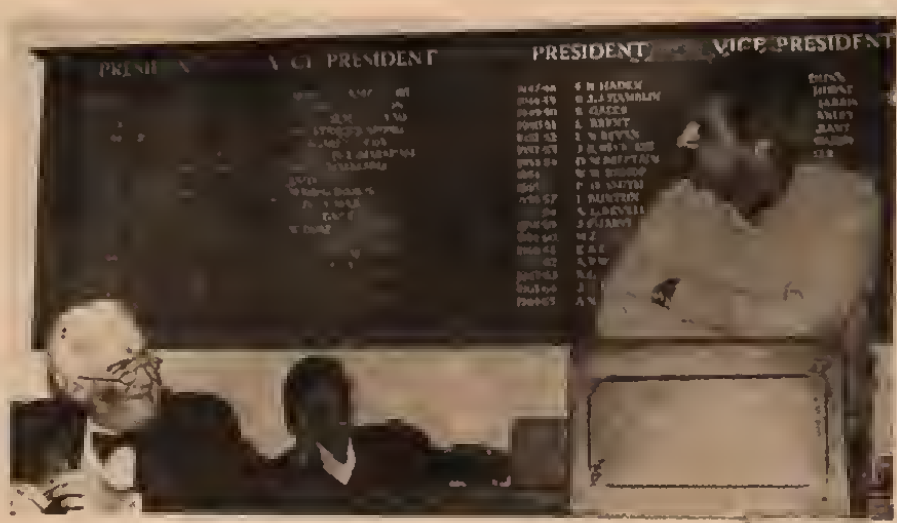
Fink "Socialist" Debates Cop



Spartacist Britain

With Britain gripped by a bitter steel strike that has seen cops running amok attacking the picket lines, what labor militant, much less socialist, would be caught dead debating the police over whether they've been "unnecessarily brutal in enforcing the law"? Scandalously, Tariq Ali of the International Marxist Group, section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, agreed to debate the chairman of the West Midlands Police Federation, Gordon Meredith, at the Birmingham University Student Union on February 29.

Meredith represents the cops who recently ransacked the Birmingham Labour Club, being used as local strike headquarters, and beat unconscious a striking worker outside British Leylands Castle Bromwich. Protesting this disgusting "debate," members of the Spartacist League/Britain picketed outside the Student Union, chanting "No debate with the Labour Club raiders!" But Ali traipsed across this picket line, exchanged pleasantries with cop Meredith over dinner inside, participated in the oh-so-polite "debate," and afterwards shook hands with his worthy opponent. Militants who know how Meredith's cops "debate"—with boots, batons and bashing—have some less polite words to describe what the fink "socialist" Ali has done.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 252 **21 March 1980**

SL Forums on Iran/Afghanistan

Women of the East: Proletarian Revolution or Slavery

Afghanistan today is "probably the first instance of a shooting war in modern history which was ignited specifically by the question of women's liberation," Dale Reissner, editor of the Spartacist League (SL) journal *Women and Revolution* told audiences in the Midwest and on the East Coast. Yet, Reissner noted, "there have been no demonstrations in defense of Afghan women from the feminists."

Comrades Reissner and Phyllis Anwar were on an SL speaking tour for International Women's Day, commemorating the struggle of working women, notably the 1917 protest in Russia that sparked the overthrow of the tsar, opening a revolutionary struggle that led to the establishment of the first workers state in history. The comrades were warmly received in Boston, Cleveland, Ann Arbor and Oberlin in early March. That same week the San Francisco/Oakland branches of the SL held an all-day conference which also focused on the liberation of women in Iran and Afghanistan.

"There are only two roads for Eastern women—proletarian revolution or slavery," Reissner stressed, explaining why the Spartacist League says "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" "Revolutionists in this conflict," she said, "must stand on the side of the Red Army—because a victory for the mullah-led rebels means a victory for the bride price, it means a victory for the veil, it means a victory for usury, for feudal serfdom and the continuation of the enslavement of women."

Comrade Anwar gave a vivid presentation of what life in Afghanistan is like for women. She spent four years in Afghanistan with her husband, a native Afghan, and was the first foreign woman to refuse to put on the veil when she arrived there. Anwar pointed out that life for women has changed little since her first-hand experiences in Afghanistan in the 1940s. She quoted a recent *New York Times* article on the settlement of a tribal feud which involved the handing over to a rival family of two goats, money and two little girls. The speaker noted that next door in Iran, where Islamic fundamentalism holds sway, the ayatollah Khomeini says that it is considered a great honor for a girl to get her first menstrual period in her husband's home. It is still vital to have blood-smeared sheets to show the morning after a wedding, too.

Michaud/Woodfin Camp

Veiled Afghan woman.

At the International Women's Day events this year, the bankruptcy of feminism as a strategy for the liberation of women stood out in particular relief: not only have the feminists been silent on the civil war and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, but the tumultuous events in Iran, too, caught them politically off-balance. Particularly after Kate Millett's expulsion from Iran, they had supported the Iranian women's struggle against Khomeini's reactionary attempt to reimpose the veil. But they had no revolutionary program to mobilize the millions of women oppressed by near-feudal slavery; indeed many of Millett's bourgeois feminist associates have had ties with the shah's notorious feminist sister, Princess Ashraf.

On the other hand, the repulsive support which most leftists and "progressives" gave to Khomeini, Reissner explained, "flows out of a culmination of New Left despair at the possibility of really having a proletarian revolution." It is a historic irony, she said, that the Spartacist League, which is dedicated to the overthrow of the whole bourgeois social order, finds itself today in the position of defending the gains of the bourgeois revolution, while Carter, the chief of the most powerful bourgeoisie on earth, and assorted "far leftists" try to make common cause with the feudalist enemies of even bourgeois democracy.

In contrast to the disoriented ex-New Leftists and feminists, the SL understands that the Soviet Army presence in Afghanistan is crucially important to women's liberation today. Reissner noted that although the conservative Kremlin bureaucrats were motivated by simple nationalist concern to defend themselves from imperialist pressure, in this case their action coincides with the interest of proletarian internationalism. "If Afghanistan is transformed into anything resembling Soviet Central Asia, this would be an enormous leap forward—especially for women."

Although the USSR today is ruled by a repressive Stalinist bureaucracy which must be overthrown through proletarian political revolution, the social and economic gains of the Russian Revolution have transformed the life of women and must be defended. Comrade Reissner made a powerful comparison between the current status of women in Soviet Central Asia and their sisters (often quite literally) in Afghanistan and other tribal border regions where imperialism and feudalism still hold sway:

> "The young soldiers, Central Asian soldiers, who were sent into Afghanistan, in confronting the abysmal squalor and backwardness of Afghanistan confronted their own past. Many were Uzbeks and Tadzhiks. Tadzhik women were so oppressed that they not only had to wear a heavy black horsehair veil in public without even eye slits, but even in private no women were allowed to see them unveiled because there was a fear that a woman might describe their face to a man. I'm not talking about ancient history now. I'm talking about sixty years ago—within living memory of many of the people in that area."

The achievement of the Soviet Union, she summarized, becomes very clear when you compare the living conditions of Soviet peoples in Central Asia today with their cousins just across the border. The literacy rate in Afghanistan is about 5 percent, perhaps the lowest in the world. In Uzbekistan, the largest of the Soviet Central Asian Republics, the literacy rate is about 100 percent. The life expectancy in Afghanistan is about 40, in Uzbekistan 70. As of 1975 in

continued on page 10

"Poor Little Afghanistan"

State Department Shachtmanism Once Again

When the Carter administration seized upon Soviet intervention in Afghanistan to launch a new Cold War drive, the entire workers movement was suddenly forced to confront the Russian question head-on. As was to be expected, the pro-Peking Stalinists were the most despicable "left" cheerleaders for Carter's Hate Russia crusade (see "Maoists United With Uncle Sam," *WV* No. 250, 22 February). And equally predictably, the mangiest of these running dogs of U.S. imperialism was a clot of seedy Shachtmanite sectlets, yapping away about the danger of "Soviet imperialism."

"Russian Invasion Tramples Afghanistan Independence," headlined the January *Torch* of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). Like the State Department, the RSL demands the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. But while claiming to oppose imperialism "East and West," it comes out foursquare for the imperialist-backed Muslim reactionaries: "We must also support the armed struggle of the Afghan people against the invaders." In Afghanistan, the RSL's "third camp" turns out to be that of the mullahs, landlords, usurers, tribal chiefs and defenders of the veil and bride price!

The League for a Revolutionary Party (LRP), an ex-RSL splinter led by long-time Shachtmanite Sy Landy, adopted the same pro-imperialist "Russia out" line, but tried to give it a left face. In its *Socialist Action* of January 1980 the LRP refuses to take a side in the raging civil war, supporting instead a *non-existent* anti-rebel, anti-Soviet "third force": "the Taraki-Amin governments." So, supposedly, they're *against* the mullahs whom they're *for* in Iran, and *against* the Soviets who are the military backbone of the government they're *for*. Why all these verbal acrobatics on behalf of the rather unappetizing hero Amin (who murdered Taraki and whose blood purges were reminiscent of Ethiopia's Mengistu)? Because, at all costs, they do not want to be caught defending the Soviet Union in any way.

But it's particularly outrageous that they're trying to peddle this classic Shachtmanite tripe as "Trotskyism." LRP spokesman Walter Dahl has been going around to New York forums on Afghanistan lately claiming that Trotsky "opposed the Red Army's invasion of Poland" in 1939, saying that it meant "the enslavement of Poland." Dahl is an out-and-out liar. Trotsky insisted that the Red Army could be the spark for the overthrow of bourgeois property forms in Poland. And he summed up, "Our outright duty was to participate in the overturn on the side of the workers and peasants and *to that extent* on the side of the Red Army." ("From a Scratch—To The Danger of Gangrene," *In Defense of Marxism*).

Furthermore, these Shachtmanites take Trotsky's phrase about "the enslavement of Poland" totally out of context, then cite it as a precedent for their pro-imperialist prattle about "the enslavement of Afghanistan." The cases are not identical. In 1939 the Russian invasion of Poland was a product of the Kremlin's reactionary/utopian belief that the USSR could be defended by deals with one or another imperialist coalition (in this case the Stalin-Hitler pact). The intervention into Afghani-

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Smash White Terror in Central America!

El Salvador on Edge of Civil War

The fall of the U.S.-sponsored Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua last July was enthusiastically welcomed by the long-suffering subjects of military rulers throughout Central America. But the triumph of the Sandinista guerrillas was handwriting on the wall to dictatorial regimes in Guatemala and El Salvador, which face guerrilla insurgencies at home. Their immediate response: a sharp escalation of reactionary terror, launching repeated massacres against all opponents of their dictatorial rule. Hundreds of peasants and workers have been butchered in machine-gun assaults by the dictators' mercenary armies and assassinated by right-wing paramilitary gangs. Even priests, liberal reformers and Christian Democratic conservatives have fallen victim to the murder squads.

Washington has attempted to prop up its shaky Central American dominos by imposing cosmetic changes on the military juntas. The "Made in USA" coup in El Salvador last October is the chief "success" in this campaign to give neo-colonial military rule a "human rights" face. But the promises of democratic and social reforms have fooled no one, least of all the Salvadoran masses. Despite a brutal white terror that has claimed more than 700 lives so far *this year*, the workers and landless peasants have not been cowed. Instead, their burning desire to finish once and for all with the rapacious ruling class and the bloody generals has pushed El Salvador to the brink of all-out civil war.

Despite escalating white terror in El Salvador, revolutionary ferment grows.

Keler/Sygma

On January 22, the anniversary of a 1932 Communist-led peasant uprising in which 30,000 agricultural workers and leftists were massacred, the combined forces of the Salvadoran left staged the largest protest demonstration in the country's history. Two hundred thousand protesters jammed the streets of the capital city of San Salvador. Usually such massive numbers give a degree of protection, as the dictatorship's professional gunmen wait to carry out their dirty work in the shadows. But this arrogant, isolated regime is so nervous that its cops and troops answered with a ferocious barrage of gunfire. As demonstrators entered the capital city's main square, snipers posted on the rooftops of the National Palace and the Bank of El Salvador began firing into the crowd, continuing their deadly barrage for a solid hour. Demonstrators who sought sanctuary in the Metropolitan Cathedral were also gunned down. And when hundreds of protesters withdrew to the national university, they were besieged by troops and military planes sprayed them with insecticides. The Salvadoran Red Cross estimates that over 100 were killed on that day alone and more than 300 wounded.

In neighboring Guatemala a series of military governments have enforced their repressive rule with indiscriminate murder for decades. A Guatemalan professor in exile estimates that 70,000 persons, from Indian peasants to liberal politicians, have been systematically assassinated by successive regimes, an average of *3,000 murders a year* for over 20 years (*Síntesis Latinoamericano*, 14 February)! Most recently the government of General Romero Lucas García answered a peasant occupation of the Spanish embassy with a fiery assault in which 39 people, including two Spanish diplomats and a former vice president of Guatemala, died.

The grisly statistics of dead and wounded are symptoms of the terminal illness of isolated and hated army regimes now faced with a growing challenge from the left. If Nicaragua was the archetypal banana republic with an upstart puppet ruler, El Salvador is about as close as one comes these days to a 19th-century "oligarchy"—the legendary (but very real) 14 families have ruled the country uninterruptedly since the days of Spanish colonialism. With time the semi-feudal *encomienda* was transformed into the capitalist *hacienda* producing coffee and cotton for export. But the brutal repression by the masters of the land barely changed. Even now "order" in the agricultural districts is maintained primarily by a force of private rural police paid by the landowners.

Now, as a tide of mass protest mounts, the *hacendados* are preparing to stage a last-stand defense of what they

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New Sandinista Jailing of Leftists

On February 11 Nicaragua's Sandinista-led "Government of National Reconstruction" sentenced four leaders of the left-wing People's Action Movement (MAP) and its trade-union arm, Workers Front (FO), to two years of "public works" (forced labor). The convictions of Melvin Wallace, Juan Alberto Enriquez, Carlos Domingo Cuadra and Isidro Téllez followed the forced closing of the MAP/FO-linked newspaper *El Pueblo* on January 23. Charges were later brought against seven MAP/FO leaders, including Enriquez and Téllez, for illegal possession of arms and violations of the Public Order and Security Law carrying possible penalties of up to ten years in prison. The legal proceedings were accompanied by mass rallies organized by the Sandinista Front (FSLN) where, according to the New York *Guardian* (27 February), thousands shouted slogans such as "Death to ultraleftism" and "Death to Trotskyism."

The arrests of the MAP/FO leaders are not isolated incidents but part of a pattern of harassment, imprisonment and slander by the FSLN against its left-wing critics. *El Pueblo* was first closed and its editor, Melvin Wallace, arrested within days after the FSLN columns rolled into Managua last summer. In August the "Trotskyist" Simón Bolívar Brigade, an international contingent which had joined the FSLN in the final days of the Somoza dictatorship, was forcibly expelled from the country. In October, FSLN *comandantes* launched a wave of jailings against the MAP/FO and the ostensibly Trotskyist LMR, charging them with responsibility for armed attacks on FSLN troops and other "counterrevolutionary" actions. The recent jailings, however, were justified by no more than government declarations that articles in *El Pueblo* constituted "destructive criticism" and sought "to damage the popular interests."

But the real "crime" committed by the MAP/FO, a pro-Albania Stalinist group, was to support and lead strikes against nationalized and private businesses and to criticize the FSLN's pro-business policies. In the interests of bankrupt Nicaraguan capitalists, the Sandinista regime has opposed all strikes, eliminated the traditional "13th month" Christmas bonus and reneged on its earlier promise to pay wages due from the period of the civil war. A series of strikes and factory occupations, led by the FO and the pro-Moscow Communist Party, was answered by charges that the CIA, working through "union pseudo-leaders" was trying to "destabilize the economy and make impossible economic reactivization."

Despite the anti-Trotskyist tirades of FSLN leaders, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has consistently supported the anti-left and anti-working-class repression in Sandinista Nicaragua. While the FSLN breaks strikes in order to demonstrate its commitment to working out a *modus vivendi* with Nicaraguan capitalists and U.S. imperialism, according to the SWP Nicaragua today is "a country in which the workers and peasants have political power" (*Perspectiva Mundial*, 10 March). "The FSLN," they claim, "has made it clear that it upholds the right to criticism [except 'destructive criticism']. It is defending the independence of the trade unions and mass organizations from the state [except that it forces them into the government-controlled union federation]. It has opposed any acts of coercion against strikes and demonstrations by workers and peasants [except that it arrests the leaders]" (*Intercontinental Press*, 18 February).

Ever-so-slightly squeamish about tossing leftists in jail for writing "sectarian" editorials, the SWP heaved a sigh of relief when the government backed up the charges against the MAP/FO with the discovery of what FSLN leader Tomás Borge described as "more than three thousand arms to be employed in the counterrevolution." If they didn't have such "secret arsenals," the MAP/FO might be the only people in Nicaragua *without* guns. But the SWP openly supports these jailings, alleging, "The Nicaraguan government has the responsiblity and the right to take energetic measures of self-defense against this type of violation of the security of the revolution" (*Perspectiva Mundial*, 10 March).

By championing the anti-left repression unleashed by the FSLN and its capitalist partners, the pacifist-legalist SWP cheerleaders for *sandinismo* prove that they are not Marxists—who stand for the right of self-defense for the working masses, not bonapartist governments—nor even "consistent" (bourgeois) democrats (what about the "right to bear arms"?). All genuine revolutionaries, as well as all defenders of trade-union and democratic rights, must denounce the closing of *El Pueblo* and the jailing of the MAP/FO leaders. Free all left-wing prisoners in the FSLN jails!

BLACK RADICAL IN THE COURTS, ON THE STREETS

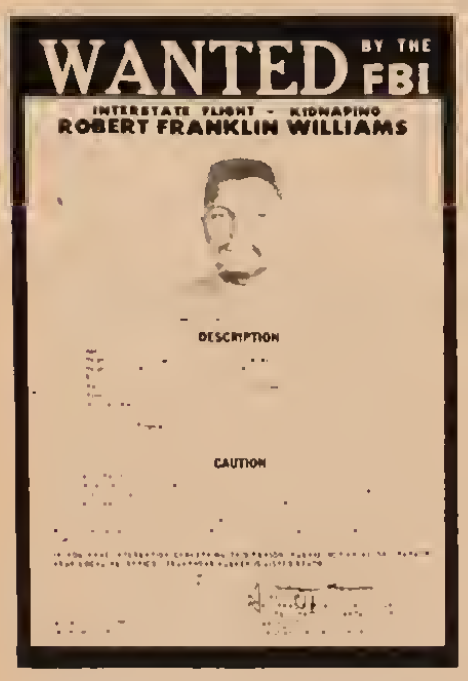
BOOK REVIEW

THERE IS A FOUNTAIN—AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CIVIL RIGHTS LAWYER
BY CONRAD LYNN

In 1961 a distinguished black attorney was invited to speak to a high school senior class in suburban New York on the subject of the civil rights struggle. When his talk was ended, a right-wing fanatic took the floor and harangued the students: "I'm going to tell you just how the red rat you have just heard crawled out of the woodwork." And in the style of Joseph McCarthy he took out a fistful of notes and began reading about Conrad Lynn's past—how he had joined the Communist Party's youth group, how he had been arrested in radical demonstrations, how he had defended communist militants in the courtroom, how he had gone to Cuba, and more.

But the days of McCarthyism were waning, when legions of witchhunters across the country took the dirt slipped to them by the FBI and routinely got people thrown out of their jobs and ostracized by the community. In any case the redbaiting didn't phase Lynn who had never made a secret of his radical political activities or let the verbal brickbats of the race-haters stop him. Today, at 70 and still full of fight, Lynn continues his lifelong battle for the rights of the oppressed inside the courtroom and out. Only last November he received another death threat from the KKK for representing a former prisoner who exposed Klan activities among NY State prison guards.

Conrad Lynn's career is a record of courage and dedication; from the mid-1930s on he played an active role in many of the key struggles for black freedom. And now he has written some of it down in an autobiography entitled, *There is a Fountain* (Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1979), after an old Protestant hymn of suffering and survival. The book is subtitled, *The Autobiography of a Civil Rights Lawyer*, which is of course how Lynn is best known. As he says, if "my office has been called the 'house of last resort,' it is because I have been willing to handle cases that were unpopular or dangerous." But, hardly one to bear the law's delay and the racist insolence of judicial office, Lynn was always more than a civil rights lawyer.



Framed-up black militant Robert Williams. Lynn helped him escape lynch-law, FBI vendetta with a new "underground railroad."

To read *There is a Fountain* is to follow Conrad Lynn, the black activist, to the front lines of many of the shaping events of American radicalism over the past half century. He was there, walking to Washington, D.C. with Harlem pacifists after A. Philip Randolph canceled his proclaimed march for black jobs in June 1941. During World War II he worked for desegregation of the army; his brother Winfred's legal case was a battering ram in that struggle. After the war he was on the first freedom ride, sponsored by CORE in 1946. In the early '50s he defended Puerto Rican nationalist leader Albizu Campos at a time—after the attack on Truman at Blair House—when few lawyers would touch the case. And when in 1954 four Puerto Rican nationalists, led by Lolita Lebrón, attacked the U.S. House of Representatives with pistols demanding freedom from colonial oppression, Lynn took their case as well.

He defended the victims of racist injustice from the lynch-law rural South, where the judges' black robes were often indistinguishable from the white robes of the Klan, to the urban slums of Harlem where the cops regularly pummeled black youth and the courts railroaded them to jail. He stood with black militant Robert Williams for the right of armed self-defense in the South. Lynn was one of the first Americans to visit Castro's Cuba and even arranged for Castro's famous 1960 stay at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem.

In 1963 Lynn went on the offensive against HUAC witchhunting. Testifying before HUAC the day after thousands of blacks had been arrested by Bull Connor's cops in Birmingham, Alabama, hundreds beaten and bitten by police dogs, Lynn turned the tables on the witchhunters. He recalls, "Every member of the committee except one was from the South, and I cited injustice after injustice that had been visited upon black people in each congressman's district." Charged with "Communist propaganda," Lynn countered: "I don't happen to be satisfied with a government that permits brutalization of the Negroes in Birmingham." Accused of aiding Robert Williams' escape to Cuba, Lynn boldly replied: "We reconstituted the Underground Railroad and he got out through Canada."

That same year Lynn became chairman of the Freedom Now Party. During the Vietnam War he was an antiwar activist and went to Vietnam as a member of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Commission. He also defended members of the New York Black Panther Party in the courtroom amid a hailstorm of government frame-ups and persecution of black militants.

Most of all this book is the story of a fighter for black equality whose political life has spanned four decades of uncorrupted if somewhat eclectic radical militancy. It ought to be a book that gets a wide reading and enthusiastic welcome on the left. But it is being ignored by and large by reviewers of the left press, perhaps because of Lynn's characteristic habit of naming not only the heroes of the black struggle, like Robert Williams, but also the sellouts and cowards like Roy Wilkins...and the Stalinized Communist Party.

The "Kissing Case"

One of Lynn's most dramatic battles recounted in his autobiography, one which deeply probes the race-hate psychology of the South, was the famous "kissing case." It began in October 1958 in Monroe, North Carolina when a six-year-old white child, Sissy Marcus, kissed a nine-year-old black child, Hanover Thompson, on the cheek in play while another black child, seven-year-old Fuzzy Simpson, looked on. When Sissy Marcus told her mother what had happened, the state of North Carolina launched a campaign of barbaric legal terror against these two children, throwing them into jail under miserable conditions, denying them visits even by their mothers, and charging them with rape.

It was here in Monroe County that Robert Williams headed up the NAACP. Two years earlier they had defended with force of arms the homes of blacks against KKK night-riders; in 1961 a frame-up kidnapping charge against Williams following a Klan attack on a demonstration would force him into exile. When the "kissing case" began, Williams came quickly to the defense of the children, but the national NAACP would not touch the case. Roy Wilkins, then national director of the NAACP, said that "inter-racial sex was an explosive issue" and that the NAACP "ought to concern itself with other issues." When Lynn talked to Wilkins about the case, the NAACP director asked, "Why do you want to represent those scum who are on welfare?"

Wide World

Harlem, 1964: While dozens of police sharpshooters lined roofs, Conrad Lynn (right) linked arms with Bill Epton to courageously lead off banned march against cop terror.

Williams enlisted Lynn and together they fought the case in the courtroom, the streets and the pages of the international press. But to the shock of northern liberals, the children were convicted. Judge Hampton told Lynn that he had held "a separate but equal hearing." Lynn asked, "What do you mean...by a separate and equal hearing?" The judge replied:

> "Well, down here we do things a little different from you folks up there in New York. We feel we get along better if the white folks stay in their place and the niggers stay in theirs...
> "On the mornin' I had the hearin', I called in the white parent, Mrs Marcus, and her daughter. She told me in front of the same stenographer I have here now what happened to her child. I sent them home. Later I summoned the two nigger mothers and had the children brought up from the county jail. Since they just stood silent and didn't say nothin', I knew that was a confession of guilt. I gave the older nigger boy twelve years. The younger nigger got fourteen."

Williams and Lynn continued to gain support for the victims in the "kissing case" worldwide, but under North Carolina "justice" (which hasn't changed all that much—witness the "Wilmington 10" case two decades later), they *again* lost on appeal. The State Attorney General spoke for the attitude of the entire court: "I say we dare not let these two [children] go. Lynn and his ilk don't care about them. What they want is *revolution*. They want to spit in our faces and rip our sacred traditions to shreds." It wasn't until the defense campaign initiated by Williams and Lynn had built so much support that even Eleanor Roosevelt intervened on behalf of the children that they were at last freed from the jails of North Carolina.

In his presentation of the case, Lynn throws a penetrating light on the underlying political tensions and struggle that wracked the civil rights movement. When the pacifist/liberal NAACP suspended Williams because of his statements for the right of armed self-defense in the South, Lynn defended him before the councils of the NAACP. *There is a Fountain* recounts how, abandoned by the treacherous liberals, Williams was forced to flee to Cuba to escape the lynch mobs and kangaroo courts. Some of the most interesting observations in this book concern Williams' heroic struggle by a man who fought at his side.

Harlem 1964

There is a Fountain is not only a collection of famous cases and causes; it is also a rich storehouse of little-known illustrative anecdotes, information and engaging stories. For instance, there is a

story about actor Sidney Poitier that isn't likely to appear in *People Magazine*. During the fight to desegregate the army in World War II, soldier Poitier and his buddies "took one of the army trucks and loaded it with strapping black GIs armed with ax handles and crowbars," leading the charge on a Jim Crow whiskey bar. "In ten minutes the place was in splinters." But *There is a Fountain* contains only a fraction of Lynn's radical activities and cases, and one of his bravest acts did not even find its way into this book—the time during the 1964 Harlem "riots" when with dozens of police sharpshooters on the rooftops Lynn linked arms with Bill Epton to lead off a banned march against cop terror.

The events began on 18 July 1964, after NYC police gunned down black youth James Powell. As the ghetto streets filled with angry protesters the elite Tactical Patrol Force swept through Harlem indiscriminately beating and terrorizing all who crossed their paths. Thousands of blacks came forward spontaneously to struggle against a common enemy, and radicals in the Harlem Defense Council (HDC) called for block-by-block self-defense against cop brutality and a mass demonstration through the streets of Harlem. The Spartacist group at the time initiated a Harlem Solidarity Committee in conjunction with these efforts. However, the liberals and black reformists organized in the "Unity Council" did everything they could to stop the planned HDC march and the city banned it. As we wrote at the time,

> "They [the liberals and reformists] devoted ceaseless efforts to attempt to persuade Bill Epton, leader of the HDC and vice-chairman of the Progressive Labor Movement, to call off the march, and did succeed in convincing Jesse Grey to withdraw his backing at the last minute....
>
> "The efforts of the Unity Council were in concert with those of the police who were mobilized *27,000 strong* to crush the march.... With much courage and dignity Epton, with his lawyer, Conrad Lynn, with the continued support of the Freedom Now Party, and others, stepped out to begin the march and was immediately arrested."
>
> —"Harlem Riot and After," *Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965

Black and Red

For Conrad Lynn, the poor boy from Long Island who worked his way up to become a lawyer, there was never any question that the struggle against the oppression of blacks demanded the most profound social change. For Lynn, his relatively privileged position among American blacks meant a deeper sense of political responsibility. He entered college in 1926 as a Republican Party loyalist and crack debater "bent on becoming a preacher of the gospel." But by 1928 he had joined the Communist Party and done a radio broadcast on behalf of William Z. Foster, the CP's presidential candidate. The first black law student at Syracuse University, by 1931 he had been suspended for political activity (and later reinstated).

Lynn was a spokesman for the Young Communist League in the 1920s. But although he maintained his "respect for the cadres" of the CP, he eventually broke with the party in the mid-1930s. Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of *There is a Fountain* is the fact that after breaking with the CP, Lynn was able to remain an independent radical on the left.

Lynn's political differences with the CP began while he was still in college over the CP's theory of the Black Belt and the demand for "black self-determination" in the Deep South. This position was one of the most off-beat expressions of "Third Period" Stalinism of the late '20s and early '30s and has been a touchstone in a number of recent memoirs of black ex-CPers from that generation. Some, like Harry Haywood, who went along with every purge and sellout and later became a Maoist, could never explain why the CP sold out the struggle for black freedom and look back on this period as the golden age of communist activity in the U.S. In contrast to Haywood's reveries, Lynn had a more down-to-earth reaction to this utopian/reactionary theory.

> "I could hardly contain my amusement when we discussed this proposition at the YCL meeting. My contacts with the Deep South were close...[but] I had never heard of any demand for a separate black nation in the American South....
>
> "My strongest points had been based not on theory but facts. At that very time, both white and black unemployed had elected a nineteen-year-old black youth Angelo Herndon, in Atlanta, Georgia, the heart of lynchdom, to lead them on a march for jobs. These outcasts, at the very bottom of the social structure, were forging a unity across racial lines that made it apparent the revolution would proceed along classic lines or it would not succeed at all."

Lynn did not make his disagreement with the CP public. In particular, he respected its work around the "Scottsboro Boys" defense and the generally aggressive policies against the cringing capitulation of the liberals and the Negro establishment. Unlike the Haywoods, he came to understand that the CP sellout was not in dropping the idiosyncratic black belt slogan but at the general political level. And he pointed his finger at the popular front. While he accepted the Communist Party line of "anti-fascist alliance" with FDR in World War II, he recognized and hated the consequences of this class collaboration for blacks and colonial peoples:

> "As part of the effort to persuade Roosevelt into favoring an alliance of the 'democracies' against Hitler, the Communist party, with varying degrees of covertness, backed the Democratic party candidates in 1938. The fact that control of Congress by the Democrats meant control by Southern segregationist committee-chairmen in the House caused hardly a passing comment in the *Daily Worker*."

He simply "felt it to be a fact that wherever the Popular Front had achieved power, it suppressed unrest and dissent at home and prepared for war with the Axis." Lynn describes a Harlem meeting in which a black ex-member "strode down center aisle, pushed aside the chairman of the evening, and ripped down Stalin's picture":

> "He turned to the astonished audience and said, 'Black revolutionaries should not stand for homage to the bloody collaborator of Mussolini in Ethiopia and the French in Algeria.'
>
> "I was surprised to find myself standing and cheering.... It was obvious to everyone that my position in the Communist party was becoming untenable."

In January 1937 Lynn was ruled out of order for demanding that the New York committee of the CP financially back a general strike led by Trinidadian oil workers against British colonial rule. Not long afterward he was expelled.

One prime example of Stalinist treachery cited by Lynn is the planned 1941 "March on Washington" for jobs proclaimed by A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The widely-publicized march was heavily backed by the Communist Party, and thousands of young blacks were set to go. But on the eve of the march, FDR issued a toothless executive order against racial discrimination in war industries. Randolph, a real professional hat-in-hander, called off the march and the CP went along. Three days earlier, on 21 June 1941, Germany had invaded the USSR. During the Stalin-Hitler pact the CP was stridently denouncing "American imperialism"; now it was all out for the war effort, and to hell with the struggle against Jim Crow!

Lynn's account in this period particularly stung reviewer Ernest Kaiser in the CP front magazine *Freedomways* (Second Quarter 1979) who denounced Lynn's "erroneous explanation for Communist support of the bourgeois democracies during World War II" as "invalid and subjective." Invalid? Subjective? Lynn simply registered the fact that the Stalinists didn't give a damn about blacks.

Inside the Courtroom and Out

Despite his strong emotional ties to the Communist Party, Lynn has defended Trotskyists on many occasions. But he never made the leap from nationalist-inclined "progressive" to Trotskyist revolutionist. Lynn was one of a layer of black youth misled and then dissipated by Stalinism. To have posed as black people's defender only to train the best of them in class collaboration was a historic crime. Yet Lynn's break with the Communist Party did *not* turn him against the goal of socialist revolution. Unlike the outstanding black author Richard Wright, for instance, whose *American Hunger* recounts his CP recruitment and disaffection in Chicago—a triumph of aesthetics over politics—communism for Lynn was not "a god that failed." As Lynn recalls, he began to define himself against a growing crowd of cold warriors at the end of the Second World War:

> "Through the Lynn Committee [Against Segregation in the Armed Forces] I met a group of radical, anticommunist intellectuals, which included Nate Glaser, Eddie Robinson, Dave Bazelon, and Paul Goodman. Their virulent anticommunism led them to a certain acceptance of American institutions, however wryly they expressed it. To me, Russia with all its ugliness, was a necessary counterweight to American imperialism. Also, I was not interested in framing a philosophy that would make life tolerable for me in this country. I felt a growing divergence from older friends, such as Murray Kempton, Dwight MacDonald, and Gene Phillips, who lacked my implacable hostility to basic assumptions in our society. Most of these white thinkers were on the way to economic success and a degree of public recognition. We remained friendly but gradually grew apart."

It would be wrong to think that Lynn is distinguished from Kempton, MacDonald and other squires of the anti-Soviet crusade by race alone. Although in smaller numbers, disillusioned blacks have also walked the ignominious path from communist intellectual to renegade servant of imperialism. And the defeated liberal civil rights movement had its share of Andrew Youngs and

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York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

YORK, SUNDAY, JULY 26, 1964. THIRTY CENTS

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BER LANDS
CTED TO RISE

Increase Likely
of Impressive
of Earnings

POLICE BREAK UP HARLEM PROTEST; 2 LEFTISTS SEIZED

Small Band of Followers Is Dispersed After Defying Murphy and Injunction

PLEAS PROVE FRUITLESS

Negro Leaders Had Sought to Avert Demonstration, but Opposed Ban, Too

HARLEM. William Epton, center, just before he was seized on way to head protest march

New York Times covered 1964 Harlem Riot with red-baiting, bourgeois horror at first black ghetto upheavals, sparked by cop killing of black youth.

En page 6 La leçon des troubles de Léo

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QUI SEME LE VENT...

Defense of two black youth accused in Monroe, North Carolina "Kissing Case" of 1958 attracted international left support.

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Let 'em Bite Bullets...

(continued from page 1)

They came to predict. They would have done better to read the entrails of a goat. They certainly could not have done much worse:

> "Atlanta, Dec. 30—The business outlook for 1980 is for a moderate recession ending late in the year, a recession less severe than that of 1974-75, according to leading economists attending the annual meeting....[They] saw an economy that in terms of immediate domestic pressures, is facing neither a depression nor accelerated inflation."
>
> —*New York Times*, 31 December 1979

Oh well, back to the computer rooms of academe. But for businessmen who plan production and investment, such monumental errors can be plenty expensive. The root of the problem is not a defective "model" but the fact that the capitalist economy does not yield to the charades of "indicative" government "planning." The near-universal predictions last year of a coming "mild" recession to bring down inflation through "tight money" policies—whether based on monetarist or Keynesian assumptions—are ultimately derived from the illusion of rationally controlling the anarchic capitalist system. But the "nice little recession" didn't materialize, and a major price eruption did.

Back last October, when the inflation rate was a mere 14 percent, Federal Reserve head Paul Volcker announced a severe credit crunch to rein in prices. Obviously, the so-called "Volcker squeeze" has been a total failure. The big multinationals are borrowing abroad. And while the Fed's squeeze has driven up interest rates to Civil War levels, since the inflation rate is right up there too, the real cost of money remains minimal or even negative. Wage earners as well as businessmen are trying to keep up with inflation through borrowing. But the consume-on-credit roller coaster must crash. And the longer this ride lasts, the more it feeds inflation. Traditional "tight money" policy cannot stop this inflation, or can only do so by restricting credit so massively and suddenly it could trigger a wave of bankruptcies on the order of the Great Crash of 1929. This scares capitalists as much as runaway inflation does.

Guns and More Guns

So the American ruling class is turning toward fiscal austerity and a government-imposed wage-price freeze. A budget-slashing rage has descended on Washington. Only one area of government activity stands exempt—very exempt. Henry (the Senator from Boeing) Jackson summed it up: "The general mood is that we're going to make cuts, other than in the defense area. In defense, we'll have add-ons" (*New York Times*, 6 March). A few days later Carter coyly informed a group of big city mayors that his budget proposals might be "very unsettling for some people." But, the president insisted, the American people must "bite the bullet" to fight inflation (*New York Times*, 8 March). A very apt metaphor. Carter's answer to out-of-sight food prices is: Let 'em bite bullets. There'll be lots of them.

Remember back in 1976, when Carter posed as a frugal Georgia farmer who would show those big-spending Washington bureaucrats how to do it. He pledged to balance the federal budget by 1980. Making a pitch for the post-Vietnam "peace" vote, he even promised to trim the Pentagon back $7-10 billion. Well. Carter's cumulative budget deficit over four years in office is $150 billion, with a $16-20 billion deficit projected for fiscal 1980. And military expenditure has been the most dynamic sector of Carter's governmental economy.

Now screaming "the Russians are coming!" Carter even before the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan had undertaken the greatest arms build-up since World War II—an additional $100 billion-plus in new arms programs over the next four years. With production stagnant for the past year and a recession in the offing, armaments will be America's only growth industry. But the new "missile gap" is strictly for public consumption—the ruling class doesn't really believe the U.S. is about to be nuked by the Russians. The escalating arms build-up (especially the MX missile) is aimed at regaining the overwhelming strategic nuclear superiority which the U.S. held in the 1950s and early 1960s. And the source of this war drive is the counterrevolutionary appetite of imperialism to reconquer the one-third of the globe lost to capitalist exploitation since the 1917 Russian Revolution first led to the establishment of a workers state (where production is for use, not profit, and a genuinely planned economy was made possible).

Some elements of the ruling class, however, may decide that the great Pentagon boom is not worth the inflationary pressures it generates. Recall that a number of financiers and corporate presidents, like IBM's Thomas J. Watson, came to oppose the Vietnam War not out of humanitarian concern for the Indochinese masses, but out of worries that it was ruining the American economy. And they were right about that. The war-generated inflation led to a run on the dollar which destroyed the post-World War II monetary system when Nixon devalued the dollar in August 1971. It's also worth remembering that at the height of the Vietnam War in 1969 the inflation rate was all of 6 percent, up from 2 percent in 1965. A rate of inflation that was considered intolerable only ten years ago would be considered a godsend today.

"Austerity" for the Workers and Poor

For the moment, the military budget is sacrosanct in Congress. What then is up for the ax? No surprises here: social security benefits, unemployment insurance, Operation Head Start, education, job training, aid to local governments and the like. With "tight money" schemes in shambles, the financial bigwigs are demanding increased fiscal "austerity" for the masses. But they are not so foolish as to imagine that such measures will bring down inflation. The Congressional Budget Office calculated in 1978 that a $25 billion budget cut would reduce the inflation rate by about one-tenth of 1 percent in a year. The White House talks about fighting "inflation psychology"—but you don't have to be a Marxist to understand that inflation psychology results from the fact of inflation, not the other way around.

Carter's real motivation is political: by striking a pose as a "tough budget cutter" he can undercut the Republicans. A top White House official candidly remarked, "...if this works, we could clinch the nomination and the election" (*New York Times*, 15 March). All of the candidates are for cutting government expenditures in the cities, reflecting a consensus in the capitalist class that goes beyond the present inflation crisis. And this attack on social services hits at blacks and other minorities with a terrible vengeance. Already unemployment in the ghettos is at depression levels. A recent Labor Department survey admits that official figures on black youth joblessness were way too low—for the spring of 1979 it is now estimated at 38.9 percent (compared to 19.3 percent among white youth).

Yet today the policy of (not so) "benign" neglect of the ghettos is practically universal among mainstream capitalist politicians. In the past, liberal Democrats could be expected to woo the "black elected officials" in an election year; but when 300 of the latter gathered in Richmond at the beginning of March to write a "black agenda," not even the hard-pressed Kennedy bothered to put in an appearance. Vernon Jordan of the national Urban League said: "We don't have a problem—the candidates do. We have something they need." Presumably he meant the black vote, which he helped hustle for Jimmy Carter four years ago. But those "leaders" who presented the Democratic Party of My Lai and Birmingham as the "lesser evil" have sold the black masses a bill of goods. And now they, too, are considered expendable.

Meanwhile a clamor is increasing in the ruling class for a mandatory wage-price (read: wage) freeze. This is now coming not only from that section of the liberal Democrats (represented by Ted Kennedy) which has always favored such corporatist controls. The demand for an immediate state-imposed freeze on wages and prices is now coming from quite conservative bourgeois spokesmen like *Business Week* and Wall Street bankers Henry Kaufman and Felix Rohatyn (the man who ran New York City's anti-labor fiscal austerity program in 1975-76). Every couple of days the Carter administration reasserts it is not going to impose a wage-price freeze. But the denials themselves indicate that pressure for it is mounting.

The latest polls also show that a majority of the population favors a wage-price freeze. *Anything* to stop the killing inflation. But trade unionists in particular should remember that the Carter government has operated wage-price "guidelines" for the last year and a half with disastrous results for working people. As a result, the real income of the average working family has fallen to *the 1965 level* today. The average manufacturing worker with three dependents, who in January 1980 took home roughly $240 a week, *is earning no more in real terms*, when adjusted for inflation, *than the $97 he received 15 years ago*. So much for the "American dream": two cars in every garage and an Evinrude outboard for every family! State-imposed so-called "wage-price controls" would be an even greater attack on the working class. Wages would certainly be frozen—employers would see to that. But prices, impossible to control anyway in a big capitalist market economy, would just as certainly continue to rise.

Kennedy supporters in the labor bureaucracy, crypto-social democrats like the UAW's Fraser and IAM's Winpisinger, have long been calling for a government "wage-price" freeze. In fact, most of the union tops support such a program, although they know full well from experience under the Republicans' controls, that this would be (as a former Nixon staffer put it) "a mechanism to zap labor." Even AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland is pretending to be upset with Carter's latest "anti-inflation" proposals. These cynical misleaders want legally binding wage controls so they can blame the government for their sellouts. Last fall the leading labor fakers entered into a "national accord" with Carter's White House to consult over just how much to "zap labor."

As prices were skyrocketing out of control in January, the union bureaucracy openly declared that workers must accept a huge loss of real income: with inflation over 18 percent, they say the "normal" wage increase should be about 8.5 percent! Their betrayal is formalized in the Carter administration's Pay Advisory Committee, a "tripartite" body including labor, management and the government. Labor is "represented" by Kirkland and 12 presidents of major national unions. The *New York Times* (17 March) suggests that the union members are willing to accept the wage cuts because the "national accord" has "given labor...access to the corridors of power." But for whom is this power used? Union militants must demand: Labor off the capitalist government's pay boards!

Workers need the opposite of a wage freeze! With steel and phone company contracts coming up this year, and the oil workers currently on strike, organized labor must launch a full-scale offensive to restore wage levels and win a 100 percent COLA to protect against inflation. A sliding scale of wages must be combined with demands to shorten the workweek at no loss in pay (a sliding scale of hours) to fight layoffs. Thirty hours work for 40 hours pay and a full wage escalator—not "tight money" and a wage freeze—is the answer to capitalism's twin evils of inflation and unemployment. Such demands contradict the basic laws of capitalism, say the reformists. Yes indeed. They express the elementary program that the workers must not pay for the bankruptcy of the capitalist economy. They can only be generalized in a planned, collectively owned economy.

The battle between Kennedy and Carter over "mandatory" controls vs. "voluntary" guidelines is a phony issue. All the capitalist politicians have as their common purpose holding down workers' wages. Labor must break with the bosses' parties and build a workers party, to fight for a workers government. Only then can the working class free itself from the terrible irrationalities of the "free enterprise" economy and begin to construct a socialist future. ■

Spartacus Youth League Forum — *March 22, Washington, D.C.*

No to the Draft!

Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Not a man nor a penny for the imperialist armed forces!
Why Marxists defend the USSR against imperialism
For the victory of the Red Army over Islamic reaction!

Speaker: Charles O'Brien *Spartacist League Central Committee*
7:00 p.m., Antioch School of Law, Room 101,
2633 16th Street, N.W. (between Euclid and Fuller)

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El Salvador...

(continued from page 5)

view as their god-given right to exploit. And they are not the types to flee to Miami at the first shot: a tremendous bloodletting is being prepared. In 1932 the oligarchy massacred 3 percent of the country's entire population to prevent a revolutionary victory. If the military rulers are not overthrown this time by a mass working-class revolt, they are quite capable of launching a reign of terror that could cost more than 100,000 lives.

"Human Rights" Junta In El Salvador

As Washington grew worried about spreading revolutionary ferment in Central America following the Sandinista victory, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Viron "Pete" Vaky and his successor William Bowdler tried to convince Salvadoran General Carlos Humberto Romero to institute at least minimal reforms. But Romero, bolstered by his U.S.-armed National Guard, hacienda cops, 3,000 ex-Somoza guardsmen and a 100,000-strong network of informers and thugs known as ORDEN ("order"), rejected any compromise. So amid rumors of coups by even more intransigent officers, the State Department cued its boys to remove the obstinate general and install a junta including a businessman and two reformist professors.

The junta immediately pledged to carry out a series of reforms and won praises from the *New York Times*, Amnesty International, the Socialist International and liberal Catholic archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero. But challenged on the right by the military ultras and on the left by the mass-based guerrillas, the army quickly resorted to bloody repression exceeding in ferocity even that of Romero's final months. In the first 15 days of the junta's rule the independent Salvadoran Human Rights Commission estimates that 208 persons were killed by cops and troops, 152 wounded, 30 tortured to death and more than 60 "disappeared" (*Combate* [Sweden], December 1979-January 1980).

Keler/Sygma

Protesters in El Salvador funeral procession—700 killed by regime since January 1.

With the exception of the obsequiously reformist Moscow-loyal Communist Party, which was bought off with a cabinet portfolio, the left declared war on the junta. The three main coalitions of unions, peasant groups and students, each linked to a hard core of guerrilla militants, launched a campaign of demonstrations, factory takeovers, land occupations and armed actions. In turn, the junta declared martial law and reneged on promises to release political prisoners. The Guard invaded struck factories and massacred peasants occupying hacienda land. ORDEN, which the junta had promised to disband, stepped up its terrorist actions and even staged a 50,000-strong march through the capital in December. At year-end, the powerless liberal reformers, unable to restrain the military right, resigned from the government *en masse*. Education Minister Salvador Samayoa walked out of the cabinet and into one of the guerrilla armies, declaring, "The only way to solve national problems is an armed struggle" (UPI dispatch, 9 January).

Since that time a restructured junta including right-wing Christian Democrats has precariously presided over a military regime for which repression against the left has increasingly displaced even phony promises of reforms as the order of the day. For the U.S. imperialists as well, the maintenance of "order" has taken precedence over considerations of "human rights" diplomacy. Thirty U.S. military "advisers" are on their way to El Salvador to teach the Salvadoran military "sophisticated" techniques of torture and repression. Seven million dollars in military aid is in the pipeline to the junta. That such aid can only strengthen the hand of the military hard-liners is so obvious that not only the *New York Times*, the church and the left have opposed it but the Christian Democrats in the junta as well!

Imperialist liberals hope that a combination of refined repression and judicious reform can prevent a left-wing revolution in El Salvador. Such hopes are illusory. The key reforms which the junta has attempted to carry out —bank nationalizations and land distribution—while abhorrent to the large landowners, are completely fraudulent. The bank nationalization is merely a means to prevent an excessive flight of capital to Miami. As for the land "reform," an Amnesty International report issued in London March 17 reveals that the troops who have carried out the occupation of the few haciendas targeted for land distribution have killed and kidnapped hundreds of peasant supporters of anti-government peasant unions. Moreover, the report explains that "The lands expropriated in the Salvadoran agrarian reform are assigned by the government to members of the ORDEN organization created by the previous government..." (DPA dispatch, 17 March).

It was widely reported that the U.S. squelched an ultra-rightist coup planned for February 24 by threatening a withdrawal of aid. But if today the State Department prefers to maintain the fiction of democratic rule in El Salvador, tomorrow it is quite capable of actively encouraging the coup-prone colonels to come to power. One's faith in the U.S.' commitment to the "human rights" junta is not enhanced by the knowledge that State Department Latin honcho "Pete" Vaky won his spurs as Kissinger's Latin American assistant during the "destabilization" of Allende's Chile prior to the 1973 Pinochet coup.

No "Third Road" in Central America

Unfortunately, the Salvadoran workers and peasants, who have heroically defied both the Romero regime and its "progressive" successor, have today no genuinely revolutionary leadership. The leftist guerrillas and their allies in the Revolutionary People's Bloc, the Unified People's Action Front and the 28th of February People's Leagues—who have all now united in a "National Revolutionary Coordinating Committee" with the Communist Party—explicitly disavow any intention of creating a "socialist" regime of any kind. Instead they are trying to win the weak urban bourgeoisie, the Catholic hierarchy and even part of Romero's bloodsoaked officer caste to their side. Salvador Cayetano Carpio, "líder máximo" of the largest guerrilla army, on "priests and military men committed to the people" to join the "people's revolutionary alliance" (*Excelsior* [Mexico], 21 February). In the midst of a pre-revolutionary crisis, in which the impossibility of liberal compromise has been clearly demonstrated, the popular-frontist guerrillas continue to call for a grand alliance of the exploited and oppressed masses with the "democratic" class enemies and military butchers.

The Salvadoran guerrillas, like the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, are attempting to follow the illusion of a "third road" between proletarian revolution and banana republic neo-colonialism. Already the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas are repressing the far left and the working class in the hopes of achieving stability and placating the capitalists, domestic and imperialist (see accompanying article). But as they simultaneously attempt to preserve their anti-imperialist credentials, the U.S. will not long tolerate, much less supply aid to, a regime which abstains on UN votes condemning the Soviet role in Afghanistan.

The American ruling class can only shake its fist in frustration as the Soviet Red Army mops up the Islamic counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan. But Central America is not Asia. It is Yankee imperialism's own backyard and the Russian army is a long way away. For all of Washington's maneuvers in El Salvador have one aim: no more Nicaraguas. Especially running against Reagan, Carter is more than capable of giving the *gorilas* the green light for a bloodbath or in the last extremity sending in the marines. The revolutionary workers and peasants of Central America may become the first victims of the Carter Doctrine.

Communist revolutionaries demand that all American military aid to the Salvadoran junta be stopped and the U.S. imperialists keep their bloody hands off Central America! The only road forward to victory for the workers and peasants of Central America lies in an uncompromising struggle against all the exploiters, their military, political and "spiritual" representatives, not just the oligarchy and imperialists but the capitalist class. This road, the road of permanent revolution, requires the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard to lead the struggle for workers and peasants governments throughout the isthmus and a United Socialist States of Latin America. ■

L.A. Shows the Way! Support the Oil Workers!

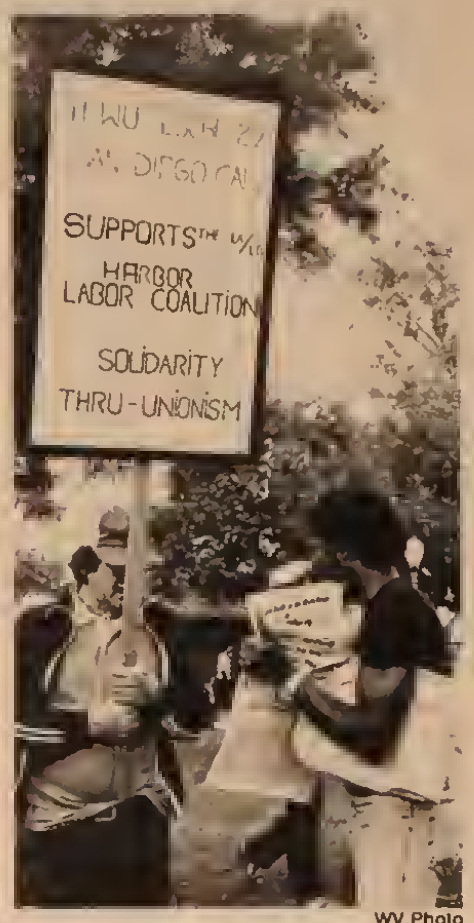
As we go to press, the wire services have announced that Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union leaders have reached what are intended to be pattern settlements with Gulf Oil and Cities Service. Workers there are presently voting on the pact, which doesn't come near present inflation levels and falls way short of the fully paid medical insurance that was a key strike demand. To push through his wretched deal International president Robert Goss is banking on mobilizing "back-to-work" sentiment among strikers who have been on the bricks for the past 10 weeks. With the strike entering a crucial juncture, ILWU Local 10 executive board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor put out a "Longshore Militant" leaflet calling for a one-day Bay Area-wide port shutdown in support of the OCAW strike.

"Longshore Militant" No. 49, 14 March 1980

Bloated with profits, ripping off over a $1.25 a gallon at the pumps, Big Oil is running a massive nationwide scabbing operation against the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW). The oil workers need massive labor support to defeat these corporate giants. On Saturday, March 1st, L.A. harbor workers spearheaded by ILWU Local 13 took the lead. Fed up with the oil companies' and ship owners' attempts to wipe out 40 years of union gains in the port, Local 13 shut it down for 24 hours. With the active support of Teamsters, IBU tugboat operators, seamen and hundreds of others who refused to cross OCAW picket lines, it cost the ship owners $2.5 million. Thousands of unionists representing at least ten-plus L.A. harbor unions marched in the largest show of union force in L.A. since 1946.

Local 10 should take the same action up here. During the 1969 oil strike, when an OCAW picket was killed in Richmond, Local 10 sent busloads of longshoremen to man the lines. Now the ILWU should help build mass pickets to stop scabbing at the refineries. IBU tug operators in the San Francisco Bay are already honoring OCAW lines, but scabs are running the tankers in. A one-day Bay Area-wide port shutdown in solidarity with the oil strikers would be a big boost for their strike. It would back up Local 13's message to the PMA [employers association] that the ILWU won't stand for further attacks on harbor workers' conditions. It could begin to turn the tide against the wave of strikebreaking which has also hit BART [transit] workers, SF teachers, Teamster grocery workers, retail clerks, KRON-TV crews and the ILWU Local 6 Pfizer strikers.

LET'S SHUT IT DOWN HERE!



WV Photo

ILWU shut down port of L.A. March 1 in solidarity with OCAW strike.

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British Steel...

(continued from page 3)

plant. One month ago 2,000 strikers and Yorkshire miners did manage to shut it down. But this time there are only 700 steel workers and no miners. The pickets are trapped and outmanoeuvred by an equal number of police, who make 73 arrests. The leadership does not appear very serious. After the mass arrests the strikers are marched around for a few hours and finally sent home with nothing accomplished.

These strikers in South Yorkshire bitterly hate the private sector scabs. Yet one "socialist" organisation, the International Marxist Group (IMG), is busy apologising for the scabbing, thereby rendering its belated call for a general strike totally empty. The IMG's *Socialist Challenge* of 6 March even features an article "by a Hadfields worker," who blithely describes the atmosphere *inside* the scab plant!

This evening the negotiations in London are called off amid much acrimony. Thatcher and BSC clearly want to break this strike; they reduce their basic pay offer to 9 per cent and demand 10,000 more redundancies. The bureaucrats are desperate for a settlement, but they dare not submit this to the membership and they walk out.

March 14: A special miners conference convenes to discuss the question of import controls. The meeting is quickly polarised between delegates advancing diversionary and reactionary protectionism as a way to save jobs and others who see strike action alongside the steel workers as the only way forward. "We must join the steel men before it is too late," says one delegate from South Wales. But the conference passes the official resolution, calling for import controls. Left miners "leader" Arthur Scargill places himself on the reactionary side of the debate, and doesn't even mention the steel strike in his speech for protectionism.

The same afternoon in Sheffield the CP-dominated district committee of the engineering unions votes to call their members back to work across the steel workers' picket lines. But in Manchester 70 delegates from the local strike committees demand that there be no more negotiations until BSC puts 20 per cent without strings on the table. They are clearly not ready to give in. Still, the meeting does not raise concrete demands on the union leaders—

Leylands convenors, engineering officials, Scargill and the rest—to stop the stalling and sabotage and bring out their ranks alongside the steel workers. Even the most militant strike committee in South Yorkshire is unwilling to openly challenge the bureaucrats by fighting for a strategy of mobilising the class.

Yet this is the only way to break the current deadlock which threatens to allow a bureaucratic sellout or even a major defeat at the hands of the Thatcher government. The future of the British union movement could ride on the outcome of the steel battle—either defeat and an open door for ever deeper Tory attacks, or a sweeping victory which could open up a perspective for a struggle for proletarian power. Step up the picketing, bring out the miners, demand that the TUC call a general strike! Sack Sirs and other union traitors! Forge a revolutionary leadership and a communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the working class to power! ■

Women of the East...

(continued from page 4)

Uzbekistan, there were 18 women of cabinet and sub-cabinet rank; 116 Uzbek women who were heads or assistant heads of major industrial enterprises and 1,727 Ph.D.s (*six times* the number of black Ph.D.s in the entire United States in 1975, in proportion to the population). In Afghanistan there are no figures for women Ph.D.s. The infant mortality rate in Afghanistan is over 25 percent, and half of all children die before the age of five.

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The speakers insisted that only socialist revolution could open the way for women's liberation. During the discussion period following the presentations in Boston, a half-dozen supporters of the reactionary Afghan insurgents baited the speakers, insisting "We do not see the issue between men and women [as a] social problem." And these anti-Soviet reactionaries broke into cheers when it was pointed out how the CIA-backed Afghan rebels had skinned Russian soldiers alive.

To the mullah-lovers, Comrade Anwar replied that the "Russian solution" was the only way forward for the Afghan people: "It would be years and years before Afghanistan could accumulate capital to develop its own resources and will always be struggling in poverty. That's why there are families like my husband's, where 14 children are born and only six reach adulthood." When another pro-Islamic Afghan woman said in horror that she had seen 80-year-old women in Moscow sweeping streets, an SL member replied that it would be hard to find any 80-year-old women in Afghanistan.

The early work of the Bolshevik cadres in Soviet Central Asia was pointed to as a model for communist work on the women's liberation front. Reissner closed her presentation with a prediction of Leon Trotsky's, written in 1924 about Moslem women in the Soviet East:

> "...the Eastern woman, who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits, and in creativity, the slave of slaves...she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak, will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress. She will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas and new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution and for the ideas of communism, than the awakened woman worker." ■

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Black Radical...

(continued from page 7)

Marion Barrys who made their separate peace with the racist "power structure."

If Lynn has been able to stand by the black oppressed despite his eclectic politics, it is because since he left the CP in the 1930s he has functioned as an individual radical lawyer defending the persecuted. Unlike many of the individuals and groups he has defended, Lynn has never attempted to lead the black masses through an organized political tendency. He never confronted the need to embrace or develop a coherent program in the struggle for power. Thus, sadly, he never found his way into a revolutionary (Trotskyist) party. In Conrad Lynn one finds an example of a courageous and principled black radical but also the self-limitation of that role.

Lynn writes that "there were times when I remained 'straight' in my beliefs because an opportunity to join the Establishment was snatched away from me," but no one who reads his autobiography can accept this as a full explanation. Others who faced the same temptations "listened to a different siren." Bayard Rustin, for one, also belonged to the Young Communist League in the early 1930s. But Rustin grew closer to Nixon than to the common goals of their youth.

What siren did Conrad Lynn hear? If his political course has been contradictory at times, what is striking about Lynn is that he keeps on fighting. Throughout he has "kept the faith" with the black masses and their thirst for freedom from oppression. A dramatic example of this mass sentiment was the outpouring of support for Castro in Harlem in the midst of a tidal wave of anti-Communist hysteria against the Cuban leader's 1960 UN visit. Lynn describes the scene:

> "The black community's celebration was immense and spontaneous.... Crowds of black people stood outside the Theresa night and day, and when members of the delegation walked the streets of the ghetto they were followed by admiring throngs. Blacks on the street absorbed more political education on these occasions than they had from any lesson since the Great Depression."

The black radical response that is celebrated in *There is a Fountain* has been the lode-star of Lynn's career. That is why this black rebel in the courtroom is politically more at home on the streets, where he has walked with Robert Williams, Malcolm X, Bill Epton and the Black Panthers. He has walked with personal courage and dignity and gritty energy. For wherever Conrad Lynn has seen a path being cut toward human liberation, he has been there. ■

Shacht-manites...

(continued from page 4)

stan is not a product of "peaceful coexistence," but its opposite: the Soviets were forced for purely defensive reasons to intervene in a civil war fighting against imperialist-aided feudalistic reaction.

Above all, in 1939-40 Trotsky waged a faction fight *against* those who called for Soviet troop withdrawal from Poland, namely the RSL/LRP's forebears, the petty-bourgeois Shachtman/Burnham/Abern opposition in the American Socialist Workers Party! Trotsky predicted that their "third camp" was just a bridge to reconciliation to the "democratic" imperialist bourgeoisie, which is exactly what happened. During the Korean War, Shachtman's International Socialist League (ISL) all but openly embraced U.S. imperialism against North Korea: "If the United States were to win the war, in all likelihood it would not mean the automatic and immediate establishment of totalitarian rule that would result directly from a victory of Stalinism." In 1958 when liquidating the ISL into Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, they forswore "any creed known as Trotskyism." And by 1961, Shachtman stood with the extreme right wing of the Socialist Party (SP), supporting the U.S.' Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba!

But by the time of the Vietnam War, such nakedly pro-imperialist politics no longer went over so well. The incredible heroism of the Vietnamese in resisting the greatest imperialist military machine on earth inspired a new generation of radicals throughout the world. In the U.S. even many left-liberals were chanting "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh" and rooting for the Vietcong. "Communism" was no longer a dirty word in the petty-bourgeois radical milieu. On the contrary, it was the "in thing."

So the always-opportunist Shachtmanites—now emerged from the SP as the International Socialists (I.S.)—began posing as born-again Trotskyists. Shelving their original position of opposition to "all foreign intervention" in Vietnam, they came out for victory to the "state-capitalist" NLF, claiming it was simply a struggle for self-determination and ignoring the civil war between opposing *class* forces raging in Indochina. Now Carter has begun to rev up the imperialist war machine and petty-bourgeois opinion is swinging to the right. So once again the Shachtmanites are shrieking about "Russian imperialism." At a February 2 New York Spartacist forum on Afghanistan, SL spokesman Al Nelson summed up the track record of these State Department socialists:

> "Show me anywhere in the history of the labor movement where the social-democratic movement has not played a consistently counterrevolutionary anti-communist role. Start with August 1914; the crushing of the German revolution, 1918-1919; ditto 1921, ditto 1923—all the way through and to Portugal, taking money from the CIA....
>
> "You help the bourgeoisie. That's what you've always done. When I first became a Trotskyist in 1961 there was the YPSL then. In those days the YPSL used to bait us—I was in the YSA then—for being totalitarian agents of the GPU. They were stone anti-communists coming out of the '50s, McCarthy stuff. And it was Sy Landy and all his other friends who got together in the I.S. later, and who now belong to 16 different organizations if they're in politics at all. And the touchstone has always been anti-communism, anti-revolution. Always. Always.
>
> "It's a shame that the Red Army had to stop at the gates of Warsaw in 1921. They almost made it to Germany. [applause] And if they had made it to Germany, the intervention of the Soviet Union in 'poor Germany,' what would your line have been then? The same line as the social democrats had then. They were scared of it. They were raising a big hue and cry about the red men that were coming from the East.
>
> "So, that's your history, that's not ours. You turn the rock over, and there's an anti-communist social democrat." ■

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

own trains and buses between runs.

Transit workers are not the only intended victims. So is the riding public. Upon his election Koch immediately cut the size of "off-peak" subway trains in half, forcing people to run for the train and to stand up when they get it. Moreover, passengers often have to ride in total darkness due to electrical failures on the newer cars. (Even the armed transit cops are complaining that it is unsafe to ride the trains except in pairs—but what about everybody else who is forced to ride alone, with no means of self-defense due to gun control laws?) As a scare tactic Ravitch recently proposed eliminating nine more subway lines and chopping up over 1,000 bus routes. Half-fare programs for the elderly and on weekends are scheduled to be eliminated May 1. Service at 113 stations may be reduced or eliminated.

The subway maintenance program is already shot to hell: since 1974 the skilled maintenance workforce has been cut by over one-third, and at present a quarter of all buses are out of service at any one time. In an act of calculated murder, the MTA proposes elimination of the hand-brake indication light program (hand brakes left applied are a major cause of train derailments). And Ravitch is already threatening a $1 fare. This only confirms the suspicions of New Yorkers that the Susan B. Anthony dollar was designed to be...a subway token!

The mayor's office is in the thick of the negotiations, despite Koch's insistence that he officially only has his "two cents" to offer. The city has already hired the law firm of Proskauer, Rose, Goetz and Mendelson—whose union-busting expertise has been useful to another major client, the notorious "open-shop" J.P. Stevens textile manufacturer! Against the transit unions Koch is gearing up to use the state's Taylor Law which outlaws public employee strikes, ordering two-for-one fines against striking workers while jailing their leaders. And to whip the municipal unions into line, the mayor manufactured another "fiscal crisis." Despite the fact that by the end of the 1978 fiscal year the city had an $800 million surplus, he just rolled two years of budgeted debt into one and presto—another impending financial disaster! Now Koch is crying that New York can't even afford a 4 percent wage increase, proposing cuts of $760 million from the budget, 13,000 city jobs and 7,200 from the Board of Education alone!

Forge a Militant TWU Leadership!

Under Mike Quill, the union had a history of very sporadic militancy. Sometimes, when forced to, they would fight real hard. Thrown into jail in 1966 for defying the government's "no-strike" laws, Quill retorted, "The judge can drop dead in his black robes and we would not call off the strike." The TWU leader had a heart attack in jail, and died shortly thereafter. But with Quill it was all shadow-boxing. After a rousing pep rally or union demonstration, he'd go down to City Hall and make a deal with his buddies inside the Democratic Party machine. Meanwhile, any internal opposition—the Communist Party in the '40s and the motormen later—was ruthlessly broken with the aid of the cops, courts and friendly politicians.

If Quill would occasionally lead a militant action, only to sell it out later, his successors have never led anything. Now Local 100 president John Lawe finds the backrooms of the Democratic Party closed off because there's simply no fat left in the pork barrel. Meanwhile he's facing heightened opposition within his own ranks. The 1978 subway contract was voted up over bitter opposition and only after a court-ordered ballot which added the heavy "yes" vote of MABSTOA (bus workers) and privately owned bus company workers. In recent Local 100 elections, Lawe was narrowly elected as a minority president with 43 percent of the overall vote, and only 28 percent in the subway divisions. A number of his better-known opponents, such as Henry Lewis, now have second-level posts in the union.

Not surprisingly, these "oppositionists," who have long relied on the bosses' courts to get to power, are still not calling for a strike. But they sold out even before they got into office. During the '78 contract fight, Lewis, leader of the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers and now chairman of the Conductor-Tower Division, declared before a thousand men at a rally against the contract: "I am not in any way, shape or form calling for a strike." Furthermore, Lewis and George McDonald, head of "The Committee," which holds 10 out of 36 positions on the new executive board, dragged the union into court in 1978 to overturn the ballot on the grounds that Lawe was trying to intimidate members into either accepting or striking. As for Arnold Cherry, presidential candidate of the Unity Slate which won ten seats on the Local 100 exec board, he has called for no more than a petition campaign and a rally to support the TWU demands.

No Contract, No Work!

While City Hall, Albany and even the federal government are getting ready for a blowout, nothing less than a solid, militantly organized transit strike can win back the massive demands the workers urgently need. A victory by the TWU could point the way for the rest of the city unions which have the same gun pointed at their heads. And from the LIRR operating unions, still without a contract and threatening to strike, to private line and suburban bus drivers seeking parity with Local 100, NYC-area transit unions have a common interest in rolling back the bank-imposed austerity plan.

No Contract, No Work! No "stopping the clock"! The TWU should rip up the Taylor Law just as they did the Condon-Wadlin Act in 1966. It's supposed to be "free collective bargaining," but if there is a strike the courts throw the book at the union, not the bosses. When the LIRR operating unions went out on strike back in December, Carter hauled them back to work under the Railway Labor Act. Then the MTA gave them a double whammy, legally kidnapping them to put them under the no-strike Taylor Law. Chicago Fire Fighters president Frank Muscare was sentenced to five months in jail for refusing to accept that city's union-busting strike settlement terms. Why must the workers' leaders always be the ones to go to jail if they refuse to sell out? If Koch and Ravitch persist in trying to break the union and shaft New York City, put *them* behind bars!

Double the Wages! To guard against raging inflation TWU must also demand a *100 percent, iron-clad cost-of-living accelerator* (COLA), with inflation levels to be determined by union committee. Scrap the "wage progression scale"—equal pay and benefits for equal work. No productivity ties which mean speed-up and loss of jobs.

For a full pension with COLA—restore "20 and out" for all!

Right to strike over unsafe working conditions! As the system deteriorates further, jobs become more hazardous. Demand new equipment and regular maintenance.

Massive federal funding to restore the subways! New York is one of the greatest cities in the world—it needs a minimum investment of $10 billion for ten years (and throw in another $1 billion a year for inflation) just to keep it afloat. The TWU must demand *restore all the job cuts, 30 hours work at no loss in pay*, and massive new hiring. From replacing the trucks and wheels on the new R46 cars, to cleaning off the graffiti, completely revamping the turn-of-the-century stations and restoring regular maintenance of the storm sewers (so the subways don't flood every time it rains), to completing the 2nd Avenue line and the 63rd Street crossover, there is enough work on the subways alone to give jobs to half the NYC unemployed.

Abolish the Fare! Public transit is a necessary social service. You don't pay the firemen when they come to put out a fire, so why should working people have to pay for transit just to get to and from work? The capitalists built the subways to haul workers into Manhattan from the boroughs—so make the capitalists pay. But although the TWU has historically had a paper position for no fare, Lawe today doesn't even oppose a fare increase. The TWU must *fight* to abolish the fare, which would win enthusiastic support from the mass of the population. If the subways were free, it would be a lot safer underground: passengers wouldn't have to worry about getting shot by cops chasing turnstile jumpers. After rush hour you wouldn't have to walk for blocks to find an open subway entrance. Just think of the money that could be saved by eliminating the steel it takes to close off entrances, erect turnstiles and bullet-proof the token booths!

For Elected Strike Committees, representing each division and department! *For a militant strike to smash the Emergency Financial Control Board/MAC!* The TWU must refuse to pay for the crisis of the capitalist system. Abolish the bankers' veto power over union contracts! Take back the billions in union pension funds poured down the Big MAC rat hole—the TWU alone has $3.7 million held ransom!

The blood-sucking banks, corporations and utilities must be expropriated. All of New York labor has an interest in the TWU's fight and a victory could lay the basis for a joint labor offensive to smash Big MAC. All NYC unions must be prepared to come to the defense of the TWU to combat government strikebreaking.

Break with the Democrats!

In the Great Financial Crisis of 1974-76, the bankers and corporation heads declared war on New York City and made the unions the main target. In the years that followed, the Democratic Party engineered the loss of 60,000 jobs, froze wages in the midst of skyrocketing inflation, closed hospitals and firehouses in the ghettos, and cut back everything from subway service to college admissions. We wouldn't be in the mess we're in today if the unions had fought then. A militant labor movement could have broken through the vicious cycle of union-black confrontations to lead a fight of all the oppressed against the capitalist assault.

But there was no fight, because from John Lawe to Victor Gotbaum to Albert Shanker, the labor bureaucrats stayed loyal to the capitalists and their Democratic Party which was leading the charge against the unions. Today, this remains true of TWU's "oppositionists." At a February 26 joint meeting of several opposition groups to form a "Committee for a Good Contract," when militants proposed that union members withdraw from both the Democratic and Republican parties in the face of their union-busting attacks, Arnold Cherry proudly declared, "I'm a card-carrying Democrat." Even to hold ground and reverse the cutbacks means a fight in the unions to dump the sellout bureaucrats, a political fight to break the workers movement from the Democrats and build a workers party.

TWU, the powerhouse of city labor, can lead the way in a hard, solid strike. The ruling class will throw in every weapon in their arsenal to break the strike, from jailing the union leaders, like they did to Quill in '66; to calling in the National Guard, as in the New York postal wildcat in 1970; to issuing anti-strike injunctions like they did with the Taft-Hartley Act in the great coal strike of 1977-78. But remember—TWU has the power to shut New York City down! The capitalists can't live without Wall Street or Midtown and they can't run them without the subways. Transit workers: they may have you by the throat, but you've got them by the balls! ■

New York City Spartacist League Public Forum

Give Koch the Lindsay Treatment!

NY Transit: STRIKE!

Place: Ansonia Hotel, Room 3, 2nd Floor, 73rd and Broadway
6 blocks north of TWU headquarters IRT Nos. 1, 2, 3 to 72nd Street

Time: 7:30 p.m., Thursday, March 27, 1980

Guest Speaker:
Gene Herson
Militant-Solidarity Caucus
a class-struggle opposition in the National Maritime Union

Speaker:
Marjorie Stamberg,
Spartacist League
Former Spartacist Party candidate for New York State Assembly, 64th A.D.

For more information call: (212) 732-7860

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WORKERS VANGUARD

April 1966: Transit strikers demand freedom for jailed leader Mike Quill, arrested for defying government's "no strike" laws. "The judge can drop dead in his black robes and we would not call off the strike," he swore.

Strike the Subways!

NYC Transit Showdown

As the clock counts down on the midnight March 31 New York transit contract deadline, the bosses are gearing up for a showdown that could polarize the country, especially in this election year. With the workers screaming for relief from the pressure of grinding inflation and massive cutbacks, NYC rulers are coldly determined to "finish the job" on the hard-pressed city unions. And very quickly it will become a confrontation not just between the Transport Workers Union (TWU) and the mayor, but also with Carter and Congress. The administration is sure to use it as a test case for its vicious "bite the bullet" campaign to put the burden of inflation onto the workers. Carter figures that if Brzezinski couldn't stop 'em at the Khyber Pass, at least they can kick NY transit workers in the teeth, if it will only help him get re-elected!

Ever since the banks pulled the plug on the city six years ago, New York has been the prime target for big business' profit-raising/wage-slashing "austerity" drive. In the opening shot of the 1980 city labor talks—other municipal union contract dates follow later this spring—Mayor Koch, MTA chairman Ravitch and Big MAC financiers are pulling every trick in the books to paralyze TWU Local 100. In order to intimidate l[illegible]r leaders, the state changes the law [illegible]slap Long Island Rail Road union [illegible]aders behind bars. And in the face of transit workers' devastating losses, the MTA has so far offered not one penny in raises while putting on the bargaining table a list of "takeaway" demands a mile long!

But transit workers have raw power like no other sector of the New York workforce. They must take the lead in fighting to regain the huge losses extorted over the past five years. A TWU strike would bring the financial center of American and world capitalism to a screeching halt as it did for 12 days in 1966. The New York Stock Exchange would be threatened with closing, traffic on the interstates would back up to Connecticut and millions of workers wouldn't be able to reach their jobs when the subways and buses stop running. It's time to do it again! But make no mistake: if an NYC transit strike lasts more than a few days, you can be sure it will be on the agenda for the Joint Chiefs of Staff!

"Mayatollah" Koch is just the front man for the entire bourgeoisie whose program has not changed since then-president Gerald Ford in 1975 told New York City to "Drop Dead!" In the coming election it looks like it's going to be Carter vs. Reagan and everybody knows what those two think of the Big Apple. Ever since the mid-70s fiscal crisis, NYC finances have essentially been run out of Washington and Wall Street. And twice in recent statements, Carter has gone out of his way to say there would not be a drop of federal aid to the cities forthcoming. Congress votes billions for the war budget, and even a billion and a half to bail out the Chrysler bosses who bled their corporation dry. Yet, for the subways which daily carry 5 million passengers, Carter only has peanuts to offer.

Wages plummet, essential services from subways to schools and hospitals are cut to the bone, all part of a conscious plan of the bourgeoisie to slash away at what it sees as the unproductive capital tied up in wage bills for the burgeoning municipal unions and huge welfare/social service bills for the ghettos. The racist WASP politicians that run this country try to paint New York as a city filled with welfare chiselers and kill-crazy ax-murderers. They act as if they would like to see this black, Jewish, Puerto Rican, Italian and union town sliced off and floated into the Atlantic Ocean. But the capitalists ultimately *need* New York, as they will quickly find out in a transit strike!

So transit workers must dig in for a fight. The future of their union, which is critical to all New York labor, is at stake. The day the TWU walks out it will be a first-order crisis for the city of New York; after a few days it will be a *national* emergency. Washington may have to come up with the money, but the issue will be decided in the streets of New York. Mayor "Crazy Jane" Byrne in Chicago couldn't put out fires with scabs and Ed Koch and Zbigniew Brzezinski will learn *you can't run subways with bayonets!*

Double the Wages Is Not Enough!

Fifteen years ago when the subway workforce was predominantly white (and heavily Irish), it was considered a privileged job to work in NY transit. But as the union's composition changed dramatically—today it is nearly half black—the bosses have been pushing back on wages and working conditions till they approximate standards in waitressing or the garment trades. TWU was formerly No. 1 in the U.S. in wages and working conditions for transit workers; now Local 100 has dropped to *50th* place! Today NYC subway conductors earn $6,500 a year less than their counterparts in Chicago, and *$10,500* less than conductors next door on the LIRR!

Just to make up what they have lost in the past six years alone, the union is demanding a 30 percent wage increase. But the TWU leadership has already indicated its willingness to bargain away this demand. Besides, even if present wage levels were *doubled* it would only be the beginning of the battle to scratch by in New York City. Another demand on the union's list is to restore the 20-year pension plan with no age limit, but at *half* pay. In an industry where men and women spend their entire working lives underground, the demand to restore "20-and-out" and a full-pay pension with 100 percent COLA is a must!

MTA's Ravitch is out for blood. He is "offering" not a single penny for COLA and has presented a list of 41 "take-away" demands that include a dramatic increase in part-time workers without union benefits and with lower pay scales; cutting new hires' wages to 70 percent; a big hourly pay cut for workers in training programs; virtually eliminating weekend and night differential pay. Paid lunches will be eliminated and under proposed "Combination Jobs" classifications, motormen and bus operators will be required to clean their

continued on page 11

NYC Transit Workers Shafted

	NYC	Chicago	LIRR
Bus Driver	$8.08	$10.82	—
Motorman	$8.62	$10.82	$12.54
Conductor	$7.48	$10.62	$12.54

Comparative hourly wages, January 1980
Source: Transport Workers Union Local 100

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 253 — 4 April 1980

NY Transit Workers Shut It Down

Strike to Win!

APRIL 1—Day One of the New York City transit strike of 1980 began at 2:05 a.m. as the executive committee of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 marched out of the bargaining room. They had turned thumbs down to the Metropolitan Transit Authority's "last offer" of givebacks and takeaways; they rejected the mediators' "compromise" wage package totaling less than half the rate of inflation. Feeling the ranks breathing down their necks, they finally refused to cave in to management's scare tactics. The battle of the New York subways was on.

NY transit workers are fighting for all working people, the poor, minorities and the other victims of an economic system that last year slashed real wages by over 10 percent. They are on the front lines for other city workers, whose pension funds have been stolen, their pay and conditions gutted under the fist of Big MAC. They are the test case for Jimmy Carter's "bite the bullet" austerity aimed at making workers bear the pain of inflation in order to improve businessmen's profits. They are fighting for *us*, and they need the active solidarity of all labor.

Murray Kempton, writing in today's *Post*, pointed out the national importance of the NYC transit strike:

> "Last week, Mr. Carter noted among his few satisfactions that his Administration has generally been able to keep wage increases four or five per cent below the rate of inflation. Last night suggests that the curious quiescence of the unions has broken at last; a labor war may have begun with this strike."

This is no minor local dispute. Transport Workers Union Local 100 is the strongest municipal union in America. And the American ruling class has decided that the cities are a drain on its profits, so they have gone on an offensive to cut everything from welfare to hospitals to teachers' jobs to transit wages. That was the purpose of the 1974-76 fiscal crisis which put New York City into receivership to the banks and Washington. So any settlement that meets the union's demands will have to get the green light straight from Capitol Hill.

The bosses wanted this strike—they forced it. David Rockefeller told the politicians to "take a strike," even if it lasts weeks, rather than agree to an "inflationary contract." The *New York Times* issued an editorial, "To the Transit Barricades," urging management to stay tough and wear down the strikers. MTA chairman Richard Ravitch has been predicting a long strike since the beginning of negotiations. And he has done his best to get it—ultimately

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Victory to the Transit Strike!

Leaflet issued by the New York Spartacist League, April 1

This morning TWU Local 100 rejected the MTA's wage-slashing and union-busting offer and went on strike. The MTA proposal was an insult to every transit worker: 6 percent wages with inflation at 18 percent; takeaways like wage cuts for new hires, flooding the industry with part-timers—terms that would take the membership back to conditions before there was a union.

Transit workers must dig in for a fight. The future of the union and all of NYC labor is at stake. If the bosses succeed in beating the TWU, the most powerful municipal union in America, then they will have a free hand to ram their wage-slashing program down the throat of every union. But if the TWU wins big, then Big MAC, the Taylor Law, and Carter's wage guidelines can be buried for good.

And the TWU has the power to win. All the bosses' threats of implementing the Taylor Law, calling out the National Guard, will fall flat in the face of a solid strike. If the TWU stays out, the City is shut down—and without NYC this country won't run. The union proved it in 1966. *You can't run the subways with court injunctions or bayonets!*

They've Got the Money—You've Got the Power!

No money—then no work! The MTA, Big MAC and the bosses' politicians are pleading poverty. They say transit workers and the rest of labor must continue to sacrifice to pay for the mess *they* made. But transit workers have bled for years to bail out the bosses, and they're only squeezing harder. They've got the money—Carter can afford to give billions to the Pentagon and to bail out bankrupt losers like Chrysler; he can afford to pay NYC workers decent wages and subsidize free transit to boot!

The TWU needs to unite behind a fighting program to win:

- Double the wages! 30 percent is not enough! An ironclad COLA clause, with point for point protection. Scrap the tier system: equal pay and benefits for all workers! Full pension with COLA; restore 20 and out for all. No productivity deals, no takebacks.
- For massive funding to restore the subways. Restore all the job cuts, 30 hours work at no loss in pay, and massive new hiring! Abolish the fare!
- For a militant strike: Mass picketing—Defy the union-busting Taylor Law! Link up with the rest of labor. If the TWU takes a decisive stand, hundreds and thousands of trade unionists and poor will rally to its cause. Bring out LIRR workers, PATH workers, all metropolitan transit workers for a joint strike!
- For a fighting leadership: The TWU has the power to win; what the union needs is a leadership that will wield that power. No more sellouts to please Democratic Party politicians! Break with the Democrats—build a workers party! For elected strike committees and regular mass meetings to run the negotiations and insure that this strike wins!

Transit Workers: They may have you by the throat, but you've got them by the balls!

Strike to Win!...

(continued from page 1)

"offering" a wage "increase" of 6 percent a year, while inflation runs out of control at 18 percent! But if they want a strike, let's give them one to remember!

For the 30,000 TWUers can do it. The men who run the subways have the power. Already the strike is more effective in tying up the financial center of American capitalism than the 1966 transit walkout. With the Long Island Rail Road also out, commuters can't even make it into Manhattan—it is, says the *Post*, "the most devastating strike in the city's history." Retail business losses are estimated at $140 million a day to start with. And although the first day of the strike fell on the Passover holiday, already tens of thousands are hoofing it to Wall Street and city offices across the Brooklyn Bridge.

For now the city's rulers are pretending to be "neutrals." But then they promise to enforce the anti-strike Taylor Law to the hilt ("equally," of course), locking up union leaders and levying double penalties on the strikers. At the Sheraton Centre press conference today Governor Carey responded to a *WV* reporter's question saying, "There is no requirement or need for the National Guard *at this time*." But they will bring in the armed forces of the state, just as they are already using the courts and cops—to enforce *their* class interests. If John Lawe and other TWU leaders are jailed, NYC labor must shut the city down to free them. Put smiling Koch, frowning Carey and that oh-so-reasonable Ravitch in the Tombs and let *them* bargain from behind bars!

WV Photo

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"Last week, Mr. Carter noted among his few satisfactions that his Administration has generally been able to keep wage increases four or five per cent below the rate of inflation. Last night suggests that the curious quiescence of the unions has broken at last; a labor war may have begun with this strike."
—Murray Kempton

Demonstrators at March 27 TWU City Hall rally.

Meanwhile, the mayor and the media have launched a reactionary anti-strike propaganda campaign in the name of "the public." Amid a barrage of "I Love NY" rhetoric there are calls to "bike the strike," get out those roller skates and share the cars. There is the Big Apple Hot Line and the TV "strike watch" programs focusing on hardships facing "the public" and ignoring the pickets. Mayor Koch presents himself as the natural leader of this sentiment—"New Yorkers always pull together in a crisis"—and, noting that the crime rate went down (millions stayed home), proclaimed that "even the criminals are cooperating." And in Washington the racist politicians dismiss the strike as one more peculiarity of "sin city"—what they portray as a haven of welfare chiselers and illegal aliens, Jews, blacks, socialists, unionists and other low-lifes.

The New York labor movement cannot sit on the sidelines in this fight for its future is at stake. For the Transport Workers Union the contract issues involved are vital—the MTA is out for blood. Already NY transit workers are among the most sped-up and underpaid in the country (they fell from 1st to 50th in wages in the last half decade). The TWU's original demand for 30 percent was simply to make up for losses already suffered due to inflation since 1974 and would only catch up with what LIRR workers next door are already earning. TWU members need to double their wages and more, with 100 percent COLA. As for Ravitch's takeaway demands, these are straight-out union-busting: hiring of thousands of part-timers at lower rates. The TWU membership must stick to its guns and fight for their full demands. No one goes back until everyone goes back—and amnesty for all the strikers! This is war, and once you have begun it stalling means death!

The point is not to call a disorganized strike for a few days or even weeks until there is a new majority in the TWU executive committee, and then have essentially the same rotten settlement shoved down the throats of a demoralized membership. The point is to fight to *win* the strike, to beat back the anti-labor offensive and bust the union-busters. That takes a class-struggle leadership, and that is above all what New York transit workers lack today. In the past NYC rulers have hesitated to take on the TWU—they are forcing the issue today only because they are betting that the leadership vacuum will allow them to grind down the formidable strength of this union powerhouse. Meanwhile, Lawe confirms their calculations at every point—blowing the chance for a militant rally (out of fear his members would take it over), stumbling into the strike hours late instead of militantly enforcing the TWU tradition of "no contract, no work." And none of the dissident bureaucrats either called for or prepared the militant strike that is needed.

All the main figures in the dispute have pulled a curtain of silence over the Carter connection: federal money is never mentioned, pressure from Washington is denied, when *WV* asks about it at news conferences, Ravitch/Koch/Carey reply, What is a white house? They as well as Lawe & Co. want to ignore the decisive issue because they are afraid of mobilizing the tremendous power that transit workers have and the sympathy and support they can win from the rest of labor. The bosses fear this strike like they feared the 110-day coal strike of 1977-78. If they are forced to send in troops it will have a shattering impact on the Democrat-labor alliance here. And it is that political alliance that lay at the basis of the union tops' refusal to fight in '74-'76, which put NYC workers in the mess they're in today. To win the fight, New York workers must oust pro-big business misleaders like Lawe, Gotbaum and Shanker, and break with the twin parties of capitalism to build a workers party. What we need is a *workers* government, not the Koch/Carey/Carter strikebreakers.

It is necessary to fight this strike *politically*. All the calls to "bike the strike" are not just funny. Koch and the media are trying to convince the population that it is engaged in a common struggle for survival *against the union*. The smiles of the joggers and roller-skaters featured in the papers barely mask the frustration of a population that has been taking a beating for years, a population with no sense of power and no one to blame. And the frustration and impotent rage will only get worse as the strike goes on. Koch & Co. have managed to blame the union for the ills of New York City. The big lie is repeated over and over: a victory for the TWU is a loss for the people of New York.

The appeal is to the felt powerlessness of the big middle class of New York. It is a call to unite behind the union-busting drive of the banks, the capitalists and Washington. The middle class feels squeezed by big money and "big labor." But they must go one way or the other. If the labor movement can show that it knows where it wants to go, it can carry the vacillating intermediate layers along. The palpable decay of the quality of life for New Yorkers, the slashing of vital social services, the poverty and crime, even the necessity of a transit strike to beat back the government's arrogant takeaway demands—these must be laid at the door of the banks and the capitalists! Take the union's paper program of free subways off the shelf and fight for it! Enlist the active solidarity of the city labor movement in the waging of the transit strike! If the TWU shows that *it can win*, it can destroy Koch's union-busting fake populism and lead in support of its demands the city workers whose "leaders" poured their pension funds down the Big MAC rat hole, the blacks and Latinos, the poor and unemployed, and broad sections of the middle classes. But nobody is impressed by weakness. The New York transit strike could turn this city and country around—aiding all working people in the fight for a decent life and justice for labor. Victory to the transit strike! ■

TWU Local 100 president John Lawe.

WV Photo

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Break with the Democrats–For a Labor Mayor!

Chicago Firemen Still Under Byrne's Attack

CHICAGO—The shaky truce here between Mayor Jane Byrne and the city's unions threatens to blow up once again. Less than three weeks after the "settlement" of a bitter 23-day firemen's strike, the union has charged the city with "reneging on the contract they signed," as dozens of returning strikers have been harassed and victimized. Meanwhile, the superintendent of schools has proposed a new $185 million in school budget cuts which will mean hundreds of additional teacher layoffs and force remaining school employees to give up pay raises and paid medical insurance.

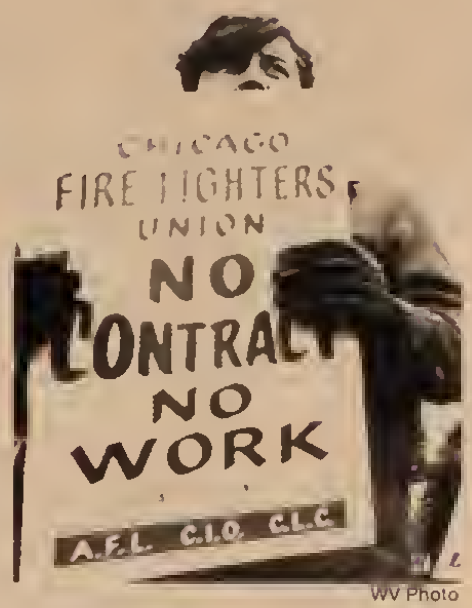
These are only the latest provocations by Byrne's Democratic Party administration. During the recent firemen's strike, City Hall threatened to fire every striker and hired hundreds of scabs, while levying $910,000 in fines against the union and slapping union president Frank Muscare in jail. The courage and militancy of the firefighters—and their efforts to shut Chicago down by throwing picket lines around many city worksites—saved their union and got them a "letter of agreement" which may eventually lead to a written contract.

But the union went back with Muscare still in jail on a five-month contempt charge (he has since been released on bond pending appeal), and with the major issues in the strike—including bargaining jurisdiction, seniority provisions and overtime pay—subject to binding arbitration. The 800 scabs hired during the strike have been retained, and the city has lost no time implementing plans to "reorganize" the department and harass militants. Claiming that there are now too many firemen, the city is conducting "fitness" medical examinations, an outrageous move which is blatantly discriminatory against older, high-seniority workers!

Already militant firefighters are beginning to talk about following in the footsteps of their counterparts in Kansas City. After a bitter strike last year, Kansas City firefighters returned to work. But when the city adamantly refused to put to work several of the strikers, the Kansas City firemen recently resumed their strike and, in the face of mass jailings and the National Guard, successfully won back the jobs of the victimized militants. Chicago firefighters too can win a decent contract only by hitting the bricks again—this time together with the rest of Chicago city labor!

Since mid-December Chicago has been hit by successive strikes in the public sector—first by transit workers in defense of cost-of-living protection, then by teachers rebelling against layoffs and school closures, and finally by the firefighters. The firemen's strike was the bitter showdown battle. But the city has won every round despite the soaring unpopularity of "Ayatollah Jane" Byrne (who was booed by crowds of onlookers as she led the traditional St. Patrick's Day parade) and the militant demonstrations by the firemen's and teachers' unions which drew thousands of angry strikers and wide labor support. The firemen's calls on all trade unions to honor their picket lines raised the real possibility of a united strike by city labor—and this was briefly realized when firefighter pickets shut down the major Jefferson Park "El" station as transit workers refused to cross the lines.

It was the capitulation of the trade-union bureaucracy, abetted by professional black hustler Jesse Jackson, which saved the situation for Byrne. Far from mounting a united offensive, labor leaders called their unions out one by one and let the city pick them off alone. Then Chicago Federation of Labor head William Lee and Teamsters Joint Council 25 leader Louis Peick, who control key sectors of organized city labor, ordered their members to cross all firefighter picket lines and broke the momentum of the strike. And the fake progressives in the Steelworkers union like Alice Peurala and Ed Sadlowski, who talked big in support of the



WV Photo

Chicago firemen rally during 23-day strike.

firefighters, did nothing of substance.

Reformists such as the Communist Party (CP) and ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), besides claiming a "union victory" in the strike, can't find enough praise for the role of Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH. This aspiring black politician, fresh from "mediating" for black Cook County jail guards (the men who guarded Frank Muscare!) and setting up scab schools in the ghettos during the teachers strike, emerged as "mediator" for the firemen's union after threatening to lead the 400 black firemen back to work.

But all Jackson's prayer vigils accomplished was a promise by City Hall to hire more blacks and Hispanics. Certainly revolutionaries would hardly oppose a provision modifying the racist hiring practices of the Chicago Fire Department. However, many of the newly hired minorities will be strikebreakers who actually began work during the strike. Militants would demand that all *scabs*—white and black alike—be run out of their jobs. And the deal worked out by Jackson, the union bureaucrats and City Hall almost certainly will mean the surrender of a union demand that transfers and upgrades take place on the basis of seniority. To guard against victimizations by management, black as well as white firemen need a strong seniority system, combined with union-controlled hiring halls, with aggressive recruitment in the ghettos to wipe out traditional racial discrimination.

All the talk by the CP and the SWP about the union bureaucrats and Jesse Jackson constituting a genuine labor/black alliance is pure bunk. The unions are still the target of continuing vicious attacks by Mayor Byrne, while the hiring of a few more blacks and Latins will hardly make a dent in the massive unemployment rate in the ghettos. All of Jackson's wheeling and dealing with City Hall and the Democratic Party do not alter the fact that Chicago remains the most segregated city in America. A real alliance of labor and blacks can be forged only by breaking with the capitalist parties and building a workers party to lead the militant struggles necessary to defend the interests of all working people.

Chicago labor has not been broken and the rank-and-file combativity displayed during recent strikes showed that they can beat City Hall. It's time to end the backstabbing and treachery that got Chicago labor into this hole. The transit, teachers' and firemen's unions must come out together—without the scabherding cops who falsely pose as part of the labor movement—to lead the city's public employees in a united strike to smash the anti-union offensive!

Chicago has been a solid union town and many workers believed they had real clout with the Daley machine. But the Democrats, like the Republicans, have always been the bosses' party and this should now be clear to ever unionist in Chicago. From Jimmy Carter to Teddy Kennedy to Jane Byrne, all the Democrats have to offer working people is runaway inflation, wage controls and strikebreaking. Chicago labor must break with the bosses' party. Oust Byrne—for a labor mayor of Chicago! ■

Harvester...

(continued from page 12)

plants, amnesty for several workers fired for strike-related activity and the right of UAW members to transfer to a new truck plant in Wagner, Oklahoma. But if the Harvester locals stick together, they're in a position to turn this battle into a literal rout of the Harvester company. And particularly the overtime issue, in the context of the current state of the union and the industry, could have a significant impact.

Here's an industry where plants are being closed right and left, Chrysler is going down the tubes and the remaining workers are worked to the bone at massive rates of overtime. Here's a UAW bureaucracy that says there's no alternative—work longer hours with fewer workers, make more profits for the companies—or lose your jobs. Or beg Congress or ask for import quotas against the Japanese.

Harvester turns it around. While it's a defensive struggle, if the union wins, it proves that the class-struggle road of militant strikes represents the real way to defend jobs. Because that's what forced overtime means—hiring fewer employees to do the work. And jobs are now *the* issue for the UAW.

Of course, the class-collaborationist UAW bureaucracy understands as well that a big victory would threaten to expose and blow up its sellout strategy. So this strike has driven them wild from the start. Solidarity House eventually was forced to sanction the strike at Caterpillar when workers at the giant Peoria Local 974 wildcatted last October 1 demanding an end to mandatory overtime provisions in their contract. This action was intersected by the Harvester strike as well and the real possibility existed of busting the UAW chiefs' defeatist strategy of one-at-a-time "pattern" bargaining. That didn't happen—the Caterpillar workers got sold out. But the Harvester strike went on and on, despite all the efforts of Solidarity House to sabotage it. Fraser and his gang discouraged mass picketing and discouraged the locals from resisting injunctions limiting or even banning picketing. This has resulted in some scabbing by management, but even so the Harvester locals hung tough and stayed solid.

And especially after the company signaled its initial surrender on the mandatory overtime, the stance of the strikers has really stiffened. They smell blood. When Pat Greathouse, UAW vice president for agricultural implements, came up with a scheme to allow IH to hire part-time "union" workers, they would have none of it. It smelled suspiciously like an earlier McCardell proposal to create a potential scab reserve army by hiring scads of part-timers likely composed of relatives of foremen and management.

And they really let Greathouse have it. At a March 19 meeting of the Harvester UAW shop committees, the delegates not only voted down the International's proposal by a resounding margin of 250 to 8 (with only the Memphis local voting for), but the booing, clapping committeemen reportedly prevented Greathouse from speaking for ten minutes! And that's the last time that *any* of the company's original takeaway proposals have been discussed on a nationwide level.

Since then McCardell & Co.—with some assistance from the ever-treacherous UAW International—have concentrated on trying to convince individual locals to go back to work one by one, so they can isolate a few other locals where they would like to get through some takeaways on seniority, etc. But the back-to-work stuff hasn't worked very well up to now either. Just last weekend Canton, Illinois workers booed Cletus Williams, chairman of the UAW contract bargaining committee, off the stage when he suggested going back to work. And UAW Local 6 in Melrose Park outside Chicago passed a resolution on March 30 to "reaffirm the policy that no IH local goes back to work until we *all* go back together" and to "set up mass picketing to stop all scabbing."

When Harvester lured "wonder boy" Archie McCardell away from the nonunion Xerox Corporation two years ago with a $1.5 million bonus, they thought they were getting a real tough guy who could discipline the union. Well, McCardell did his damnedest, cutting 10,000 jobs and reducing operating costs by $460 million. But he bit off a lot more than he could chew in this strike. Now the strikers stand poised to win one of the most significant union victories in a major industrial conflict in this country in years. A resounding IH victory could precipitate a real turnaround in the labor movement. This is the way to end the Youngstowns and make a real fight for jobs. ■

No Tears for Allard Lowenstein!

When Allard Lowenstein was shot and killed on March 14, the tears ran all over the front pages of the capitalist press. There was Teddy Kennedy, handkerchief in hand, weeping for his friend and supporter, "A man who cares deeply for his fellow human beings." Right-winger William F. Buckley eulogized Lowenstein at the funeral as the quintessential activist. The media generally mourned the organizer of the "Dump Johnson" campaign. "One of the finest representatives of a special generation" wrote the Democratic Party's house socialist Michael Harrington in the *Village Voice* (24 March). And the *New York Times* (18 March) summed it up in their editorial for this "gallant crusader," this "impassioned but moderate liberal... he was the agent of ferment."

He certainly was an agent of something. He deserved the Cold Warrior's medal of honor for carrying the witchhunt behind enemy lines. He was the agent of scurrilous red-baiting in the civil rights movement. He was the agent of liberal imperialism in the antiwar movement. The Cold War liberals and red-baiting social democrats have good cause for weeping. But as revolutionaries we suspend the maxim, "never speak ill of the dead," in order to speak the truth about Allard Lowenstein.

Lowenstein was one of the few capitalist operators whose career spanned the post-war period and the radicalization of the late 1950s and 1960s. He was trained under the arch-liberal anti-Communist Hubert Humphrey as a foreign policy aide in the 1950s. But by the late 1960s, as recalled uncomfortably in the 17 March *New York Times* article on his death, "Most of the New Left labeled Mr. Lowenstein a CIA agent."

No wonder. Lowenstein was one of the prime movers of the National Student Association (NSA) which had its cover blown by *Ramparts* magazine in 1966, revealing it as a creature of the CIA. Unwitting NSA activists quit and denounced their own activities. A Senate investigating committee reported in 1976 that "over 250 U.S. students were sponsored by the CIA to attend youth festivals in Moscow, Vienna, and Helsinki and were used for missions such as reporting on Soviet and Third World personalities or observing Soviet security practices." The students also reported on "Soviet counterintelligence measures." The Senate committee thus confirmed what had been common knowledge for a decade: "The Summer International Seminars conducted for NSA leaders and potential leaders in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s were a vehicle for the Agency to identify new leaders and promote their candidacy for elective positions in the National Student Association."

New York Times

Cold Warriors, from Buckley (left) to Kennedy, mourn Lowenstein.

Lowenstein was the president of the NSA at the beginning of the 1950s, and the organization was to remain his main base of operations. When Lowenstein left college he did not leave the NSA. Of course, as Michael Harrington tells it, the NSA did only good things anyway so what's all the flap about? Wasn't the CIA (as a "witting" student said during the NSA exposé) "a little treasure trove of liberalism"? And Harrington admits that Lowenstein remained at his post in this "treasure trove": "Long after he left the organization's [NSA] formal leadership he [Lowenstein] kept organizing students, agitating on issues, and lobbying at its conventions." He remained just behind the scenes in what was known as "the old boys network."

The way it worked was that a student leader was invited to the NSA's Summer International Student Relations Seminar. According to a *New Republic* article (4 March 1967): "After the seminar, the student leaders were sent along to an NSA congress. There NSA's 'old boys' kept an eye out for men they wanted to run the association." And at the NSA congresses and "leadership" seminars Allard Lowenstein could always be found directing the show. He never missed a summer session. Ironically, Lowenstein and his cohorts conformed to the adage they loved to repeat about the Stalinist "youth" bureaucrats they bugged for Uncle Sam: "The student leaders of today are the student leaders of tomorrow."

A few years ago there was a big media splash when it was revealed that liberal feminist Gloria Steinem was recruited to such a CIA program of spying on Eastern European youth through the NSA. But who were the "old boy" operatives who ran the Steinems?

Red-Baiter in the Black South

Lowenstein, like many Cold War liberals, found the CIA style of liberal anti-communism more effective than the low-brow McCarthyism of Hoover's FBI. The CIA, in turn, found the services of youthful activists like Lowenstein invaluable in attempting to derail the growing radical movements of the 1960s. Perhaps Lowenstein's most important work in the interests of liberal anti-communism was the job he did on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the early '60s. Lowenstein organized students from Stanford and Yale to go to the Jim Crow South and register black voters in the Mississippi Summer Project of 1964. In this effort he worked closely with black SNCC spokesman Bob Moses. But as SNCC's radical black wing began to move leftward, leaving Lowenstein's Democratic Party electoralism behind, he launched a dirty red-baiting attack on Moses, Stokely Carmichael and other SNCC leaders.

Liberal journalist Paul Cowan drew a scathing portrait of Lowenstein in his SNCC days after Cowan, who had been recruited to the Summer Project by Lowenstein, grew disaffected and then disgusted with his mentor's witchhunting fervor:

> "He [Lowenstein] was convinced that members of SNCC's immediate board of directors had communist connections, and he was quite exact about his charges. He was always sure that some important plot against the liberals had been hatched at a meeting he hadn't attended, and he could usually produce a batch of notes taken by some friend in his stead to support his contention. There was a simple pattern to his disclosures: evil people had gained control of a movement that promised to do much good for America and the innocent black peasants and misguided white students had to be saved from the communists.
>
> "The more I heard Al talk the less I wanted to be saved by someone like him ... he appeared to be more worried by the possibility that there might be a few communists in the movement than by the undisputed facts of segregation and poverty in Mississippi."
>
> —*Ramparts*, 7 September 1968

Cowan recalls the Lowenstein loyalty test: "So far as he was concerned, persons who talked publicly about their disgust with the American government—as many Mississippi residents and civil rights workers did after the Summer Project—were dangerously disloyal."

Lowenstein finished the job on the radicals of Mississippi when they tried to unseat the Dixiecrat delegation at the 1964 Democratic Party Convention. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP had opposed Eastland & Co. and tried to get seated at Atlantic City. But LBJ promised Hubert Humphrey the vice presidency if he could get the MFDP to back down; and it was Lowenstein, together with liberal lawyer Joseph Rauh, who engineered the deal which dumped the MFDP in

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Wide Backing for Anti-Secret Service Suit

Over the last few weeks the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) has received significant new endorsements as well as much-needed donations from unions, civil-libertarian organizations and prominent individuals. UCASSH is pressing a million-dollar suit against the Secret Service on behalf of Communications Workers of America member Jane Margolis, who was dragged off the floor of her own union's convention by the government's goons last July.

Among the recent endorsers of UCASSH are the well-known journalist and civil libertarian Nat Hentoff, the Communist Party's vice-presidential candidate Angela Davis, and Crystal Lee Sutton, a Carolina textile worker and unionist on whose experiences the film *Norma Rae* was based. The Secret Service's attempt to muzzle Margolis, who had intended to speak as an elected convention delegate against the anti-labor policies of the Carter administration, was such a blatant violation of free speech that the southern California American Civil Liberties Union has recently agreed to file an amicus brief on behalf of UCASSH's cause.

New union endorsements reflect a growing recognition that Margolis' fight is the fight of all labor to defend their members and organizations from government harassment. Endorsements have been received from as far away as New York's CWA Local 1150, Long Lines, and the Letter Carriers Union of Canada, Local 1, which also sent a generous $200 donation. Other unions that have recently backed the case include OCAW Local 8-149, Albertson, New York; IBT Local 315, Martinez, California; Hospital and Institutional Workers Union Local 250, San Francisco; AFSCME Local 2652, Livingston County Public Employees; the Maintenance and Construction Unit of UAW Local 600, Detroit; SEIU Local 372, Chicago, which also sent a $100 donation; the Executive Board of the University of Detroit Professors' Union, which also sent a $300 donation; and Paul Schrade, chairman of the UAW Local 887 ACLU Workers Rights Committee.

Particularly notable has been how rank-and-file workers have kicked in the cash which UCASSH so desperately needs. At the River Rouge plant gates $177 was collected, while UAW members raised $84 at Ford Mahwah, New Jersey. In San Francisco the Progress Newspaper Chapel (shop) voted $50 to match that amount already pledged by ITU Local 21.

The individual endorsements recently received also speak for the broad appeal of the case. They include prominent individuals who have themselves faced government repression, such as Jim Grant, recently released Charlotte 3 defendant, and Lester Cole and Alvah Bessie of the Hollywood 10, who were jailed during the McCarthy period witchhunts. In addition to Nat Hentoff, writers Sol Yurik, Dore Ashton and Kate Millett have all put their names behind the Margolis case.

Of the $25,000 that UCASSH estimated would be needed to finance this legal battle in its first year, already $12,000 has been raised. But UCASSH may well have to fight a drawn-out battle. So far the Secret Service has refused to even answer the UCASSH complaint, asking that the case be dismissed. Leaning on a recent Supreme Court decision, the government is trying to get the case thrown out on the basis that UCASSH has not *named* the individual Secret Service thugs who manhandled Margolis. What an outrage! These guys didn't come into the CWA convention with calling cards. They grabbed Margolis without warning and detained her without even telling her what she was charged with. And when UCASSH demands that the government provide the names of these agents, the Secret Service just stonewalls it!

Winning this case will be a victory for Jane Margolis, for the labor movement and for all who defend democratic rights. But a victory against the government with its arsenal of courts and unlimited resources won't be won without *money*. *Workers Vanguard* urges readers to send their contributions to the Margolis case to: Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment, UCASSH, P.O. Box 12324, San Francisco, CA 94112. ■

Afghanistan: Echoing the Carter Doctrine

"Third Camp" Fever in the USec

For revolutionary Marxists there is nothing ambiguous, nothing tricky about the war in Afghanistan. The Soviet army and its Afghan left-nationalist allies are fighting an anti-communist, anti-democratic mélange of landlords, moneylenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs committed to Islamic fanaticism, mass illiteracy and the enslavement of women. And to say that imperialist support to this social scum is out in the open would be the understatement of the year. U.S. "national security" czar Zbigniew Brzezinski actually travels to the Khyber Pass and rifle in hand encourages the insurgents: "That land over there is yours and you will go back one day because your cause is right and God is on your side." The gut-level response of every Trotskyist, indeed of every radical leftist, should be fullest solidarity with the Soviet Red Army.

Yet the Afghanistan crisis has thrown the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel once again into utter political disarray. Responses ranged from "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan!" (headline of the British IMG's *Socialist Challenge*) to "Soviet Troops Aid Afghan Revolution!" (headline of the Australian SWP's *Direct Action*). At a late January USec meeting three lines were presented. The right-minority resolution advocated the pro-imperialist "Soviet troops out" line, asserting that a victory by Muslim reactionaries would be "much less harmful" than a prolonged Soviet presence. The left-minority position, ludicrously emanating from the reformist U.S. Socialist Workers Party, defended the Russian-backed Kabul regime but absurdly minimized Soviet intervention, claiming the "Afghan Revolution" sparked Carter's new Cold War.

Predictably, the Mandelite majority tries to split the difference, keeping one foot in each camp and playing both ends against the middle while saluting the golden mean. Its resolution (*Intercontinental Press*, 3 March) upbraids the Kremlin for not "considering any of the democratic and national sentiments of the oppressed classes and peoples" and for "introduc[ing] extreme confusion in the world proletariat"; it takes "no responsibility" for the intervention, refuses to give it "the least political support," declares it is "opposed to the annexation of new territories by the Kremlin"—even if a social revolution is carried out overturning capitalist/semi-feudal property relations. But well-practiced in the art of obfuscation, the Mandelites do not call for withdrawal of Soviet forces; and after more than 100 paragraphs of fulminating against the intervention, they drop in, out of the blue, four sentences of the most mealy-mouthed defensism.

Burnett/Contact

Which side are they on? USec waffles as Soviets battle Afghan reactionaries.

The new explosion over Afghanistan is the clearest indication that last fall's cold split in the USec over Nicaragua, a week before its "Eleventh World Congress," was power politics rather than a genuine left-right political polarization. Now there's real trouble in Mandel's main European sections. Almost half, 20 to 22 of the central committee of the USec's badly tarnished "star" French section, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), has taken an outright pro-imperialist line. Arguing that Soviet intervention "mocks the right of peoples to self-determination," they call for "actions by the anti-imperialist and workers movement to press the Soviet Union to immediately withdraw its troops from Afghanistan" (*Rouge*, 22 February). What "actions" do they have in mind? Perhaps refusal by French dockers to load grain for the USSR? If this large LCR minority has become "Carter Doctrine socialists," the majority are hardly red revolutionaries. They too condemn the Soviet action, but now reject the call for immediate withdrawal as playing into the imperialists' hands.

The factional dissension in the once-leftist British section, the International Marxist Group (IMG), is even more deep-going. The original "Soviet Troops Out" article by Tariq Ali (*Socialist Challenge*, 3 January) produced a major furor. The IMG printed a number of letters raking Ali over the coals for "joining the imperialist chorus" and for "dancing to the tune of the US State Department." So a couple of weeks later the IMG changed its line without openly repudiating its earlier counterrevolutionary position. It still condemned the Soviet intervention but grudgingly admitted that "in the present situation a call for the immediate withdrawal of troops would be tantamount to being in favour of the victory of the rightist forces" (*Socialist Challenge*, 17 January). No kidding!

Yet even this half-hearted "defense" of the Soviet forces provoked an outpouring of criticism from the right. Letters appeared in *Socialist Challenge* lambasting the new line as "wishy-washy," "having it both ways," "old-fashioned hypocrisy" and "appallingly confused and ham-fisted." Ali's critics were baited for wanting to form "welcoming committees for the Red Army"; numerous letters urged the IMG to "junk the old Trotskyism." Significantly, Bob Purdie, a once-leading member of the IMG, went so far as to claim, "The property relations of the USSR have revealed themselves to be as oppressive, exploitative and alienating as those of capitalism; worse, they are not even as efficient." Echoes of James Burnham! And in the middle of all this, *Socialist Challenge* (6 March) introduced a new column entitled "Thinking Aloud" for Tariq Ali to ventilate his "personal" (read, factional) views. Ali began his first column: "I remain unrepentant on Afghanistan."

Thus just a few months after this Potemkin Village "Fourth International" lost perhaps a third of its members with the split of the Latin American-centered Bolshevik Faction of political adventurer Nahuel Moreno, the USec is once again wracked by internal strife, this time concentrated in the Mandelite heartland. Mandel & Co. are trying to downplay the extent of the dissension over Afghanistan, but it is more potentially destructive than the Moreno split, a somewhat accidental development arising from the Argentine *caudillo*'s overweening personal ambition. In the present case, it is the fruits of Mandel's own revisionism.

What we are now witnessing is the *open rebellion* by a significant section of the USec, long schooled in New Left anti-Sovietism and petty-bourgeois nationalism, against the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism. These USecers, cadres and ranks, are being drawn into the U.S.-led global counterrevolutionary alliance against the USSR through the medium of those tendencies with which they've long sought to regroup—East European "dissidents," the soft Maoists (e.g., the French Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs), the Eurocommunists (the circle around Jean Ellenstein) and various social-democratic groupings (the British Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff).

Mandel's Chickens Come Home to Roost

There is nothing accidental or episodic in Tariq Ali's role in this factional situation. He is the representative *par excellence* of New Left movementism and Third World nationalism within the USec. A former New Left celebrity, back in 1969 he edited an anthology, *The New Revolutionaries*, featuring such notables as Fidel Castro, Régis Debray, Ernest Mandel and, perhaps prophetically, Tony Cliff. His own contribution included Mao and Ho among the new revolutionaries but definitely excluded the stodgy Kremlin bureaucrats: "...Asian communism was to prove itself more human, more humane and more willing to admit its mistakes than its counterpart in the Soviet Union." Ah, music to Pol Pot's ears.

If Tariq Ali responds to the Afghan crisis with the outlook of 1960s New Leftism, he uses some arguments borrowed from the ideological arsenal of Khrushchevite "peaceful coexistence" (a

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How Stalinist Treachery Helped Imperialists Rearm After Vietnam

Laffont Sygma

Felix Greene

Brezhnev bought détente with Vietnamese blood.

In June of 1973, just a few months after the signing of the Paris "peace" accords on Vietnam and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev journeyed to Washington to herald the advent of a new era called "détente." "The quarter-century period of the Cold War is now giving way to relations of peace, mutual respect and cooperation between the states of the East and West," he proclaimed, and gave Richard Nixon a bear hug. In response to the Brezhnev/Nixon celebration of "a generation of peace," we wrote an article entitled, "U.S./USSR Détente Doomed" (*WV*, No. 24, 6 July 1973). We ask now: who was right, Brezhnev or the Trotskyists?

So détente is officially dead. Of course, no informed person believes it was killed by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The Carter administration has been on a rampage against the Soviet degenerated workers state for some time now. Last winter it colluded with China's invasion of Soviet-allied Vietnam; last summer it decided to push ahead with the MX mobile missile, a

BOOK REVIEW

WHITE HOUSE YEARS
HENRY KISSINGER
LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY, 1979

PART ONE OF TWO

first-strike strategic weapon; and this fall it moved to deploy in West Europe a new generation of nuclear missiles targeted at the USSR. While there has been some bourgeois criticism of Carter's frenzied saber-rattling over Afghanistan, for *all* wings of U.S. imperialism détente with the Russians is long since over.

Even the Kremlin must figure something's gone wrong as the main architect of détente, Henry Kissinger, emerged as a leading *hawkish* critic of the Carter administration. Early last year in a widely publicized interview in the London *Economist* (3 February 1979) he denounced Carter for scrapping the B-1 bomber and stretching out the MX missile program. Has Henry Kissinger had a change of heart about the Russians, suddenly discovering that they were..."reds"? His recently published memoirs covering the years 1969-72 (*White House Years*, Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1979) show that America's would-be Metternich was no less anti-Soviet and no less militaristic in the early 1970s than he is now. What then has changed? What was détente?

Détente was a tactical policy born of weakness, of the sapping of American power in that long, losing war in Vietnam. With the passage of eight years since U.S. combat troops pulled out of Indochina, it is perhaps difficult to recapture just how stunning a blow that war was for the American imperialist global order. It destroyed the image of an invincible military colossus, undermined the economic hegemony of the U.S. within the capitalist world, forced unprecedented conditions of inflation and wage control on a working class which no longer accepted Cold War ideology and produced a major upsurge of American radicalism.

When Nixon visited West Europe right after he took office in 1969, allied leaders urged him to get out of Vietnam as soon as possible. The war had become a running sore for the entire imperialist system; they too were bleeding from it. The impact within the U.S. was, if anything, even more serious. This dirty (and losing) colonial war destroyed almost all popular moral support for anti-Communist militarism. Imperialist war criminal Kissinger, a man who ordered the bombing of millions of defenseless Indochinese peasants, expresses agonized shock that:

> "The hitherto almost unanimous conviction that the Cold War had been caused by Soviet intransigence was challenged by a vocal and at times violent minority which began to insist it was American bellicosity, American militarism, and American economic imperialism that were the root causes of international tensions."
>
> —*White House Years*

How positively unfair!

Kissinger's and also Nixon's memoirs reveal how much this war affected the self-confidence of the American ruling elite. The incredible, heroic resistance of the Vietnamese shattered their smug certitude that superior technology was everything, shook their faith in the moral fiber and patriotism of America's youth. Combat against the North Vietnamese and Vietcong not only turned the youthful conscripts into spaced-out potheads, but drove their generals to despair as well. Kissinger decries the sorry state of mind in the Pentagon when he entered the White House:

> "They were demoralized by the order to procure weapons in which they did not believe and by the necessity of fighting a war whose purpose proved increasingly elusive."

Imperialist defeat in Vietnam was a watershed in the decline of American power. In this context, détente was the attempt to enlist the Soviet bureaucracy's support to shore up the global status quo, first of all to preserve the tottering U.S. puppet regime in Saigon, at least for a time. In turn Washington offered certain economic and diplomatic concessions and the promise of an end to the arms race. This was Kissinger's famous "linkage" doctrine:

> "We would also judge the Soviet Union's purpose by its willingness to move on a broad front, especially by its attitude on the Middle East and Vietnam. We expected Soviet restraint in trouble spots around the world....
>
> "In all my conversations with [Soviet ambassador] Dobrynin I had stressed that a fundamental improvement in US-Soviet relations presupposed Soviet cooperation in settling the war. Dobrynin had always evaded a reply by claiming that Soviet influence in Hanoi was extremely limited. In response, we procrastinated on all the negotiations in which the Soviet Union was interested—the strategic arms limitation talks, the Middle East, and expanded economic relations."

When in 1972 the Kremlin did help Nixon/Kissinger get their "honorable settlement" in Vietnam, there followed the short-lived celebration of détente. But now that U.S. imperialism believes it has overcome its "Vietnam syndrome," it has discarded détente much like a crooked landlord scraps an old lease when the housing market turns up. So the economic deals are canceled (no grain for Soviet livestock). The diplomatic accords are canceled (no American Olympians in Red Moscow). And the Pentagon is rapidly escalating its arms spending to regain first-strike nuclear superiority.

Russia Closes the Missile Gap

From the standpoint of American imperialist militarism, probably the greatest casualty of the Vietnam War was the loss of strategic nuclear superiority over the Soviets. John F. Kennedy's campaign scare about a "missile gap" to the contrary, in the early 1960s the U.S. advantage in this area was absolutely overwhelming. At the time of the 1962 Cuba missile crisis the U.S had some 2,000 strategic nuclear weapons, the Russians had maybe 70! Getting into a military showdown from a position of such extreme weakness was one of the main reasons Khrushchev was sacked two years later. The Soviet diplomat who negotiated the pullout of missiles from Cuba, Vasily Kuznetsov, told Kennedy's man John McCloy: "You Americans will never be able to do this to us again!" (quoted in Charles E. Bohlen, *Witness to History 1929-1969* [1973])

The new Brezhnev/Kosygin regime greatly accelerated the Soviet strategic weapons program, determined to close the real missile gap. They succeeded largely because at this point the American war machine got bogged down in the swamps of Vietnam. Even though between 1965 and 1969 the Pentagon budget increased almost 40 percent in *real* terms, this enormous sum and more was spent trying to bomb North Vietnam back into the Stone Age. With the inflation rate tripling from 1965 to 1969 (from 2 to 6 percent!) and given the growing unpopularity of the war, Johnson and later Nixon dared not add big new nuclear weapons programs to the already out-of-sight military budget.

At the height of the war assistant treasury secretary Murry Weidenbaum bemoaned that "because the non-Vietnam portions of the military budget have been squeezed in recent years, considerable 'catching up' is needed" (U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Impact of the War in Southeast Asia on the U.S. Economy* [1970]). But the so-called "Vietnam squeeze" continued. In fiscal 1972 allocations for strategic weapons were $7.2 billion compared to $8.3 billion in 1964, a sharp decline given the intervening inflation (U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report* [Fiscal 1981]). For working people in this country the Vietnam War meant guns versus butter; for the Pentagon it meant guns versus missiles.

If today the Soviet degenerated workers state has attained rough strategic nuclear parity with U.S. imperialism (for revolutionaries, a very good thing), we should remember this was bought with Vietnamese blood. For seven years the revolutionary workers and peasantry of Vietnam, a poor country of some 40 million people, fought *alone* against

WAS THE DETENTE THAT WAS

the greatest military power on earth. The U.S. dropped more bombs on Indochina than the total tonnage of *all* the combatants in World War II. Yet at no point did the Soviet Union, supposedly Hanoi's ally, threaten to retaliate in any way, even at the diplomatic level. On the contrary, Moscow's relations with Washington improved throughout the war. And even Soviet military supplies to North Vietnam were but a small fraction of what the Kremlin bureaucracy expended on their *own* weapons systems; indeed they were inferior to the weaponry they gave Nasser's Egypt.

The Soviets' overcoming of the missile gap had and continues to have a profoundly divisive effect on the imperialist alliance arrayed against them. Official NATO strategic doctrine inherited from the '50s was "massive retaliation." If the Warsaw Pact forces were gaining on the ground in a European war (and this was expected), U.S. missiles would simply annihilate the Soviet population. But when the Soviets acquired the capacity to massively retaliate in turn against the U.S. population, this strategy, in Kissinger's words, increasingly "lost credibility." Charles de Gaulle, with his sense of history trends, was the first to ask: "Will the U.S. risk Chicago for Bonn?" He thought not. A decade later the West German ruling elite would repeat this same baiting query.

Since the late '60s the NATO allies have been jockeying with one another to find an escape hatch for the day of Armageddon. This is what the intra-NATO disputes on nuclear weapons policy are all about. The European worst-case analysis was presented clearly a few years ago by retired West German air force general Johannes Steinhoff, who opposed the neutron bomb, a tactical nuclear weapon, out of old-fashioned nationalism:

> "I am in favor of retaining nuclear weapons as political tools but not permitting them to become battlefield weapons.... I am firmly opposed to their tactical use on our soil. I cannot favor a nuclear war on German territory while the superpowers observe safely at a distance."
>
> —quoted in Alex Vardamis, "German-American Military Fissures," *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1979

With typical *realpoliticker* cynicism Kissinger attributes to his European allies the exact opposite Machiavellian scheme:

> "They wanted to make the Soviet Union believe that any attack would unleash America's nuclear arsenal. If the bluff failed, however, they were not eager to have us implement the threat on their soil. Their secret hope, which they never dared to articulate, was that the defense of Europe would be conducted as an intercontinental nuclear exchange over their heads...."

With the American nuclear umbrella increasingly tattered, it was inevitable that the European imperialist powers would seek their own *modus vivendi* with Moscow. For Washington, Gaullist France's vaunted "independence" was troublesome, but not to be taken that seriously. However, the spread of nationalist disaffection to West Germany, emerging as the dominant West European power, would be a blow to the American imperialist order of an altogether greater force.

Bonn's Ostpolitik Rattles Washington

During the 1950s-60s West Germany was the most fervently loyal and virulently anti-Soviet of America's imperialist allies. In the early 1960s chancellor Konrad Adenauer grumbled that Kennedy was "soft on the Russians" because he negotiated over nuclear weapons with them. In 1969 Washington successfully blackmailed the Germans into not exchanging their large dollar surpluses for gold, as the French were doing, by threatening to cut back U.S. troops on the Rhine. Yet a decade later West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt would emerge as the most important figure in the imperialist world resisting America's renewed Cold War offensive. A recent *Business Week* (3 March) ran as its cover story: "Germany: the Reluctant Ally—An Economic Giant Torn Between East and West." What happened?

Kissinger points out that, alone among the European imperialist powers, the West German state has "unfulfilled national aims." Until 1971 the Federal Republic claimed sovereignty over the citizens of East Germany, which it contemptuously labeled "the [Soviet] Zone." Bonn refused to have diplomatic relations with any country (except the USSR) which recognized the German Democratic Republic (DDR). This policy, known as the Hallstein Doctrine, was the diplomatic posture of civil war. Washington was not above exploiting Soviet fear of German revanchism, occasionally posing as the strong hand on the leash.

During the 1950s Christian-Democratic chancellor Adenauer declared reunification required "a policy of strength" and close alliance with the U.S. This by no means expressed a consensus of West German politics, however. Anything but. In 1952 in a last-minute attempt to deflect the Federal Republic from joining NATO, Stalin proposed a neutral, reunified, capitalist Germany. Maybe Stalin was bluffing, but if so, he was never called. Adenauer dismissed the Soviet offer as a ploy and duly brought West Germany into the U.S.-led military alliance.

Der Spiegel

Behind Brandt's Ostpolitik, Kissinger (left) saw resurgence of German nationalism.

At this, Social-Democratic leader Kurt Schumacher violently denounced the Christian Democrats for throwing away the prospect of German national unity by not taking up Stalin's proposal. Schumacher was no pacifistic leftist or friend of the USSR. He was fiercely nationalistic and anti-communist. Severely crippled by years in Nazi concentration camps, Schumacher deeply believed that the Social Democrats could have prevented the fascists' victory in Weimar Germany only by outbidding them in chauvinism! The opposition Social Democratic Party (SPD) maintained a position for a neutral, reunified Germany until 1960, when the Berlin crisis made this program appear as utterly fantastical.

The Christian Democrats' greater willingness to acquiesce to the Cold War division of Germany (and this is what Adenauer's hard line meant in practice) derived in no small measure from narrow partisan considerations. East Germany (Prussia and Saxony) was overwhelmingly Protestant with a traditionally socialist proletariat. The Social Democrats firmly believed that reunification would make them the natural majority party. So did the Christian Democrats, the successor to the old Catholic Center Party. In a sense the SPD emerged as post-war Germany's only national party, believing it had a real constituency east as well as west of the Elbe. The Cold War division of the country deformed West German politics in such a way that the party of the labor bureaucracy was more national-minded than the main bourgeois party.

The building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 popped *der Alte's* "policy of strength" like a balloon. Around the mid-1960s a section of the West German upper bourgeoisie in the small, liberal-secular Free Democratic Party (FDP) began to look upon the Social Democrats as a more serious, effective agency for an imperialist foreign policy than the Atlanticist Christian Democrats. In 1969 Willy Brandt's SPD became the governing party in coalition with the Free Democrats. That year Brandt's chief lieutenant, the architect of *Ostpolitik*, Egon Bahr, gave an interview in which he projected the eventual withdrawal of both American and Soviet troops from Germany, the dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact and the establishment of a neutral Central European federation. *Ostpolitik* was viewed as a first step toward this ultimate goal.

The actual *Ostpolitik* treaties—the 1970 West German-Soviet "Renunciation of Force" agreement, the 1971 Four Power treaty on Berlin and the West German-East German Basic Treaty—essentially legitimized the status quo. Only the Berlin treaty involved more than diplomatic formulae, and here the Soviet side made the substantive concessions. It promised not to obstruct Western transit to Berlin and to grant West Berliners the same access to the DDR as West Germans. In turn the imperialist powers reaffirmed that West Berlin was not part of West Germany, something which is obvious from a glance at a map.

But the Nixon administration reacted to Brandt's *Ostpolitik* with extreme suspicion. The would-be Metternich in the White House basement understood that more was involved than the normalization of diplomatic relations. Kissinger saw in the policies of the new rulers in Bonn a nationalistic drawing away from the Atlantic alliance:

> "It seemed to me that Brandt's new *Ostpolitik*, which looked to many like a progressive policy of quest for détente, could in less scrupulous hands turn into a new form of classic German nationalism. From Bismarck to Rapallo it was

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U.S. Army

Lance missile can carry neutron bomb. U.S.' tactical nuclear weapons make imperialist allies nervous.

For Plant Seizures Against Mass Layoffs!
No to Protectionism!

Ohio Steel Towns Becoming Ghost Towns

CLEVELAND—When Firestone announced last week it was closing six tire plants across the country, three of them in Ohio, it was strike two on this hard-hit industrial region. First steel, now the bottom has dropped out of rubber—and there are rumblings in auto as well. An unprecedented wave of plant closings is devastating the old industrial belt stretching from Cleveland factories to the foundries of western Pennsylvania. Once known as "America's Ruhr," steel valley is beginning to resemble Germany immediately *after* the devastation of World War II.

When the steel barons dump their ancient plants in Youngstown and the rubber companies abandon Akron for the open-shop "Sun Belt," only a burnt-out shell remains of these glorified mill towns. Aging workers whose skills once commanded the highest wages in American industry are left to sell their blood in order to make ends meet, while the schools and streets crumble around them along with the tax base. It comes as no surprise when union officials report a dramatic rise in suicides and divorces.

Since "Black Monday," September 9, 1977, when Jones & Laughlin announced the closing of the old Youngstown Sheet and Tube facility, 9,000 area steel workers have been thrown out of the only jobs they've ever known. By the end of this summer, another 1,000 ex-steel workers will be pounding the filthy pavements of Youngstown as U.S. Steel completes the elimination of its Ohio Works plant, pushing the unemployment rate to over 10 percent. A Youngstown State University study of the 1977 layoffs tells these workers what they can expect: of 4,100 laid-off workers 1,000 were forced into "early retirement." 800 left town, 1,500 found other jobs in the area (since steel paid the highest wages, this necessarily involved a big pay cut), and the remainder are in training programs, still looking for work, or have given up looking altogether.

Now workers throughout northeastern Ohio wonder if their cities will become "another Youngstown." As U.S. Steel was being sued in federal district court in a vain attempt to halt the closing of its Ohio Works, auto workers at suburban Cleveland's huge Brook Park Ford plant (where 3,500 are already on layoff) were informed of the company plans to move small-engine production to Mexico, with 5,000 jobs hanging in the balance. And in Akron, after Goodyear, B.F. Goodrich and Firestone shut down most of their operations, General Tire is left as the only "Big Four" rubber firm making passenger tires in what was once called "the Rubber City."

In the familiar boom-bust cycle of capitalism, a recession means that jobs are slashed and production curbed until the capitalists can once again reap a profit—at which point there are call-backs and the workers begin slaving in the plants again. But what's happening in the Ohio industrial belt is more than a conjunctural downturn of the business cycle. In 1950, Akron's 50,000 rubber workers produced two-thirds of the country's tires. Today barely half of these jobs remain. Since 1969, the Cleveland area has lost more than 46,000 manufacturing jobs. The capitalists are abandoning Ohio.

What's behind this destruction of lives and livelihoods is no secret to anyone. As the current economic crisis deepens, the corporate magnates are deciding that now's the time to junk the fossilized plants which they have milked dry. The antiquated open-hearth method of steel production simply can't compete with electric furnaces in Japan, France and West Germany. The American steel industry has spent less in improving its plant than any other steel-producing country in the world.

Ohio steel on the scrap heap. WV Photo

In other industries, like rubber and electronics, U.S. capitalists hope to realize their former profit margins not by modernizing the old industrial plant but by expanding into right-to-work states down South where they can exploit labor without the interference of troublesome unions. According to the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* (23 September 1979), manufacturing employment between 1960 and 1975 increased by more than 67 percent in the open-shop Southwest, while dropping almost 14 percent in the Midwest.

It is this kind of union-busting strategy that lies behind Ford's plan to build its new line of "economical" auto engines in Mexico. The Brook Park facility was built in 1950, and was the most modern plant of its kind at the time. But rather than re-tool the engine plant, Ford looks toward exploiting cheaper labor across the border where it can also take advantage of less stringent business and environmental regulations.

Bureaucrats Play a Losing Game

The union bureaucracy has responded to these devastating attacks by

Behind the Plant Closings

How the Capitalists Cause Falling Productivity

The present wave of plant closures and the runaway inflation are opposite sides of the same coin—the relative decline of U.S. productivity. The most striking feature of the recovery from the deep 1974-75 recession was the lag in investment in new plant and equipment. While gross national product increased 14 percent between early 1975 and the end of 1978, fixed capital investment increased only 8 percent, and this was mainly in light equipment not new plant. By and large capitalists expanded output by adding labor to old machinery.

The effect on productivity was predictably disastrous. Between 1973 and 1978 manufacturing output per man-hour in the U.S. increased only 8 percent, the *lowest* of all major capitalist countries including even Britain and Italy. In the same period industrial productivity in West Germany increased 28 percent and in Japan 19 percent (U.S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of United States, 1979*). No wonder U.S. industry is taking a beating in the world market and even in its home market.

In 1979 overall productivity in the economy actually declined (output per man-hour in manufacturing increased marginally). This is the *root cause* of the present out-of-sight inflation. With production flat and productivity falling, capitalists try to offset squeezed profit margins by raising prices. But since all businesses are doing this, costs continue to rise, thus leading to an inflationary leapfrogging. This process was accelerated by the oil price hike last summer as most companies just passed on the added energy and transport costs through their own price rises. Both businessmen and wage earners are trying to meet this inflationary spiral through ever greater borrowing, which is passively accommodated by the central bank (Federal Reserve) for fear that slamming hard on the monetary brake could bankrupt some substantial percentage of the country's businesses.

And now banana republic level inflation rates have destroyed the long-term bond market, the *central* mechanism by which capitalism finances new productive units embodying new technology. The U.S. economy is trapped in a vicious cycle of capitalist irrationality. The low investment rate retards productivity which, in turn, causes constant pressure on capitalists to raise prices. But runaway inflation wreaks havoc in the financial market and so further arrests productive investment. The only way out of this vicious cycle short of vastly greater disaster is the expropriation of the means of production by a workers government and the institution of socialist economic planning.

Stop Sellout in British Steel Strike!

Flash!

APRIL 1—As we go tu press, the executive of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) have voted 42-27 to accept the recommendation of the arbitration panel for an 11 percent wage hike. This is just 1 percent higher than management's previous offer and far beluw the 20 percent that the steel strikers have fought bitterly to win. But what union militants denounced as a "shabby compromise" still must be ratified by the membership. And the members are angry. When the sellout was announced, there were violent scenes in front of the union headquarters in London with strikers flinging their union badges against the ISTC building.

Steel strikers march in TUC solidarity demo, London March 9.

Spartacist Britain

LONDON—Thirteen weeks into the longest national strike this country has seen in decades, the choice confronting 150,000 steel workers has been made clear as day. They can submit to the efforts of union leader Bill Sirs & Co. to get them back through the gates of the British Steel Corporation (BSC) by Easter on the basis of a humiliating arbitrated settlement. Or they can push forward, sweep their misleaders aside and detonate an explosion throughout the working class which will rock this country to its foundations.

From day one this strike has had the potential and urgent necessity to burst the confines of a narrow wage struggle against one employer. A general strike today is not "pie in the sky." It's the road to victory, and it is pused more sharply as a concrete opportunity now—even in the strike's eleventh hour, after numerous sellout attempts—than at any point in the last 90 days of class war. Steel workers: Stay out and win!

On March 20, Sirs and the representatives of ten other striking unions announced agreement with BSC management to constitute a three-man "committee of inquiry" to arrange an arbitrated settlement. The union negotiators have *already* capitulated to virtually all British Steel's key demands: sweeping redundancies [layoffs], local productivity deals, countless strings. All that is left to this phony pro-management committee is to pick a figure between 10 and 19 percent which the bureaucrats will then sell to the ranks as the best they could get.

This committee is a sellout from the word go. BSC knows it. Sirs knows it. The strikers know it. The negotiators have even tried to push through a return to work before the results are announced, the company offering a sickly "sweetener" of an immediate 10 percent rise. The only reason Sirs didn't try that one is he would have had an insurrection on his hands. South Yorkshire strike around the steel plants if Sirs tries to get them back to work for less than 20 percent.

The steel strike can and must be won. Valuable opportunities have been lost because no authoritative militant leadership has been forged to organise the strike, while the ISTC [Iron and Steel Trades Council] tops are doing their best to *dis*organise it. But the sentiment remains strong—as the posters say: "20 percent, no surrender." The defiance has not been broken: "We will *march* through those gates," swore one Sheffield strike committee member.

Make it a victory march! A victory is ripe for the taking. The CBI [Confederation of British Industry] announced last week that 25 percent of production throughout industry had been affected by the strike. The bosses are being hurt and the strike is spreading. On March 21 every ship in the port of Liverpool was left stranded as more than 6,500 dockers walked off the job after 100 of them were ordered to load a shipment of blacked [hot-cargoed] steel or lose pay. (Unfortunately, the ship loading scab steel was a Soviet vessel.) After ten weeks the TGWU [Transport and General Workers Union] bureaucracy has finally directed dockers not to handle any steel. Later at a mass meeting 4,000 strikers voted almost unanimously to continue their strike and demand a national

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joining the chorus for nationalist economic protectionism, by sacrificing wages and benefits to insure profits on marginal operations and in steel by harebrained, utopian schemes like having the workers buy up dilapidated plants.

Thus when the Brook Park news hit, local UAW leaders were quick to bluster about fighting back. But Ford officials, who admitted in their internal memo on the closings that "much will depend on how seriously the Cleveland UAW local decides to protest the action," soon discovered how little they had to fear. While lashing out at Doug Fraser's "inaction," Local 1250's right-wing president Thurman Payne's response was to dispatch signs and pickets to Ford headquarters in Dearborn, reading "1250 Loves America, Ford Wants to Leave It" and "Would Henry Ford Be Proud of Ford Motor Co. Today?"!

The union tops are also working overtime to pressure their Democratic Party "friends of labor" to pass "plant closing" legislation on both state and federal levels. These schemes don't even *pretend* to stop factory closings. Ohio Senate Bill 188, offering insultingly tokenistic "rewards" to workers losing their jobs, such as a week's pay for every year worked, and six more months of coverage in company health plans, also stipulates that any company with more than one hundred workers must give two years' advance notice before closing or moving. This is not any kind of concession to the workers. Rather, it actually lays the basis for agreements between the companies and the bureaucrats to "cut costs" at the job site, that is, to throw union contracts out the window in the interests of keeping the bosses' plants solvent.

Nowhere has the bankruptcy of the bureaucrats' no-strike strategy been more clear than in the utterly fantastic proposal cooked up by supporters of Ed Sadlowski in the Youngstown United Steelworkers (USWA) offices to *buy* the broken-down plants abandoned by the companies and run them with federal aid! This fanciful scheme caught the eye of liberals like Ramsey Clark and Staughton Lynd. But what a cruel joke on the laid-off steel workers! How can anyone expect them to throw whatever's left of their life savings into these ruins? And were this nutty scheme to actually get off the ground somehow, all it would entail would be speedup and unsafe working conditions in a vain attempt to force these junkheaps into turning a profit.

The union bureaucracy, especially at the international level, has mainly responded to plant closings by ever-louder calls for import controls or, what amounts to the same thing, for controls on capital exports. This despicable policy pits American working people against Japanese or Mexicans, and sows the poison of national chauvinism. Ultimately economic protectionism leads to inter-imperialist wars (like World Wars I and II) for a redivision of the world market.

A Class-Struggle Answer to Plant Closures

In addition to permanent plant closures, millions of workers will be thrown out of work as the U.S. enters a new slump. The struggle against unemployment is the struggle to expand the job pool. Shorten the workweek—30 hours work for 40 hours pay! Plant closures, both permanent and conjunctural, are part and parcel of the capitalist system. There are no reformist and certainly no localized solutions. But this does not mean that workers need be helpless victims of the bosses' economy.

The most powerful weapon for workers facing a plant closure is occupation—the sit-down strike. By challenging the bosses' sacred property rights, a plant seizure can galvanize other sections of the working class. A plant occupation in Youngstown or Akron today could spark an industrywide strike in steel or rubber shutting down the monopoly capitalists' *most profitable* operations. Such militant and dramatic actions would also win wide sympathy and support from working people everywhere.

The plant closings in steel and rubber have different causes and this affects the outcome of struggles in the two industries. Unlike steel, the rubber industry is not contracting; it is engaging in a union-busting flight to the South. Here a two-pronged attack is needed. One is a full-scale campaign by the entire labor movement to unionize the South. Key to this is labor boycotts, especially in transport and retailing, of non-union products. At the same time plant occupations and an industrywide strike should be directed against the economic devastation of Akron. At a minimum laid-off rubber workers, like those in steel, should get 100 percent unemployment pay, fully projected against inflation, for as long as they're out of work.

But the antiquated, inefficient U.S. steel industry is contracting in the face of world oversupply at the beginning of a world economic downturn. The combination of factory occupations and an industrywide strike could force the companies, especially the bigger ones like U.S. Steel and Bethlehem, to keep open certain marginal facilities they would otherwise shut down. But some of the dilapidated plants, like in Youngstown, cannot be saved no matter what. For openers, here steel workers must demand 100 percent unlimited unemployment pay (financed by the company or government) with a full cost-of-living escalator, free job retraining and all expenses paid for relocation. But above all it must be rammed home that just as in old, outmoded industries in West Europe, neither bourgeois welfare nor social-democratic-promoted bourgeois nationalization of what *was* can arrest the decline and wastage of those sections of the working people. Intensive new capital development is objectively urgently posed.

But how? All the elements are there: a skilled workforce, new needs, an infrastructure. What is lacking is *class purpose*—to *collectivize and plan the economy*. To make the massive work transfers tearing up the lives of workers' families on a voluntary and even enthusiastic basis, all that is required is that the working people come to political power. This is hardly a new idea (Marx died nearly 100 years ago) but is so often dishonored by the social democrats (and the Stalinists, whom Trotsky called the social democrats of the second mobilization). Yet Marx's truth is here never more urgent and immediate. The workers must struggle to take the future in their own hands. And every step that encourages this outcome must be fought for. ■

Détente...

(continued from page 7)

> the essence of Germany's nationalist foreign policy to maneuver freely between East and West."

If Kissinger exempted Brandt himself from the ranks of the "less scrupulous," he did not exempt other elements of the Social Democratic leadership, including Bahr:

> "Though Bahr was a man of the left, I considered him above all a German nationalist who wanted to exploit Germany's central position to bargain with both sides. He was of the type that had always believed that Germany could realize its national destiny only by friendship with the East, or at least avoiding its enmity.... To him, America was a weight to be added to West Germany's scale in the right way at the right time, but his priority was to restore relations between the two Germanies above all."

Kissinger here proved prescient. The most significant resistance to Carter's (and Kissinger's) Cold War II policies from the Western imperialists has come from the *Ostpolitik* wing of German Social Democracy, with Brandt's successor, Helmut Schmidt, trying to hold the middle ground. The chairman of the SPD parliamentary fraction, Herbert Wehner, last February argued that "not just we, but the other side too, tends to continue its armament out of fear and worry." Among these fears and worries, he listed continuing Western technical-military superiority and China's bellicosity. Wehner concluded with the rhetorical question: "Is it surprising that the Soviet leadership reacts with military measures that are defensive from its point of view?" (U.S. Joint Publications Research Service, *Translations on Western Europe*, 8 March 1979).

More recently, the SPD parliamentary leader again stirred up a hornet's nest by accurately labeling the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan a "preventative act." A former leading German Stalinist, Wehner joined the Social Democrats only a few years after World War II. This background and his present line have some of the more paranoid types in Washington speculating that the SPD leader may be a KGB mole—shades of Kim Philby!

A common explanation of current SPD foreign policy is that West Europe, especially West Germany, got more out of détente than did the U.S. Leaving aside the matter of economic deals, this way of putting the matter assumes that both parties had the same interest in bettering relations with Moscow in the early 1970s. But that was not the case. The U.S. and West Europe were pursuing two different versions of détente. For American imperialism détente was essentially a breathing spell to recover from the defeat in Vietnam, its international economic, strategic military and domestic political repercussions.

The West European bourgeoisie's interest in relaxing the Cold War polarization was more long-term and strategic. Especially as the USSR approached strategic nuclear parity with the U.S., the West European rulers had no desire to be drawn into a military showdown with the Soviets because of America's globalist ambitions and posturing. Typical West German reaction to Carter's war-mongering over Afghanistan was captured in the slogan, Berlin is more important than Kabul! For the rulers of the West German imperialist state, détente has the additional purpose of providing a climate for eventually buying back Prussia and Saxony from the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Social Democrats exploit the national consciousness of the German proletariat on behalf of imperialist irredentism, however diplomatically disguised. Their talk of reuniting the German nation serves a program of *counterrevolution*—overthrowing the collectivist property relations in the DDR. As we have seen, Stalin himself offered as much in his 1952 proposal for a reunited, neutral capitalist Germany. We Trotskyists, in contrast, are unconditional defenders of these historic conquests and call for the *revolutionary reunification* of Germany, through socialist revolution against capitalist-imperialism and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

USec...

(continued from page 5)

tour de force of Stalinist ecumenism). The USec minority document on Afghanistan presumably submitted by Ali and his co-thinkers actually accuses Brezhnev & Co. of something like "left adventurism" in provoking imperialist militarism. It deplores the fact that Soviet intervention allegedly fuels:

> "c. The imperialists' justification for their resumption of the arms race, under the pretext that the Soviet Union is demonstrating in Afghanistan that it intends to use force to impose regimes loyal to it. The Afghanistan affair has already made a shambles of the efforts of the workers movement in the imperialist countries against the step-up of the nuclear arsenal in Europe and the West."
>
> —"Draft Resolution on the Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan," *Intercontinental Press*, 3 March

This is, of course, the very rationale by which Soviet Stalinism has for decades justified *not* supporting revolutions in other countries. "Peaceful coexistence" means precisely: don't "export" revolution; don't export arms to revolutions. Do nothing to upset the imperialists and weaken the "forces of peace" in the capitalist countries.

In the late 1960s the Mandelites invented the term "new mass vanguard" in order to identify themselves with the burgeoning New Left Maoist current against the pro-Moscow CPs. A 1969 USec majority resolution in praise of Maoism states:

> "...the sharp campaign which Peking unleashed against the right-wing opportunist line of the CP's following Moscow's lead...has objectively contributed to deepen the world crisis of Stalinism and to facilitate the upsurge of a new youth vanguard the world over. Inside that youth vanguard the general sympathy for China and Maoist criticism of the Kremlin's revisionism remains deep...."
>
> —"Original Draft Resolution on the 'Cultural Revolution' and Proposed Amendments—Arranged in Two Columns," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, June 1970

When this drivel was written, Peking's criticism of Soviet "revisionism" had become the main ideological basis for declaring the USSR was a "social-imperialist, capitalist" country.

For over a decade the European USec has chased after precisely those elements within the Stalinist milieu which have broken with Moscow in favor of competing nationalisms—for the Maoists, it was the Chinese and lately the Albanian bureaucracies; for the Eurocommunists, their own imperialist bourgeoisies. Mandel has taught his followers that among Stalinists antipathy to the Soviet leadership is the main criterion for healthy political motion. Afghanistan shows many have taken this lesson to heart.

Never given to "sectarian" narrowness, the USec generously included in the "new mass vanguard" various left social-democratic groupings, such as the sector of the French PSU led by Mandel's old mentor, Michel Pablo. And in Britain, for years the main political bedfellow of the IMG has been the "state-cap" Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff, who broke from Trotskyism in 1950, refusing to support the Soviet bloc in the Korean War. Right now, when the Cliffite British SWP is denouncing the Soviet action in Afghanistan as "imperialist," the IMG is holding joint meetings with these anti-Soviet renegades. And at a mid-February IMG national conference, the "majority" (a bare 50 percent) voted to "launch a public campaign to unite the forces of the IMG with those of the SWP." Even the main opposition wanted to follow this liquidationist course, only desiring to hold out for better terms (see "IMG Lurches Toward Cliff" in *Spartacist/Britain*, March 1980).

Afghanistan Explodes Mandel's Détente

How does Mandel square his professed Trotskyism with an orientation toward regrouping with those who refuse to defend the Soviet Union? Simply by proclaiming that defense of the USSR against imperialism is irrelevant in this happy age of détente. Mandel's conception of détente is actually a version of the old 1960s Maoist "superpower" condominium doctrine. He denies that U.S. imperialism remains fundamentally hostile to the Soviet degenerated workers state. Rather he defines the basic relationship as one of jointly suppressing the revolutionary forces throughout the world. Mandel claims that Brezhnev's Russia functions essentially as the gendarme of world capitalism's gendarme, a position in substance (if not in form) identical to that of the New Leftish Maoists and "Third Campists" like Cliff.

Mandel has derided the Spartacist tendency as fixated on Soviet defensism for our contention that Washington has abandoned its post-Vietnam policy of détente and returned to the Cold War path (ideologically expressed in Carter's "Human Rights" campaign). *After* the Sino-Vietnam war last February, he reasserted: "...nothing has changed in the *basic* aspect of the world situation, which is the consistent pursuing of mutual peaceful coexistence and collaboration by Moscow and Washington on a world scale" ("Behind Differences on Military Conflicts in Southeast Asia," *Intercontinental Press*, 9 April 1979). Never mind that Washington rather openly colluded with the Chinese invasion of a Soviet ally. Never mind that the day that the Chinese army crossed the Vietnamese border the State Department warned the Soviets against retaliating in kind. For Mandel, it's U.S./Soviet détente über alles.

His latest book, *Revolutionary Marxism Today*, published a few months before the Afghanistan crisis, actually prophesies:

> "...I would deny that we are entering a new cold war situation in which imperialism, more or less allied to Peking, is preparing an aggressive drive against the Soviet Union....
> "The basic trend in the current world situation, I would argue, is not toward a new, full-fledged cold war between Moscow and Washington, but a continuation of 'peaceful coexistence' that has been pursued for several decades [?!] now."

So when Pablo wanted to tail after the Kremlin in the '50s he invented a theory of "centuries of deformed workers states"; Mandel's 1980s equivalent—aimed at cozying up to anti-Soviet dissidents, Eurocommunists and Jimmy Carter—is "decades of peaceful coexistence."

Marx was fond of the British empiricist saying: facts are stubborn things. In Afghanistan today the defense of the USSR is posed with a directness and immediacy that not even a centrist charlatan like Mandel can dodge. Everyone knows that to call for Soviet withdrawal is to call for the establishment of a fanatically anti-communist government, fully backed by imperialism, on the southern border of the USSR. But for the USec to militarily support the Soviet army in Afghanistan would draw the line against almost every organization, tendency and individual it has sought to regroup with for the past five or even ten years.

After years of sweeping the Russian question under the rug, the USec is now reaping the reward in the form of a massive anti-Soviet bulge in the face of American imperialism's warmongering over Afghanistan. Whether the USec's deeply ingrained cynicism toward program can stave off sharp and even factional polarization over the central questions of revolutionary orientation in a period of heightened bourgeois anti-Sovietism remains to be seen. Is there anything left of the primitive leftist energies which once characterized the young USec cadres who built barricades in the Paris streets in May '68 and carried Vietcong flags in the radical "mobilizations" over Vietnam? Or have "the children of '68" grown up through the years of tailing popular frontism into ordinary anti-Soviet social democrats? This much is clear: the consistent Trotskyist program of the international Spartacist tendency, centering for the backward countries on the struggle for the permanent revolution—the fight for liberation under the leadership not of the "anti-imperialist bourgeoisie" but of the revolutionary proletariat—is the only road forward.

For unconditional military defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states through socialist revolution in the capitalist countries and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies! Extend the gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Lowenstein...

(continued from page 4)

favor of the Jim Crow slate. Martin Luther King played his role in the sellout by pushing the scheme on the MFDP.

It wasn't long before black nationalists, under the slogan "Black Power," drove the whites out of SNCC and other radical civil rights organizations. And who could blame them for rejecting integrationism if for them it meant the ideological hegemony of the Lowensteins and Rauhs? Without a clear revolutionary *class* alternative, even the dead end of black nationalism looked like the high road to liberation compared to Lowenstein's "All the way with LBJ" maneuvers.

"Saint Allard" is also remembered as a political giant-slayer of the 1968 "Dump Johnson" drive which forced the hated Vietnam warrior from the White House. But in the antiwar movement, as in the civil rights movement, Lowenstein's role was to try to bring the radicalizing elements back into the "mainstream" of the Democratic Party. Once again Lowenstein took the lead in urging the defeated "Clean for Gene" McCarthy activists to throw their support to none other than Hubert Humphrey.

The Strange Case of Dennis Sweeney

Paul Cowan suggests that Lowenstein's red-baiting campaign so demoralized black SNCC staffers like Bob Moses that they were driven from the civil rights movement. There is no doubt that Lowenstein came to be regarded by the radical wing of SNCC as a political saboteur. And some felt more than a keen sense of betrayal.

Consider the strange case of Dennis Sweeney, the man who reportedly confessed to firing five shots into Lowenstein. He was recruited by Dean Allard Lowenstein in 1964 for the Mississippi Project as a 20-year-old "brilliant" history student at Stanford University. Sweeney took up his dangerous post at McComb, Mississippi where he was twice injured in night-riding racist bombings of SNCC's "Freedom House." He was harassed by the state of Mississippi, arrested at least half a dozen times (*New York Times*, 17 March). By all accounts Sweeney came through this experience on the side of the black radicals, and he helped wage a bitter struggle against his former mentor Lowenstein. Sweeney was one of the highest ranking white members of SNCC, and one of the last to leave that organization in the period of "black power."

But leave he did. And according to the most recent reports in the press, he then went crazy. He is described as a paranoid full of delusions about the CIA and Allard Lowenstein. The *Washington Post* (16 March) reports that Sweeney was at an anti-CIA demonstration in 1967 after the CIA-NSA connection was blown. It is reported that he believed Allard Lowenstein had ordered the dentist who did free dental work for "the movement" to implant listening devices in the fillings of his teeth. It is worth noting that this delusion concerns the secret organization that tried to kill Castro by poisoning the Cuban leader's shoe polish and his cigars, tested nerve gas dispersion in the New York City subways and tricked unknowing people into taking LSD. In fact, if Sweeney's reported accusation against the CIA is a paranoid delusion, as is likely, then it may be one of the few such accusations against the CIA in the 1960s that turns out to be empty. In any case, Sweeney's fillings can't be checked because he hacked them out.

For the bourgeois media the assassination of Lowenstein was a nearly perfect example of its view of the youth radicalization of the 1960s and the development of the self-absorbed decade of the 1970s. What happened to the thousands of youth in the civil rights movement? In the antiwar movement? The *Washington Post* (16 March) writes of the "tragedy" of "burnt out hopes":

> "Mostly, these children have grown up to be lawyers, nurses, artists, mothers and fathers—ordinary people with special memories.
> "Some dropped out to farm in rural communes. Some found solace in Eastern religions. Others like Sweeney, never fully recovered, never truly reconciled ideals and reality."

Were the choices really adjustment to capitalism's decaying racist status quo or madness? Were those others who refused to become "ordinary people," dirt farmers or Hare Krishnas destined to become mad assassins?

No, the political activism of the 1960s did not merely evolve into the '70s as youthful idealism into the "reality" of adulthood. There was a political fight. Sides were taken and there were victories and defeats. Black SNCC leaders Marion Barry and Ivanhoe Donaldson, for instance, didn't adjust to "reality"; they adjusted to the Democratic Party. They turned their youthful goals inside out. Today they run Washington, D.C. for the capitalists, grinding the largely black population of that city into the ground of poverty and despair.

The tragedy is not just the personal one of Dennis Sweeney. It is that nearly an entire generation of dedicated black and white youth were led to the Democratic Party by reformists who posed as the left. The tragedy was that there was no pole for revolutionary integrationism. For Allard Lowenstein it was a victory for liberalism and the Democratic Party. It is that victory at the expense of black people and the working class that Harrington and the rest celebrate when they mourn Lowenstein's death and praise his life. But there was another road, then as now—of resolute struggle against the Lowensteins and their apologists, the struggle for black liberation through socialist revolution. That is the road of Trotskyism and we leave it to Teddy Kennedy and Michael Harrington, and William Buckley, and The Company, to weep for Allard Lowenstein. ■

British Steel Strike...

(continued from page 9)

docks strike.

The steel workers can give the lead to whole sections of the working class. Leyland workers—100,000 of them—are finally placed for national strike action on April 8, after months of criminal bureaucratic delays. Eight thousand Sheffield engineering workers made it clear that they were ready to strike when they walked out for a week in support of steel workers' picket lines. Delegates from Wales at the recent emergency National Union of Miners conference in London denounced their national and area leaderships for refusing to call out the miners alongside the steel workers. Strike activists have reported that Spartacist League leaflets calling for general strike action have been avidly passed around from one picket shift to the next, from one strike committee to another. They want—and *need*—the general strike, right now!

But while the Tories swing their axe, all the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress (TUC) are prepared to do is organise a few cuts demonstrations and Sunday outings. TUC head Len Murray made no bones about why he couldn't bring himself to even call the scheduled May 14th "day of action" a general strike:

> "Mr Murray said he was not planning a strike to bring down the Government, adding: 'I don't think the British people will tolerate that for one moment. If we did that we would not know what to do with the power we have got'."
> —*Guardian* [London], 19 March

Steel workers: Elect an authoritative national strike committee, linking it up with the area strike committees, stewards committees and other representative bodies in other unions! Steel workers and all workers must fight for a general strike now, not only to win this claim but to smash the Tories and their union-bashing offensive. Tempered by 13 weeks on the picket lines, the steel workers have an historic opportunity to lead their class in struggle. What they need is to link their militancy and determination to a program for victory. Steel workers—stay out and win! Reject the sellout! Fight for a general strike! ■

San Francisco Nazis...

(continued from page 12)

- March 17, 1980, Oceanside—Heavily armed KKKers savagely beat anti-Klan demonstrators.

The fascists can and must be stopped now! But there is no sense calling on the courts and cops to "ban the Klan" and Nazis. At Oceanside, the Klan defied a "ban" and the cops just stood by while they beat the protesters. In Greensboro the cops looked the other way when the KKK murderers opened fire. And a few years ago, when these same Nazis opened a Rudolph Hess' "bookstore" across from a synagogue in San Francisco, the cops arrested a concentration camp survivor as the justifiably enraged residents tore apart this race-hate center. In the name of "evenhandedness" the police protect these murdering terrorists.

It's labor's job to sweep the Nazis off the streets of San Francisco. We have the power. Not a small confrontation between a gang of Nazi hoods and small groups of militants, but thousands of unionists and blacks and all the enemies of fascism in the Bay Area, gathered in a massive demonstration on the same day and the same place where the Nazis want to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday. They want a party for Hitler? Let's give them the party Hitler and his kind deserve! Some say it "can't happen here." We say it better not!

Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday!

AP

Klansmen in battle gear club anti-fascist demonstrators in Oceanside, Ca.

It Better Not Happen Here!

Initial List of Endorsers, April 19 Committee Against the Nazis

The following individuals and organizations have endorsed the April 19 demonstration to "Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday." The demonstration will take place at 11:00 a.m. at the San Francisco Civic Center

Bernie Abrams, survivor of five years in Nazi concentration camps
Larry Ackerman, Steward, CWA Local 9410
ACTWU Local 1414C Executive Board
Matt Ayon, Secretary-Treasurer, IBT-ACA Local 9
Bay Area Spartacist League
Tim Chapman, Steward, ILWU Local 6
George P. Cleveland, Directing Business Representative, IAM District Lodge 56
Rev. Michael Collins, Co-Chair, Affirmation
Virginia Collins, civil rights activist
Walter Collins, civil rights, antiwar activist
Paul Costan, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Crusader, San Francisco gay newspaper
Jim Oanzy, President, ATU Local 1555
Bob Dawson, Vice President OPEIU Local 29
Pete Farruggio, Steward, ILWU Local 6
Rick Flores, Vice President, USWA Local 2869 Fontana, CA
Bob Franklin, Business Agent, IBT Local 265
Charles Garry, attorney
Gay Liberation Alliance, San Francisco
Dr. Carlton Goodlett, editor and publisher, *Sun Reporter*
Stan Gow, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10
Earl F. Grogan, President, APWU, San Francisco Local
Fernando Guerrero, Board of Governors, OCAW Local 1-1978
Hilda Guerrero, Steward, CWA Local 9410
David Hilliard, former Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party, SEIU Local 411
Norman Huntsman, President, District Lodge 56, President Local Lodge 739, IAM
Kathy Ikegami, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Mike Kasian, Steward, ILWU Local 6
Sanford Katz, attorney
Howard Keylor, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10
Bill Kiezel, retiree, UAW Local 1364
Ray King, Executive Board member and Trustee, USWA Local 2869, Fontana, CA
William Kunstler, attorney
Conrad Lynn, attorney
Bob Mandel, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6
Tanya Mandel, Berkeley Women for Peace
Jane Margolis, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410
Hilding Martinson, Business Agent, UE Local 1412
Militant Caucus UAW Local 1364
Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union
Howard Myron, Chief Steward Long Lines Division, CWA Local 9415
New York Gay Activists Alliance
Sophie Polgar, survivor, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp
Mark Pope, past Co-Chair, National Caucus of Gay and Lesbian Counselors
Dave Ramet, ILWU Local 34
F. Thomas Richey, Secretary-Treasurer, IBT Local 265
Robert I. Rowe, President, ACTWU Local 1414C
George Santori, OPEIU Local 3
Henry Schmidt, retired International Vice President, ILWU, leader of 1934 San Francisco general strike
Israel Shahak, anti-Zionist Israeli civil libertarian
Yvonne Smith, Steward, CWA Local 9415
Stan Steiner, author *La Raza* and *Fusang*
Vera Steiner, survivor, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp
Ron Teninty, Business Agent, IBT Local 315
Terrie Valenzuela, Recording Secretary, ACTWU Local 1414C
Robert F. Williams, author, *Negroes With Guns*
Women's Committee, UAW Local 1364
Evelyn Wyatt, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Bob Zellner, civil rights activist
Dorothy Zellner, civil rights activist

Organizational affiliation listed for purposes of identification only

WORKERS VANGUARD

After 5 Months Bosses on the Run, Victory in Sight

Harvester Strikers–Finish the Job!

CHICAGO, March 31—Some 35,000 determined United Auto Workers (UAW) members appear to be on the verge of a big victory against the International Harvester (IH) Company. After 155 days of this bitterly fought war of attrition, the huge agricultural implements manufacturer has reportedly run up the white flag of surrender on the main issue in the strike—the company's attempt to impose forced overtime.

Harvester is the *only* major company covered by the UAW which does *not* have compulsory overtime. Had the company won, this inhuman, body-killing practice would be seen by auto and ag-imp workers as part of the job—something no one can do anything about. But if the Harvester workers nail down their victory, this will show their union brothers on the line at GM, Ford and Deere that they too don't have to work 60-70 hours a week. But they do have to fight to win their rights.

When Harvester squared off against its workforce last November, its union-hating chairman Archie McCardell boasted up and down that he was going to crack the union on this issue. That's what he was brought in for. But the arrogant Harvester boss vastly underestimated the IH ranks, who are among the most militant sectors of the UAW. Once proclaimed as the darling of the business world, even McCardell's fellow executives have soured on him. The 7 April *Business Week* put it bluntly in describing McCardell's debacle: "Harvester Falls Flat On Its Bargaining Goals."

After five months and the longest major UAW strike in history, the company is visibly staggering. Just last month, after reporting a $225 million first-quarter loss, with its suppliers feeling the squeeze and its customers screaming as the prime selling season for farm equipment approached, the company essentially threw in the towel. It tacitly accepted an agreement under which the union would provide lists of *volunteers* composed of plant workers and laid-off employees willing to work extra shifts—which amounts only to a modification of the present contract.

The Harvester strike is not over yet. Still at issue are company attempts to limit in-plant seniority rights at five

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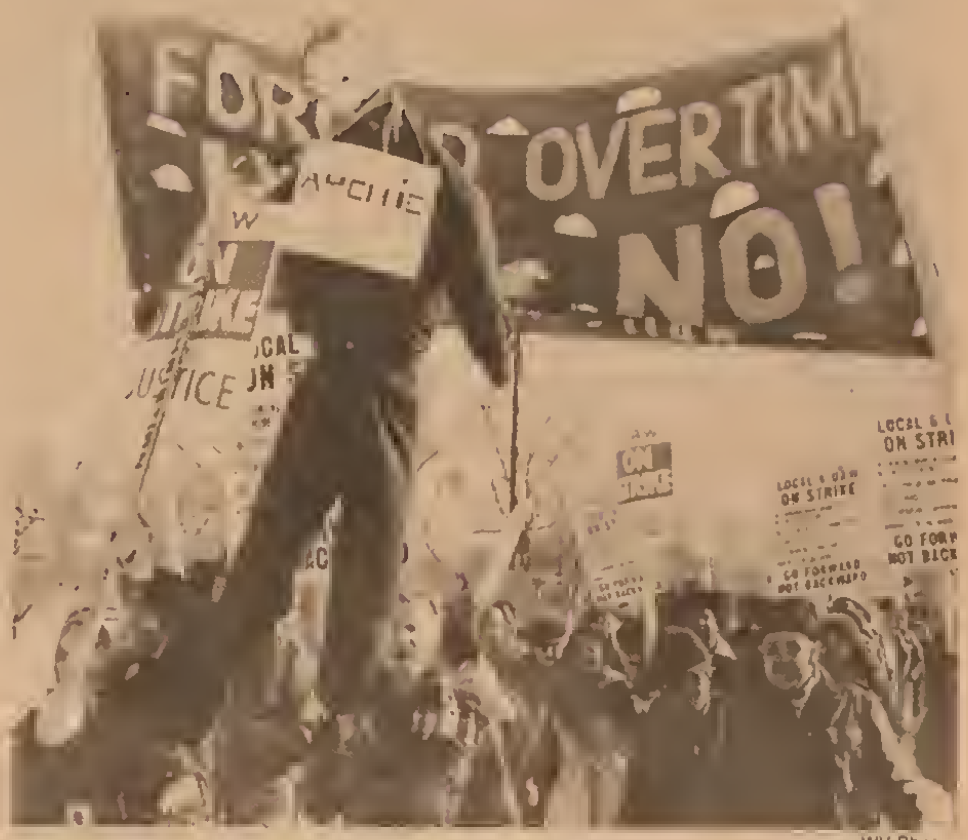

WV Photo

Harvester strikers march with effigy of hated boss Archie McCardell.

San Francisco: Stop Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday!

A Call to Action

APRIL 19 COMMITTEE AGAINST NAZIS

The Nazis say they are going to goose-step into San Francisco with their swastikas and weapons to take over the Civic Center. They want to stage a dangerous provocation for Hitler's birthday, April 19. "Celebrating" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco! The very idea makes your blood boil. The Nazi "National Socialist White Workers Party" says it will rejoice in the torture and genocide of the Third Reich, the death camps with their smell of burning flesh, the teeth of Hitler's victims piled high as mountains. This obscene demonstration must be stopped!

Where the hell do these disgusting little Hitler-lovers think they are? We say San Francisco is a labor town, not a Nazi town, and the fascists are murderous union-busters. This is a city with several hundred thousand homosexuals who know what happened to "social deviants"—along with "non-Aryans," unionists, socialists—in Hitler's Germany. This is a city of blacks who know they are the central target of race terror in America. Of Jewish survivors of the extermination camps, for whom the words "Dachau" and "Auschwitz" are a shriek of pain unforgotten. Latinos and Asian Americans have their own list of victims of racist terror.

Millions of decent working people, Bay Area residents—including German Americans, for whom the scourge of Nazism is especially humiliating—will not stand for the outrage. A massive demonstration of labor, blacks, gays, Latinos, Asian Americans and socialists can stop the Nazi creeps in their tracks. If we don't, if the Nazis march here on April 19, no one will be safe.

And it is none too soon. Strutting in their brown shirts and white sheets, these demented tin pot *"Führers"* exist on the psychopathic fringes of society. But they are no joke. For these sociopathic killers not only dream of the death camps, they have their guns loaded right now, and pointed directly at *you*. That is the meaning of the Klan/Nazi murders in Greensboro, North Carolina last November—carried out in broad daylight.

The Nazis and Klan are rearing their heads in California because they have not been stopped:

- October 13, 1979, Walnut Creek—Nazis rallied while counterdemonstrators were penned up, attacked by police dogs and maced by cops.
- December 8, 1979, San Francisco—Fifteen KKK thugs staged an armed show of force at the city's Federal Building.
- March 1, 1980, Fontana—150 Klansmen burned crosses in this heavily black and Chicano steel town.

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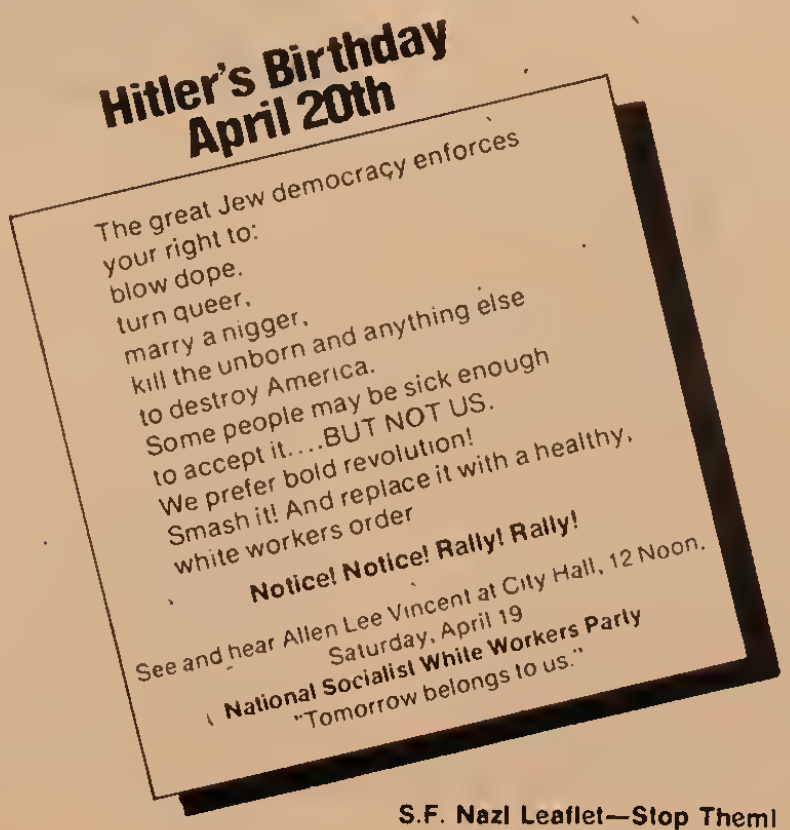

S.F. Nazi Leaflet—Stop Them!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 254 18 April 1980

Hitler-Lovers Turn Tail

San Francisco: All Out on the 19th!

SAN FRANCISCO, April 15—The Nazis are on the run. Whether or not they get run right out of town depends on what happens in the next few days.

Only last week two-bit Nazi führer Allen Vincent and his little gang of demented storm troopers were getting ready to raise their swastika right here at the S.F. Civic Center—a "birthday party" for Hitler on April 19! But that was last week. That was before outrage against these racist terrorists swept this city. From the heart of the labor movement to the Mission District, to Sunset and the Castro came waves of support for the call to action by the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN): "Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday." Just tonight CWA (phone workers) Locals 9410 and 9415 in S.F. and Oakland have endorsed the April 19th labor-based demonstration. For the first time in years a labor-led militant mass mobilization was building that could do the job.

The Nazis saw it coming, too. This was not another street fight with a small group of adventurous leftists or a pacifist "ban the Klan" vigil. This was the Bay Area labor movement—which has the real power that the Nazis fear most.

So the Nazis went straight to their protectors, the police. And the cops and the city administration are working overtime to head off the ANCAN mobilization. On April 10 San Francisco police chief Cornelius Murphy revoked the Nazis' permit, saying the cops could not protect the "National Socialist White Workers' Party" from the estimated 5,000 anti-Nazis he expected would overwhelm the Nazis' provocation (see excerpts from Murphy's press conference, in this issue). Murphy hoped that if the Nazis say they won't show, then the ANCAN mobilization will cool off. So Murphy says the Nazis won't show. The Nazis and cops must not get away with this scheme to demobilize the enemies of fascism! Too much is at stake.

In hopes of making the anti-Nazi mobilization go away, the media tried to black out the ANCAN action. A Channel 7 KGO reporter on his way to cover an ANCAN press conference was approached by the cops and told in no uncertain terms, "You don't want to cover that." So he didn't. But the blackout can't last while the population is welcoming tens of thousands of ANCAN leaflets and posters, and labor militants are working to mobilize their coworkers behind the demonstration. A speaker at a recent "Carnival 80" Latin cultural festival drew enthusiastic applause as soon as he identified himself as part of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis. The thousands attending knew what that meant, blackout or not.

The cops revoked the Nazis' permit on a legal technicality, providing them with cover for a retreat. The cops said there will be no Nazi rally on the 19th. Hitler's birthday party is canceled in San Francisco? Good—if it's true. It is already a victory if the Nazis have been made afraid to carry their campaign of racist terror into the streets on April 19. We are told that the Nazis will not "Heil Hitler" and his mass murder machine here on that day.

But then what? The Nazis and the Klan are still active and growing. They are waiting for this present snowballing militant anti-Nazi action to be rolled back so that they can come out again—if not in San Francisco this Saturday then in Fontana or Walnut Creek or somewhere else—with their burning crosses and truncheons. We need a fighting labor movement that will mobilize the unions along with blacks, Asian-Americans, Jews, Latins, gays to smash the Nazis and Klan whenever and wherever they stick up their banner of genocide. And the ANCAN mobilization is one important step in that direction.

The last few days have once again shown that working people and their allies get only what they are willing to fight for. With the labor leadership in full retreat under the blows of strike-breaking mayor Feinstein, the Nazis thrived. No wonder they were given a permit while the city stalled on a permit for the anti-Nazis. But when plans for the ANCAN mass mobilization started to snowball, with the support of leading labor figures, things changed. The Nazi permit was revoked. ANCAN got its permit. And the Board of Supervisors passed a paper condemnation of the Nazi rally. The threat of a broad-based labor mobilization is what did it. Let's not stop now.

The Nazi gutter misfits recruit to their racist terrorism by preying upon the disorganization, disunity, passivity and apparent social weakness of their

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April 19 Committee Against Nazis Press Conference

They Won't Celebrate Hitler's Birthday Here!

WV Photo

Bob Mandel,
Member of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 General Executive Board

Yesterday, as all your listeners know, the police chief revoked the permit that had been given to the Nazis for their rally on April 19. And what came out in his press conference was very clear: that they did not think that they could provide protection to the Nazis against the 5,000 demonstrators who were going to come out to make it clear that the Nazis would not be in this city to celebrate Hitler's birthday.

The April 19 Committee is based mostly on the labor unions. Longshoremen and warehousemen, postal workers, Teamsters, office workers, machinists have made it clear that they would be out by the thousands to run the Hitler-lovers out of town. And we don't think that it's because of some so-called error in the application that the police chief suddenly found grounds for revoking the permit. The Klan was allowed to come into this city December 8 with the okay of the local police, the mayor and federal officials and stage an armed demonstration at the Federal Building December 8. The only reason that the Nazis and their Klan allies aren't showing up and are scared on April 19 is because our committee had won such widespread support in the labor movement and from the black community, the Latino community, the Jewish community, Asian-Americans and the gay community. It has not been the mayor; it has not been the police chief; it has not been the board of supervisors that stopped them. It's been the threat of a massive labor demonstration. And we're saying to everybody: This is an important victory. We should follow it up, by a massive demonstration next week, to say that we understand that the Nazis and the Klan are trying to grow, [but] they will not set foot in this city publicly. This is a labor town and they are not welcome here.

So we urge everyone to turn out next week as a massive confirmation that the Klan and the Nazis will not ride in San Francisco. The other thing that I would like to say is that we've been getting major support not only in the Bay Area but nationally; so that we just received the endorsement of Thomas Gleason, who's the International president of the International Longshoremen's Association, the East Coast longshoremen's union. As our endorsers list shows, we have support from as far away as Israel.

WV Photo

Willie Lee Bell,
Civil Rights Chairman of International Association of Machinists (IAM), Lodge 739

I'm the Civil Rights Chairman of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers in Alameda. I am in support of the move to outlaw racism, Nazism and anything that suppresses and oppresses all people, minorities or otherwise. And I'm here to say that I'm requesting and urging all leaders of all the labor organizations in the community and area to support us with whatever is necessary in order to achieve a means of protecting the community from the oppressive violence, killing, murder. Also I would like to say that I feel that today with our presence here we have a much more peaceful environment than we would have with the Nazis performing.

WV Photo

William Mandel,
Commentator for KPFA Radio
[William Mandel is an author and former United Press expert on Russia during World War II. He has taught at Golden Gate University and the University of California.]

During World War II Hitler's propagandists would drop leaflets over Soviet troops, especially those commanded by Jewish generals—of whom there were a considerable number—saying, "What are you fighting for the Jews for? This is a war for the Jews." And that particular version of anti-Semitism has been maintained since the war, largely by Israel and with the help—strangely enough—of the U.S. government, in that they have forgotten that the Jews exterminated by Hitler were only one-quarter of the *civilians* killed by Hitler according to the evidence presented by U.S. Supreme Court Justice Jackson, who was our prosecutor at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial. The Nazis kept very careful records, and Jackson demonstrated from *their* records that 25 million civilians were killed, of whom Jews were a quarter. The gypsies were also exterminated as an ethnic group. But in addition he had a modified racial policy to kill Yugoslavs, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians with a specific purpose of reducing the Slavic peoples in number so they'd never be strong enough to challenge Germany again. His policy also involved the killing of all homosexuals.... This is important to understand because the United States is a signatory to the genocide convention.

When the Nazis rally, that is incitement to commit genocide. When they march on Hitler's birthday that is incitement to commit genocide. This is against the law which our country's signature commits us to obey. I say this because there are the civil libertarian arguments, and the police chief used that yesterday, that the Nazis have a right to freedom of speech. As far as I am concerned—and this is UN policy, it applies to South Africa and many other places—freedom of speech is barred to those who would kill human beings solely by accident of birth. Perhaps that's the most important thing I can leave with you.

WV Photo

Al Nelson,
Bay Area Spartacist League

It was clear from chief of police Murphy's statements yesterday that the only reason that the permit of the Nazis was revoked for April 19 was the fear on the part of the police department that they would not be able to guarantee the safety of Allen Vincent and his little group of Hitler-lovers, because of police intelligence that as many as 5,000 people would show up.

He also made it very clear that in his opinion the Nazis had a perfect right to speak anywhere, assemble any time and say anything they want in the city of San Francisco. Now we disagree with this. And we think this shows what the real attitude of the authorities is—equating those who would kill with those who would protest the killers, putting them on the same level.

Despite the fact that the Nazis' permit was revoked, we understand from an article in one of today's newspapers that Allen Vincent has announced that they seek to reapply for another permit. In any case, what we want to do next week is to show these racists, these labor-hating terrorists—which is what they are—what they can expect if they try to show their face in the city of San Francisco again. This is not a Nazi town. This is a labor town. This is a town of blacks, of gays, of Asian-Americans, of Latinos, hard-working people who have a right to live in safety in this city. As long as these killers are allowed to roam the streets with their Gestapo uniforms and their hoods, the city of San Francisco and all its decent people are not safe.

We say that there's no question of free speech involved here. It's simply a question of the self-defense of the population of the city against the alarming growth of the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan, not just in the state of California but also nationally. In the last year the Department of Justice published figures that there's been a 450 percent increase in Klan- and Nazi-related activities, which is a euphemism for cross-burnings, beatings, shootings, murders, etc.

The program—if you want to call it that—of the Nazis and the KKK was amply demonstrated in November in Greensboro, North Carolina when in broad daylight with the police standing just blocks away, they pull up in their car, open the hood of the car, pull out automatic weapons and pistols and start firing pointblank into a crowd of peaceful protesters. The protesters had several things in common: they were labor organizers, they were for the rights of black people and they were leftists. Those categories cover a lot of people in this country and in this city, and that is the program of Allen Vincent; that is the program of Tom Metzger, the statewide head of the KKK.

In yesterday's [Oakland] *Tribune* there was an article that Tom Metzger—who is running for Congress, if you will, on the Democratic Party slate in La Jolla, southern California—was booed and beaten off the stage when he attempted to speak to a crowd of 500 students. They threw everything they could get their hands on, broke through the police lines and ran him out of the stadium where he was speaking. We think that this exemplifies the justified outrage of the people of that area, and we know, from the preliminary work that the April 19 Committee Against Nazis has done, that this outrage exists in the city of San Francisco. The main thing that will make this important is a massive turnout by the organized labor movement. This is what is represented by the overwhelming weight of the organizers of this demonstration. ■

Additional Endorsers of ANCAN

Marcel Beaulrère, survivor of Buchenwald, co-author of "Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald," 20 April 1945
Consortium of United Indian Nations
Alvin S. Gant, President, Mail Handlers Local 302
Thomas Gleason, International President, International Longshoremen's Association
Jim Grant, former Charlotte 3 defendant; USW Legal Services, North Carolina
Daniel Guérin, author of *Fascism and Big Business*
Jewish Student Union, San Francisco State University
National Post Office Mail Handlers Local 302, San Francisco
Dalegor Suchecki, Executive Director, Polish Community Center, San Francisco
Women's Building of the Bay Area

San Francisco Police Chief Says:

Cops Can't Protect Nazis Against Thousands

Excerpted remarks by San Francisco Police Chief Cornelius Murphy at a press conference at the S.F. Hall of Justice on 10 April 1980:

"Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. The purpose of this press conference is to publicly announce that I have revoked the permit which had been issued to the National Socialist White Workers' Party, otherwise known as the Nazi Party. The permit was issued in error in that the application was incomplete and it did not provide us with enough information to adequately police the event.

"A representative of the Police Department has discussed this matter with Mr. Allen Vincent of the Nazi Party and it is mutually agreed that the rally would not be held in San Francisco at this time and there are no known plans at this time for any future rallies. Any questions?"

Question: "What was the matter with the application or was that just an excuse to revoke it?"

Murphy: "No, it wasn't actually an excuse. The information that was given in the permit was just not enough information for us to prepare an adequate policing for the event. As I said before, we did meet with Mr. Vincent and explained this to him and we explained the very real possibility of violence there and our ability—or inability, whichever way you want to look at it—to adequately protect the people who wanted to demonstrate and the counterdemonstrators. Therefore Mr. Vincent decided that he would not hold the rally."

WV Photo

Oakland cops guard Nazi "white power" rally in 1977.

Question: "Mr. Vincent didn't indicate he was going to court on this at all?"

Murphy: "No, Mr. Vincent clearly indicated that he will not go to court and that he will not attempt to have the rally in San Francisco."

Question: "It had nothing to do with the finger marks on his neck?"

Murphy: "Well, I wasn't present at the meeting where it was said, but the message that was sent to him through me was that I just wanted to make it very clear to him that we would to the best of our ability police the event, but from the intelligence that we had gathered, the groups that were going to counterdemonstrate, that there could be upwards of 5,000 people there and that would severely limit our ability to provide him with protection."

Question: "I understand that the April 19 Committee Against Nazis has also applied for a permit at the Civic Center Plaza.... If they're granted a permit, wouldn't the Nazis come back and say, look..."

Murphy: "No. The Nazis will not come on April 19."

Question: "What kind of deployment of police would you need for a group of 5,000?"

Murphy: "A group of 5,000, depending on the nature of the group, we might have no more than a sergeant and two patrolmen down there. A group such as the people that we anticipated coming to this particular rally, we would probably have had upwards of 600 police officers there, and mutual aid on standby."

Question: "Last autumn there was a similar rally in Walnut Creek and basically about a half a dozen Nazis showed up. But as far as law enforcement, at least it seemed as if everyone in the East Bay had a million representatives."

Murphy: "No doubt about it, yes."

Question: "Was Mr. Vincent told that he would be arrested if he appeared in a uniform on April 19?"

Murphy: "No, this is the United States of America. Mr. Vincent can appear any time, any place, in any uniform he so chooses, as long as he's not trying to impersonate a police officer. He's entitled to his rights; whether or not you or I disagree with him is not really material to the fact...."

Question: "The implication here is that, for whatever reasons, Mr. Vincent's First Amendment rights have disappeared."

Murphy: "...This is not a question of First Amendment rights. Mr. Vincent *elected* not to come to San Francisco. When we spelled it out to him, our policing problem for the event, he elected not to come. We didn't intimidate him, we didn't coerce him, and if that had been the case, he certainly would have been free to go to court and get that permit issued and come on down and do it, but he does not *want* to do it." ■

Reformists Cop Out on Stop Nazis Demo

ANCAN's April 19 Mobilization to Stop the Nazis has stirred the powerful Bay Area labor movement, gathering widespread support from thousands of trade unionists. Against ANCAN, which insists the Nazis can and must be stopped through militant mass labor action, stand S.F. mayor Dianne Feinstein, the cops and the courts. And with them, too, the leaders of certain reformist "socialist" groups who have done their best to obstruct and ignore the anti-Nazi rally.

For years in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), union bureaucrats supported by the Stalinist-reformist Communist Party (CP) proclaimed their support to "broad anti-fascist people's struggles." But when a labor mobilization to stop the fascists is initiated by ILWU members in the Militant Caucus, Local 6 bureaucrats line up with Mayor Feinstein against it. At the April 12 ILWU Local 6 convention in Oakland, Local President Keith Eickman and Secretary-Treasurer LeRoy King postponed action all afternoon on the popular ANCAN call, endorsed by 55 local members. Finally they adjourned the meeting to avoid a vote.

Local 6 general executive board member Victoria Mercado, a well-known CP supporter, did her bit for Feinstein too, tabling a motion to establish a "standing committee against the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis." These labor toadies for strikebreaker Feinstein have taken on the repulsive job of trying to head off the gut outrage in this country against the Nazi scum, particularly on the part of workers, Jews and blacks. Interestingly, even Oakland's bourgeois black mayor Lionel Wilson was seen dropping a dollar on the ANCAN table following his keynote address at the convention.

Reformist groups have tried to insulate their members from the powerful call to action of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) mobilized a squad of goons to stop well-known trade unionist Jane Margolis (who was dragged off the CWA convention floor by Carter's Secret Service last summer) from speaking for ANCAN at an SWP "public" forum April 12. But the pressure from the ranks is mounting to take a side against the Nazis. Even some *Militant* salesmen have helped hand out ANCAN leaflets, despite the SWP leadership's cowardly and destructive policy. The same thing happened with some Latino supporters of Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), who helped ANCAN hand out hundreds of leaflets in the Mission District last weekend. When the sectarian RCP honchos tried to squelch this class impulse, they were told by their own supporters that all must stand firm together to stop the Nazis. ■

Every $ Helps Stop Nazis

The April 19 Committee Against Nazis urgently needs funds! ANCAN supporters in the trade unions, in poor, Jewish and minority communities—the Nazis' main targets for genocide—are working hard to teach these fascist creeps a lesson they'll never forget. Tens of thousands of leaflets are being distributed; people are putting stacks in their workplaces, in bars, in taxicabs, on campuses—and asking for more. Posters, sound equipment, chartered buses cost money too—ANCAN has bills totaling several thousand dollars so far. Help make April 19 a real mass mobilization against the Nazis! Send $10, $25, $50—whatever you can—to support ANCAN. Contributors will receive the ANCAN "STOP THE NAZIS!" poster. Send your check or money order to: ANCAN, c/o P.O. Box 6571, San Francisco, CA 94101.

Statement of Solidarity from David Hilliard,

organizer for SEIU Local 411 in Los Angeles and former Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party

There is no defense or security for blacks, Chicanos and Jews except through unified resistance to racist Klan/Nazi terror and violence. The only defense we have is a unified resistance to the Klan and Nazis. We have to present one strong bastion. I urge the fullest possible support to this rally. Our security and rights can be secured only by protesting against the Klan and Nazis and their outright murders of blacks and Jews, and harassment of Mexicans at the border. It is in the interest of social justice to come out and show your discontent with the Nazis. I urge folks to come out in the broadest possible coalition. Malcolm X said that if blacks are attacked they are entitled to retaliate. Folks don't have to ask for a right to self-defense. All forces against racism should come out and this issue cuts across all ethnic boundaries.

Stop Nazis...

(continued from page 1)

intended victims. They want to look "military" and bold while others look the other way. That's why they murdered leftists and labor organizers in Greensboro in broad daylight. That's why they want to goose-step right into the Civic Center. That's why they wave their weapons around in front of City Hall. But the powerful labor movement of this city is not looking the other way now! We are out to organize a show of force that will really "Stop the Nazis."

Even now the Nazis continue to advertise for the April 19 birthday party for Hitler. But we've got them on the run. Let's finish the job! All out for April 19! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 254 18 April 1980

How Stalinist Treachery Helped Imperialists Rearm After Vietnam

THAT WAS THE DETENTE THAT WAS

If the Vietnam War indirectly led to a weakening of the U.S. alliance with the European imperialist powers, Washington partly recouped by pulling in Maoist/Stalinist China. Both Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger were toying with the idea of using China against Russia even before they took over the White House in 1969. In this they showed a greater sense for global power politics, unaffected by formal ideological posture, than most American bourgeois politicians. Kissinger fancies himself a *Realpoliticker* conservative of the Metternichian school. Nixon is just a power-hungry creep with no principles and believes everyone else is too.

According to Kissinger, the Kremlin's extreme and visible nervousness over a U.S. rapprochement with China had just the opposite effect. It convinced the Nixon administration that the China card had a high value. Viewing the present situation, one shouldn't forget that in the late 1960s and early '70s the Soviets were more than willing to form an alliance with the U.S. against China, including for military purposes. In early 1969 Dobrynin, the Russian ambassador to Washington, suggested to Kissinger that the USSR might recognize Taiwan as an independent state. More seriously, in 1970 the Soviets proposed to the U.S. an "accidental nuclear war agreement," which contained a provision allowing each party to take action

BOOK REVIEW

WHITE HOUSE YEARS
HENRY KISSINGER
LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY, 1979

PART TWO OF TWO

against any "nuclear provocation" by a third country. As Kissinger observes, this was nothing but an appeal for American endorsement of a Soviet preemptive attack on China's nuclear facilities.

Kissinger, appealing to balance-of-power doctrine, rejected these Soviet overtures for an alliance against China. From the very outset he saw an alliance with China as baving military value, if only in diverting Soviet forces from NATO Europe:

> "In such circumstances, the Chinese threat against many of our friends in Asia would decline; at the same time, by evoking the Soviet Union's concerns along its long Asian perimeter, it could also ease pressures on Europe."
> —*White House Years*

Kissinger reveals that even before Nixon's visit to Mao country in February 1972, the U.S. had decided to defend China against the Soviet Union. During the India-Pakistan war in late 1971 the White House believed the Chinese might intervene on behalf of their battered Pakistani allies. The Soviets in turn might attack China on the basis of their treaty with Indira Gandhi's India. Kissinger explains White House thinking at this point:

> "Nixon understood immediately that if the Soviet Union succeeded in humiliating China, all prospects for world equilibrium would disappear. He decided—and I fully agreed—that if the Soviet Union threatened China we would not stand idly by."

Back in those days of the Vietnam War the Mao regime and even more so its foreign followers were rather reluctant to proclaim openly their new alliance with American imperialism. In his toast on Nixon's visit, Chou En-lai simply spoke of "establishing normal state relations on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty." Foreign Maoists even claimed Nixon had gone to China to pay obeisance to the Chairman. Wilfred Burchett writing in the *Guardian* (16 February 1972), then in its mainstream Maoist phase, described Nixon's Peking summit like something out of the Wizard of Oz, as "a tribute-paying visit by the President of the superpower of the West." Later, pro-"Gang of Four" Maoists have tried to pin the China/U.S. alliance on Mao successor Deng Xiao-ping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing).

Kissinger toasts Stalinist betrayers Gromyko and Chou.

Der Spiegel

In their memoirs, Nixon and Kissinger give a rather different account of their relations with Mao. In his first *secret* talks with Mao the U.S. imperialist chief baldly offered China a common bloc against the USSR as the main enemy of both countries:

> "The question is, which danger does the People's Republic of China face? Is it the danger of American aggression—or of Soviet aggression?...
> "...it is what brings us, China and America, together, not in terms of philosophy and not in terms of friendship—although I believe that is important—but because of national security I believe our interests are in common...."
> —*RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*

According to Kissinger, Mao replied: "At the present time, the question of aggression from the United States or aggression from China is relatively small." (This while U.S. planes were carpet-bombing North Vietnam!) Kissinger logically concluded: "By a process of elimination, the Soviet Union was clearly Mao's principal security concern."

While we Trotskyists were not privy to this meeting, we declared in the March 1972 *Workers Vanguard* headline: "Nixon and Mao—The New Alliance." We figured the leader of U.S. imperialism did not go to China to dine on Peking duck or see the Great Wall. Kissinger agrees with our assessment. He recounts that on his numerous visits to China between 1972 and 1976 its leaders always pressured him to take a harder line against the Soviet Union. He summed up U.S. relations with China *under Mao*: "...I only half-jokingly called the People's Republic one of our stronger NATO allies."

SALT Hoax

The 1972 Stategic Arms Limitation Treaty was the centerpiece of détente, certainly in the Kremlin's eyes. SALT I (which required the dismantling of *Soviet* but not American missiles) resulted from the retardation of U.S. strategic weapons programs because of the Vietnam War. Washington sought an agreement which would allow it to catch up after Vietnam while arresting the Soviets' momentum. For example, during the course of the war the U.S. Navy stopped building Polaris submarines, but the new, superior Trident submarine wasn't scheduled to become operational until 1978. So Washington demanded (and Moscow agreed) that submarine-launched missiles be included in the freeze on offensive missiles for five years, just about the time needed for the Trident to enter the seas.

For the U.S., SALT was rather like a ceasefire negotiated by a beleaguered army to buy time to move up new reserves. Here is how Kissinger in his 3 February 1979 *Economist* interview described the 1972 "arms limitation" treaty:

> "Our strategy was to agree on a five-year freeze—the interval we judged would enable us to catch up by developing cruise missiles, a new submarine (Trident), a new ICBM (MX) and the B-1 bomber....
> "We froze a disparity which we inherited in order to gain time to reverse the situation. And we did. We stopped no programme; we accelerated several.... If there had been no agreement, we could have done no more: and we would have been worse off *because the Soviets were in a position to add numbers immediately and we were not.*" [our emphasis]

Contrary to popular propaganda, SALT I did *not* freeze the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles at the then-existing level; it merely changed their form. There was one new strategic weapon in which the U.S. had a clear lead, the multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRV). Termed a "warhead," this weapon is in a sense a small guided missile which rides most of the way to an enemy country on a larger missile before separating from it. One Minuteman III, with its three MIRVs, is in effect three separate missiles capable of hitting widely distant targets.

The U.S. first tested MIRV in 1968 and first deployed them in 1970. At the time of the SALT agreement in 1972 the Soviets hadn't even tested this weapon (they were to do so the following year). Moscow naturally proposed a freeze on the deployment of MIRV, and Washington refused. Nixon took a hard line: no MIRV, no SALT. And in the eight years since SALT I the U.S. has added three MIRV warheads to its nuclear arsenal *every day!*

Why did the Soviets agree to an arms treaty so advantageous for the U.S.? Why didn't they push ahead with their strategic weapons programs when the Pentagon was still under the burden (political as much as fiscal) of Vietnam? The Soviet Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism has long had as a central focus ending or at least constraining the arms race. In the early 1970s the Soviet Union's national output and standard of living were only 40 percent of the United States'. Thus, keeping up with the military arsenal of its wealthy, implacable capitalist-imperialist enemy is an enormous drain on the Soviet economy and a harsh sacrifice for the Soviet people. In the 1950s Nelson Rockefeller (Henry Kissinger's political mentor) advocated a galloping arms race as the most effective way to weaken the Soviet economy. Conversely, the Kremlin bureaucracy has chased the will-o'-the-wisp of arms limitation with the imperialists in order to free scarce resources for other uses.

Over and above the Soviet bureaucracy's more-or-less constant desire for ending the arms race, there are likely specific reasons why in 1972 the Kremlin made the extraordinary concessions which led to SALT I. They figured that after Vietnam the Pentagon would greatly accelerate its strategic weapons build-up. Perhaps they believed SALT would restrict this. Or maybe they half believed their own illusion-mongering

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WORKERS VANGUARD
SUPPLEMENT
11 April 1980

NY Transit Strike:

New York Post photograph by Scull. © 1980 New York Post Corporation.

APRIL 8—After eight days of the New York transit strike, there is no doubt on the picket lines that Mayor Koch and the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) are out to bust the union. Every day bus and subway workers are told that they do not have the right to strike, that they will be forced to pay huge fines, that their union leaders could be jailed, that even their jobs are in jeopardy according to the strike-breaking mayor. Every day they watch Ed Koch crank up one of the most vicious anti-union propaganda campaigns ever seen.

Today Judge John Monteleone slapped a total of $1 million in fines for contempt of court against the transit unions under the state's Taylor Law banning strikes by public employees. Further fines are expected Thursday when the unions go back to court. And in a calculated move to split the unions, the fines have been disproportionately stacked against the smaller Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), with 6 percent of the strikers and one quarter of the fines. In reaction, the ATU International has declared this an unauthorized strike, ordering its members back to work.

But make no mistake. The men walking the line from 241st Street to Coney Island have real power, and they can win. The Transport Workers Union (TWU) is not a weak organization of clerical workers but the powerhouse of NYC labor. And every day the transit workers shut down the city they strike a blow for all New York workers and public employees across the country. They are not about to giveback, "buy back" or give up. Transit workers: don't buckle to the bosses' threats! Close it tight—stay out and win! No one goes back until everyone goes back! All NYC labor must actively support the transit strike!

For several days everyone was taking stock, not quite sure what the impact of the first NYC transit strike in 14 years would be. The TWU solidly shut down the city's bus and subway system—the trains aren't running. Koch, however, is running around the city denouncing the unions and rallying the middle class politically for his all-out war against the unions. Both sides are dug in for a cold, hard economic duel, waiting to see whose nerve breaks first. But things can't go on like this for long. Underneath all the "funstrike" atmosphere lies the threat of bringing in the army or National Guard. And if they do, then Carter, Koch and Carey will find out that you can't run the subways with bayonets and court injunctions!

The TWU strikers are facing a determined union-busting offensive being waged by a united capitalist class. As transit workers walked out, the liberal *New York Times* (2 April) called for a long strike, editorializing against a "premature settlement" and "ruinous contracts." Investment banker Felix Rohatyn, head of "Big MAC" and architect of the 1974-76 "fiscal crisis," contended that Carter should have headed off the transit strike by imposing a wage freeze (*New York Post*, 5 April). With the city in financial receivership to the banks and the federal government and the national wage limits at stake, you can bet that Washington is already involved. Especially in a Carter-Reagan election the racist WASP politicians who run the country will be on the warpath against New York. As we have said:

> "They act as if they would like to see this black, Jewish, Puerto Rican, Italian and union town sliced off and floated into the Atlantic Ocean. But the capitalists ultimately *need* New York, as they will quickly find out in a transit strike!"
>
> —"NYC Transit Showdown," *WV* No. 252, 21 March 1980

The major cause of the walkout has been intransigence by the MTA and city bosses. Meanwhile, within the union there has been strong pressure for a strike, reflecting increasing opposition to the no-fight policies of the TWU Local 100 leadership of John Lawe. Divisions in the union leadership reflect not only a growing militancy in the ranks but also the changing racial composition of a union that was once predominantly white and heavily Irish, and is now roughly half black and other minorities. They also reflect the fact that transit workers along with all city employees have seen their real wages drastically cut in the last half decade. Now, for the first time since the bankers' and capitalist politicians' assault on NYC labor and social services began, the most powerful municipal union in

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Transit Workers: They may have you by the throat, but you've got them by the balls!

Ranks Explode Over...

British Steel Strike Sellout

LONDON, April 5—The longest national strike in post-war Britain ended two days ago when 150,000 British Steel Corporation (BSC) workers were forced back to work by their union leadership. Instead of the 20 per cent wage rise with no strings and no redundancies [layoffs], the demands for which militant strikers had battled for 13 weeks, they returned on the basis of a humiliating arbitrated settlement. The deal announced by Lord Lever's "Committee of Inquiry" consists of an 11 per cent basic wage rise tied to "productivity" (speed-up) bonuses of 4.5 per cent to be negotiated locally—while inflation is raging at 19 per cent annually. This abject sellout—barely 1 per cent more than BSC had offered six weeks earlier—also gives management the green light to eliminate fully one-third of the existing jobs. Thus the union tops have handed Margaret Thatcher's Tory government a victory for its programme of vicious attacks on the unions and the workers' living standards.

The steel workers were not slow in expressing their outrage at this deal. On April 1 over 100 pickets, drawn mainly from South Yorkshire and Wales, greeted the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) negotiating team with jeers and catcalls as it emerged following its 41 to 27 vote for the settlement. Delegates who had supported the sellout were kicked, spat at and assailed with cries of "you're out," "you're fired," "that's it for you, you won't get reelected" and "sellout." Scuffles broke out between cops and enraged militants who were attempting to stop cameramen from taking their pictures—though a Spartacist photographer was left alone. "She's ok, she's from 'Spartacus'," said a picket to his mate.

The speed with which ISTC head Bill Sirs and his cronies forced through the return to work reflected their fear that the strike was on the verge of spreading. Even as the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) steel delegates were meeting in London's Transport House on April 1 to approve the settlement, in the same building T&G dockers were voting to call for a one-day national dock strike the following day in solidarity with the 12-day-old Liverpool dock strike over the blacking ["hot-cargoing"] of scab steel. The steel delegates voted a return to work ignorant of the dockers' decision.

At a picketers' meeting that evening at the Victory Club in Sheffield, South Yorkshire there was not a striker to be found who saw Sirs' deal as a victory. And the next day at a mass meeting of 3,000 Sheffield and Rotherham steel men, the local bureaucrats pointed the guilty finger at the union tops but pleaded for a return to work nonetheless. They almost lost the day when ISTC divisional officer Keith Jones swore from the platform, "We were not party to the settlement in London but we've got to live with it, and we will and *you* will." The response was a deafening chorus of "20 per cent! 20 per cent!" Rumours that flying pickets from Wales were headed for Yorkshire were greeted with an enthusiastic acclamation that the picket lines would be respected.

But even within hours of the return to work the militant steel men demonstrated that their fighting spirit had not been broken. When the BSC disciplined two workers in Rotherham and another in Port Talbot, South Wales for refusing to unload lorries [trucks] which had been blacked for crossing picket lines in the strike, new picket lines were immediately thrown up in Sheffield, Rotherham and Port Talbot. The strike soon spread to plants in Stocksbridge and Teeside to include a total of 25,000 workers. At Port Talbot, threatened with 12,000 redundancies this year, the strikers set up a mass picket of 1,000 men. Some 700 of the angry pickets stormed and briefly occupied the plant's pay office after the company failed to pay them the £50 return-to-work bonus which had been part of the settlement. Steel workers in Scotland and Scunthorpe were also considering joining the new walkout.

Spartacist Britain

British steel strikers demonstrate in London March 9.

A day later the Yorkshire strikers were ordered back to work by their local officials, with Port Talbot following suit the next morning. After several hours of discussion with management at TGWU strike headquarters in Rotherham on April 4 local officials announced to the score of pickets standing outside that the wildcat strike had been ended by BSC's agreement to reinstate the victimised workers and "investigate" the question of the blacklisted lorry firm. As two days earlier they had screamed "sellout" at Sirs & Co., these militants now yelled "sellout" at the local misleaders.

The treachery meted out to the steel strikers has ramifications far beyond the wretched pay deal. In the wake of the sellout a national strike at British Leyland called for April 8 has been whittled down to a handful of plants. The government's anti-union Employment Bill is waiting in the wings as are over 50,000 redundancies in the steel industry and a new round of attacks on living standards, exemplified in the budget introduced in Parliament two weeks ago. In this context, Sirs' posture that the sellout is preparation "to gird our loins for the next struggle, in which we will fight the case for jobs" is truly obscene. Yet this disgusting apology was echoed by the Socialist Workers Party and International Marxist Group even before the strikers had actually gone back.

Nonetheless, the bosses had better tread warily. Not since 1974 has Britain been so close to a general strike. The steel men have been defeated, betrayed, but they have not been broken. "It could flare up again," said one Rotherham militant after the latest walkout was quelled. To make sure the next battle ends in victory, the best militants must now set about drawing the lessons of this defeat: the crying need to cohere a revolutionary opposition to Labourism. As archaic British industry grows increasingly uncompetitive, the ruling class talks of "deindustrialisation," forcing massive cuts in nationalised enterprises and social services. The programme of the Labour Party in office is not fundamentally different, only Callaghan and Benn want to make the unions agree to their own impoverishment in a treacherous "social contract."

Sirs and all the reformist misleaders, from Labour "lefts" to Communist Party-backed union "hards" like Arthur Scargill, only dicker over how many cuts to take and who will get them. In refusing to call a general strike against the hated Thatcher government, Trades Union Congress head Len Murray stated clearly the fear of all the reformists: "If we did that we would not know what to do with the power we have got." They know that in a revolutionary confrontation they would quickly be swept aside—that is why they sabotage the steel strike. A Trotskyist party is needed with a programme to use the power. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building that party, which will lead the struggle to break the death grip of decrepit British capitalism. It is the only alternative to sellouts like this one. ■

Down With the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution!

Oppose U.S. War Threats Against Iran!

When Jimmy Carter broke all ties with Iran April 7, over Khomeini's refusal to do a deal over the hostages, it marked a sharp setback for his attempt to bloc with Muslim fundamentalist theocracy in a global anti-Soviet alliance. What Carter doesn't understand is that Khomeini is not very interested in the exigencies of 20th century capitalist politics; his aspirations are medievalist and religious. And while no less fanatically anti-communist than the American imperialists, the Persian mullahs' regime faces mass turmoil and a population deeply hostile to the U.S.

For years the U.S. propped up the torturing shah and his bloody SAVAK police state. With Iran now engulfed in chaos, with its national minorities rebelling, its working class under daily economic attack, its women forced into veils, the reactionary religious fanatic Khomeini is hard put to appeal to nationalistic and anti-shah feeling. Hence the diversion of seizing the American embassy and holding its personnel hostage.

Carter's threats stopped short of a declaration of war, but whatever their actual impact, they are clearly designed to whip up a reactionary war fever. Among his new measures is the threatened expulsion of some 50,000 Iranians, mostly students, when their visas expire. Socialists and all supporters of democratic rights must oppose this despicable chauvinist policy, which could send many of these Iranian youth to the ayatollah's prisons or even to their death.

If Khomeini is a nut, Carter is pretty fanatical himself in pursuit of *his* "holy mission"—staying in the White House. "Military force is not ruled out," government officials tell everyone. It is by no means unthinkable that Carter will in the end send in the Marines. As revolutionary socialists we resolutely oppose these war threats and would stand for military defense of the Iranian people against a U.S. imperialist attack.

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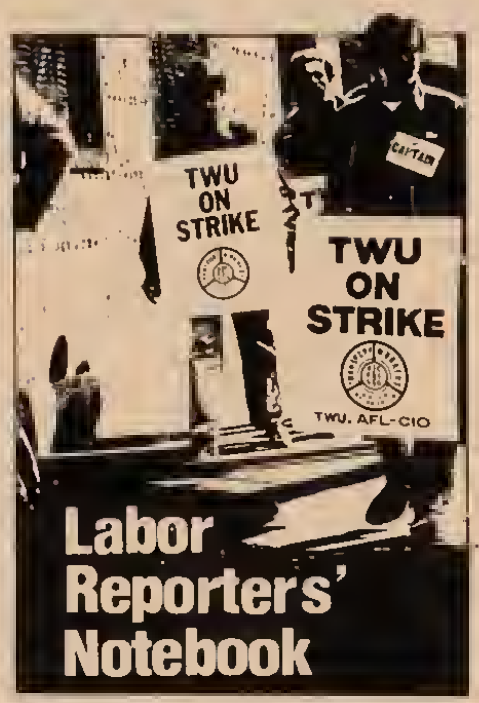
On the Transit Picket Lines

"We're Going to Teach the Politicians a Lesson"

On the transit picket lines there's a lot of hard feelings against the press. The guys are tired of reading about the maintenance worker who supposedly made $58,000 a year, angry about taking the rap for the lousy conditions on the subways and the upcoming fare increase. In spite of claims to "objectivity," the mass media clearly speak for definite class interests—those of the employers. *WV* is different. We're a labor-socialist press. We tell the story of the strike from the workers' side of the barricades. Below is some of what we saw last week: a "Labor Reporters' Notebook" by our two main men on the scene, Mark Lance, who reported from the coal fields of West Virginia and Kentucky during the miners' strike of 1977-78; and Fred Ferguson, a veteran of years of union struggle in the printing trades.



Thursday, March 27, City Hall: The New York Central Labor Council calls a demonstration to support the TWU. The confused rally embodies all the contradictions of the upcoming struggle. Eight to ten thousand people on the street, stopping traffic up and down Broadway. Five to ten abreast they surround City Hall Park, an area five city blocks square. The municipal unions are there, sanitationmen, the IBEW. The firemen drive up on a flatbed truck, their shouts of "No Contract, No Work!" echoing through the concrete canyons of lower Manhattan. But where are the LIRR and PATH unions? *That* would be a real statement of determination to shut this city down. Instead the cops are there, and big, pretending to be part of this labor demonstration. This is dangerous. These are the guys who will be bashing heads and arresting strikers once the picket lines go up. The cops have no place in a union demonstration and should be kicked out of the labor movement.

The rally shows the potential power the NYC labor movement could have. But it's totally disorganized. Most of the time there's not even a TWU contingent. In an utterly confusing move, the TWU rally is supposed to be held simultaneously with the police/fire/sanitation rally on two adjoining side streets. Most TWUers end up at the wrong rally.

Today could have been an opportunity to make a powerful statement of the transit workers' militancy and determination: tear up the Ravitch letter and its Taylor Law threats, build for the strike. But Lawe is so afraid of his own men, he pulls a maneuver. After only 15 minutes he asks for a quick show of hands of how many are ready to strike. Then he scrambles off the platform before there can be any more talk of a strike. The crowd is stunned. From atop a dumpster opposite the speakers' platform, Henry Lewis and a crowd of TWUers chant "Don't Sell Us Out!" But after Lawe & Co. turn tail, the dissidents don't pick up the ball and continue the rally, using it to prepare the ranks for the hard days ahead. They have no alternative program, and after awhile they, too, drift away.

Monday, March 31, Sheraton Centre: For hours union dissidents and the press corps are jammed together in the lobby, trying to find out what's going on behind the closed doors of the negotiating sessions. *WV* was there too. Beginning at 5 p.m. there are 300 TWUers marching across the street for several hours in the freezing rain. Later, the men enter the lobby and mill around outside the Imperial Ballroom. They talk angrily about conditions underground. "Those trains are unsafe. Every single goddamn one." "The rats in the hole remind me of 'Nam."

Whenever Lawe appears in the lobby, chants of "Don't Sell Us Out!" break out and he quickly disappears behind closed doors. Later this chant turns into a song, "Don't Sell Us Out Johnny Lawe" with verses multiplying through the night. On Channel 13 TV next week Lawe will rant, "The media is whipping up... what they call the dissidents.... It's a question of how well you can whip up the lunatic fringe.... It was a bunch of drunks out in the lobby that created the chaos." No wonder Lawe is hated by his own union members. No wonder you can't find a subway worker on the picket lines who voted for him or knows anybody else who did.

Midnight passes but no word. Historically the union has stood for "no contract, no work"; in recent years this has been gotten around by the subterfuge of "stopping the clock." It's after 12—is the clock stopped? No, not officially. "If the clock isn't stopped, why aren't you on the streets?" *WV* asks leading dissident Arnold Cherry. "That's a good question," he replies. Already it is falling out sideways. Before midnight another dissident leader George McDonald comes barreling out on his way to the Coney Island yards to pull out the men. Some time later Henry Lewis, a third oppositionist, leaves and heads uptown. At 1:10 it is announced that Local 100 drivers of the private-line Queens Bus Division have walked out. An hour later Walter Gellhorn, chairman of the mediation panel, announces a strike.

In addition to the dissidents in the hotel tonight, there's the media, the *capitalist* media. And *Workers Vanguard*. At a press conference that afternoon, an MTA publicity man displays a new token. The media write about how the new token is needed because the fare is expected to rise due to the strike. But we are suspicious. *WV* asks when the token was minted. "Sometime in '75-'76," the PR man shamefacedly admits. Already there are 35 million in stock. So the fare increase has nothing to do with the transit workers—it was planned five years ago!

WV Photo

"Don't sell us out!" chant TWU dissidents at March 27 rally.

After the strike is announced, Mayor Koch and Governor Carey, supposedly "not involved" in the negotiations, suddenly turn up at the Sheraton Centre and hold a press conference jointly with MTA chief Ravitch. Used to the bourgeois press which is blaming the strike on the unions, the politicians can't handle the presence of a labor paper. When *WV* asks whether banker David Rockefeller's "hang tough" statements played a role in the city's hard line, Carey and Koch stared at our man in amazement (see photo, p. 5). While everybody else beats around the bush, *WV* asks the key question, "Governor, are you going to use the National Guard?" Carey replies, "There is no requirement or need for the National Guard *at this time*." Lawe can't deal with our questions either. When *WV* asks him whether he would take the men back without amnesty from the Taylor Law he snaps, "What kind of question is that?"

Tuesday, April 1: On the picket lines there is initial confusion—not enough placards, no sign-up cards for picket duty—the result of the bureaucracy's failure to adequately prepare. Across the city pickets are dispatched from local bars and storefronts serving as makeshift strike headquarters. At many of these locations, bundles of *WV* leaflets titled "Victory to the Transit Strike!" are dropped off in bulk and distributed by the hundreds on the picket line. The leaflet is a big hit—it's just about the only thing in print which stands on the strikers' side. Overall, morale is high and the lines swell throughout the day. "We here in TWU are going to teach the politicians a lesson, from Carter on down," says a striker at an uptown MABSTOA bus garage. At 179th Street in Queens the line is big and militant. One worker explains, "We're mostly black here and we're on the line."

Wednesday, April 2: Things are better organized today. But there is bad news too. Strikers at 207th Street gather silently around a transistor radio as it is announced that striking Teamster trackmen on the LIRR are going back to work. But the TWU is determined to stay out, injunction or no injunction. "Fuck the Taylor Law," one man says. "Laws are made to be broken." At Coney Island Yard, 100 strikers demonstrate. The mood is militant. But after calling for unity against the TA, dissident leader George McDonald deflects the anger with an anti-communist tirade, recalling the struggle for "democracy" he fought for in Vietnam, urging the strikers to beware of leftists, and concluding the rally by leading "God Bless America."

Thursday, April 3: Strikers at 207th Street are amused when the radio reports that a leftist on the Brooklyn Bridge almost came to blows with Mayor Koch. One striker rushes up to *WV* and says, "A worker on the bridge just punched Koch." "What workers? The transit workers?" "No," says the picketer. "*Your* workers, the Daily Workers." At Stillwell Terminal in Brooklyn, picketers are wondering about Jimmy Breslin's *Daily News* article which quotes Mike Scott, an exec board member allied with Cherry in the Unity slate, as saying, "I support John Lawe.... He is handling himself very well." When Scott shows up at Stillwell, he has to "explain" his statement and try to assure the strikers he has not caved in to the discredited TWU chief.

Friday, April 4: Victor Gotbaum, president of DC37, calls a press conference to announce he will not cooperate with Koch's call for a four-day, ten-hour workweek. But that's it as far as "solidarity" with the striking TWU goes. "What will you do to stand behind the union if the Taylor Law is invoked," asks *WV*. Gotbaum replies, "The sad truth is... that's the law. And when you break that law you're going to get your behind kicked...." What else can you expect from the man who rolled over and played dead in '74-'76, when the Big MAC onslaught slapped a wage freeze on the city unions, ripped up their contracts and axed 60,000 jobs?

Monday, April 7: Now it's Week Two of the strike and tempers are rising. At 5 a.m. four hundred transit workers pack into the meeting hall at 231st Street in the Bronx. Liberty Lines, a private bus company in Yonkers, is scheduling extra runs into NYC and the militants are planning to protest. After similar actions on Staten Island last week, they had to give the scab buses a police

continued on page 10

NY Transit Strike...

(continued from page 5)

the country has joined battle.

But the key question for transit workers in this strike is leadership, or the lack of it. Lawe, a minority president who was elected with only 43 percent of the vote last December, has sown defeatism since before the strike began. He tried to avoid a walkout altogether, but the city and MTA were spoiling for a confrontation. Now the Local 100 dissidents control the executive board; yet they are hiding behind the excuse of closing union ranks to avoid taking responsibility for the strike or negotiations. Already, without consulting the membership, they have lowered the original 30-percent-now wage demand to 12 percent in each year of a two-year contract (12-and-12). Will they soon cave in to the 20 percent "compromise" being put forward by phony "friend of labor" Ted Kheel—an amount that would place the settlement inside Carter's wage-cutting "guidelines"? Above all, the "dissidents" have not mobilized the membership for a no-holds-barred fight against the bosses. For that is what the NY transit strike of 1980 is, or must be if the TWU is to emerge victorious.

Week One: Stand-Off

With all of Koch's contingency plans, city employers were able to squeak by for a week of religious holiday and sunny weather. The petty bourgeoisie, conditioned by a decade of ecology and physical-fitness indoctrination, responded to Mayor Koch's exhortations of civic pride by turning it into a jogathon. Tens of thousands decided to "bike the strike." The mayor wants people to see themselves as strikebreakers by the act of getting to work.

"Nightmare Monday" didn't materialize (the calamity predictions may be deliberately exaggerated to make actual inconvenience look small by comparison), but auto traffic is already up by one-third over normal and climbing. Even ride-sharing and staggering of the traffic flow (tens of thousands are rising at 4 and 5 a.m. to beat the rush) will eventually break down, threatening the kind of "grid-lock" tie-up that brought New York to a screeching halt in the 1966 strike. NYC traffic operations director Connell is proclaiming, "There is no such thing as dreaded grid-lock in our city," but he may be in for an unpleasant surprise. Though the LIRR did not go back out on Monday, refusal by operating engineers to work overtime led to cancellation of the PATH express between 33rd Street and World Trade Center, spilling 25,000 more commuters into the streets around Penn Station desperately hailing cabs in the morning rush hour. On Wednesday there will be more chaos as 970,000 elementary and secondary school students return to school after a week's vacation. And on Saturday, April 12, a 30-day "cooling off" period imposed by court order on the PATH unions will expire.

WV Photo

WV Photo

Transit workers go out. NYC takes a walk.

The strikers, meanwhile, are hopping mad—at Koch with his incessant, infuriating anti-union slanders; at the press for its blatantly biased reporting of the strike, treating it as some kind of natural disaster; at MTA management for its threats and cynical attempts to divide the union. When MTA boss Ravitch had a letter pinned to paychecks handed out yesterday declaring, "It has been determined that you have violated the Civil Service Law...," a number of transit workers burned the letter in front of news cameras. Others forced TV newsmen to film their paystubs—a bus driver taking home $235 after deductions, another with a family of six and $400 rent receiving only $218 a week—proving that management talk of $40,000- and $50,000-a-year transit workers is straight-out *lies*. One of these black workers exclaimed angrily, "Koch is anti-union, anti-human. So anything Koch says, I don't agree. He's an animal, Koch is."

In the first week striking members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) were charged with slashing tires, stoning, throwing eggs and shooting at scab commuter buses on Staten Island. Yesterday 400 TWUers gathered outside Liberty Bus Lines in Yonkers to protest the express runs added during the strike from the Bronx into Manhattan. Today at Kings Boulevard in Brooklyn there was another mobilization picketing 35-40 scab buses brought in from Maryland. Today's draconian ruling against the unions by Judge Monteleone—fining the transit unions a total of $1 million for contempt of court, added on to the "automatic" fines of two days pay for every day on strike—has visibly hardened the strikers' resolve. So, too, has the bosses' hard line on giveback demands and amnesty from Taylor Law penalties.

It has become frequent in recent years for management to put forward "take-away" demands as bargaining chips, to be dropped later in exchange for a lower wage settlement. But in this case the Transit Authority (TA) is hardlining it, demanding the elimination of 41 separate items included in the present contract. Today Ravitch told reporters, "Unless the union is prepared to negotiate the issues of productivity, cost savings, management efficiency, this is going to be a very long, long strike." The "productivity" items they are going after are wash-up time, coffee breaks, overtime and sick leave. Even the *New York Times* (8 April), no friend of the workers, admits that these are practices "office workers consider as basic rights and get without question." The demand for hiring part-timers is an undisguised effort to sap the union's strength, and a shameless attempt to avoid payment of "fringe" benefits worthy of the grubbiest sweatshop operator.

On another major sticking point in the strike—Taylor Law penalties—Koch asserts that these are "automatic" and revels in telling strikers that they will each lose an average of $125 a day during the walkout. But then he turns around and says he won't jail Lawe in order not to create a martyr, as TWU founder/leader Mike Quill became when Lindsay jailed him in 1966. What Koch and Ravitch are asserting is that the law is unconditionally at the service of employers against labor, which it is under capitalism. Whether they can enforce it and declare 33,000 transit workers criminals, however, depends on the relationship of forces. If the unions win big there won't be reprisals: in 1966 the TWU forced the state legislature to pass a special bill granting amnesty from the even more draconian Condon-Wadlin Act. "No fines—No reprisals!" must be a non-negotiable, bottom-line condition for returning to work. The right to strike is an inalienable right of labor, but like all other union gains it will have to be won and defended on the picket line against the bosses and their state. Smash the Taylor Law!

Behind the Negotiations

Meanwhile the transit negotiations have resumed and are dragging on. There is a story behind the negotiations, but not the one you read about in the big business press. The capitalist media would have it that the New York transit strike of 1980 was caused by divisions in the union, which just couldn't "get it together." This was the repeated theme of reporters' questions following the breakdown of negotiations in the early morning hours of April 1, and the theme repeated ever since. The real story is how the ruling class—from David Rockefeller and Felix Rohatyn to the *New York Times* to Koch, Carey and Carter—provoked what they hoped would be a drawn-out strike by a disunited union, in the hopes of "finishing the job" on NYC unions that the banks began six years ago. It is the story of "The Little Sellout that Couldn't," as the *Village Voice* entitled its exposé. It is also the story of how the MTA is demanding that the union give back virtually every gain won in the last 40 years. And it is the story of how, after the initial sellout attempt was stopped, the potential began to build for a strike that could tie New York up in knots.

As the April 1 contract deadline neared, Dick Ravitch was predicting a long strike. He should know, for up to the last minute the Transit Authority refused to offer anything at all. From February 4, when negotiations began, to March 30, management refused to put a penny on the table. On Sunday afternoon the MTA chief came up with his first proposal: 3.5 percent a year over three years, linked to takeaways including ending weekend differential pay, lower pay scales for new workers, less break time and freedom to hire part-timers. On Monday, D-Day, nothing until 3 p.m. when the figures were upped to 5 percent per year over three years. Then sometime after 11 p.m., minutes from the deadline, Ravitch came up with his "final offer" of 6 percent yearly, plus all the givebacks. It's an ultimatum and a provocation: with 18 percent inflation, no one could expect this to be accepted. The bosses' message: sell out or strike.

In the "Little Sellout" article, the 7 April *Village Voice* broke the story of a deal Ravitch allegedly worked out with Lawe. Opposition TWU leaders have subsequently confirmed the main outlines to *WV*. In the *Voice* account, Lawe was to reject the MTA's 6 percent offer, then go back to the Local 100 executive board and recommend a counterproposal of 7 percent; management would give up part-timing and the union would swallow the rest of the givebacks. But a few hours earlier two exec board members had defected from Lawe's side, giving the dissidents a 24-21 majority, and the board wasn't buying. At 2:05 a.m. the strike was on.

But it was not just the subways and TA/MABSTOA buses. The Queens private-line bus drivers in Local 100 struck as of 1 a.m. And four hours after the TWU walked out, the LIRR trackmen, members of Teamsters Local 808, broke off negotiations; the other six operating unions on the Long Island commuter line agreed to respect their picket lines, except for a "private agreement" with the United Transportation Union so they can comply with a previous court order. The owner-

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operated taxicabs were threatening to strike for a fare increase. A rulebook slowdown was announced by toll-takers on Port Authority bridges and tunnels linking New Jersey to Manhattan, although it is called off at the last minute. The clock was stopped in contract talks for workers of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority. And PATH workers under a court restraining order were threatening to walk. If all of these were to go out at once, all that would be needed is for the bridge tenders to raise the bridges and take the keys with them (as they did in 1971), and it would be The Day New York Stood Still.

Funstrike in Fun City?

From Day One of the strike, city rulers, in particular NYC mayor Ed Koch, have gone all-out to mobilize the New York population against the strike. They know where their class interests lie and that they are at war. At 7 a.m. on April 1 Koch was already out at the foot of the Brooklyn Bridge greeting weary pedestrians trudging on their way to Wall Street or Midtown. "We're not going to lie down and give away our city," he lectures the crowds to build support for union-busting.

A Channel 4 round-up called the Koch crusade "Funstrike in Fun City"; a WINS broadcast reported love on the 59th Street bridge as telephone numbers are exchanged at the foot of the stairs. If you have ideas on how to hoof it in style or cycle a mile you can be a "transit strike tipster" by calling 557-5197. It was a celebration of the entrepreneurial spirit: WNBC stationed reporter David Diaz on the Brooklyn Bridge for a full week (the "turkey on the Bridge"), interviewing everyone from bicycle spare parts salesmen to hawkers of "I survived the NY transit strike" T-shirts. Rupert Murdoch's *Post* interviewed a famous psychiatrist who saw the strike appealing to Gotham residents' sense of sharing: "New Yorkers would do very well in a nuclear attack. If we had some time to prepare, we'd all die with grace, with class."

Not everybody thought it was funstrike, however. On Thursday one woman on the Bridge screamed "strikebreaker" at the mayor, to which Koch snapped: "Don't put your hand on me or I'll have you arrested." On Friday there was an identical encounter with a biker who called the mayor a union-buster. "They're whackos," commented the mayor. Of course the ruling class believes that anyone who is for the union in the midst of this mobilization of the "classless" public has to be nuts.

But the media was only doing its job—to present the ruling-class point of view as if it's the only one possible, the opinion of "all New Yorkers." Koch is massively using the media, flooding the airwaves with twice-daily live press conferences, to mobilize the atomized "public" into a conscious strikebreaking force. Through racism, by sending out the message that the strike is the work of black and Hispanic militants, not "reasonable" white union leaders like John Lawe. And by blaming the abysmal state of the subways—a "tunnel of fear" the *Times* called them—on the transit workers.

This theme is sounded over and over in justifying management's insistence on taking back every work rule ever won by the union. Yet in terms of productivity, NY transit workers are not only paid 30 percent less than subway and bus workers in other cities, they carry more passengers per TA employee per year than any other system in the U.S. And as for the sorry state of the subways, it is management that is deliberately running them into the ground—from spending billions of dollars on new cars with wheels that are not strong enough to carry them, causing endless breakdowns; to simple preventive maintenance, which has been "postponed" for the last five years.

For a Transit Strike to Save New York!

But while the bosses and capitalist politicians are vigilantly defending their class interests, the "business-as-usual" union leaders, eager to prove their "responsibility," are defending those same class interests rather than mobilizing the labor movement to lead a fight against the anti-working-class "austerity" attacks. When Judge Monteleone served a Taylor Law restraining order on TWU leader Lawe, the latter boasted that at least he didn't rip it up as Mike Quill did in '66. And meanwhile the bourgeoisie is consciously trying to set one group of union leaders against the other. The MTA has clearly put its money on Lawe. But it actively considered making a play for the "dissidents," giving rise to rumors last week that Arnold Cherry, George McDonald and Henry Lewis would be brought into the bargaining.

Cherry is head of the Unity Slate, McDonald heads "The Committee" and Lewis is a leader of the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers. The three are presently grouped together in a Good Contract Committee, which together with defectors from the Lawe camp has a majority on the Local 100 executive committee. Many militants in the TWU believe that these "dissidents" will prevent a sellout, while the big business press paints them as the cause of the strike. For five years one of the main activities of these dissidents has consisted of filing one court suit after another against the union, in the same capitalist courts that are now out to bust the TWU with the Taylor Law! Their bloc was based on support for the 30 percent wage demand originally raised by the TWU leadership, a demand which the sellout Lawe claimed to support but soon abandoned. Yet the Cherry/McDonald/Lewis joint "opposition" has already lowered its sights to 12-and-12, and liberals such as the *Village Voice* are looking to them as the vehicle to push through Kheel's "20 percent solution." Is this the great hope for militants in the Transport Workers?

No. In the first place, they should stop pretending they are just dissidents—

WV Photo

What kind of question is that? Carey and Koch meet Workers Vanguard.

they have a majority on the executive board that makes them at least co-leaders. The various claims by Cherry and McDonald that they are behind Lawe all the way are not just covering up for the utterly discredited Local 100 leader; this is an attempt by the "opposition" to avoid taking responsibility for *leading* the strike. They are in the driver's seat now. What will they do? Secondly, they present *no* alternative program to Lawe's. The two leaflets put out by the "Good Contract Committee" so far in the strike have no program at all. But what about point-for-point 100 percent cost-of-living protection, equal pay for equal work, or the 20-year, no-age-limit pension? The reformist oppositions raise none of these demands—and make light of our demand to *double* present wages and more—because they accept the same framework of the capitalist system as does Lawe. In fact, their "12-and-12" maximum demand, considering present inflation rates, will leave transit workers worse off after two years than they are today.

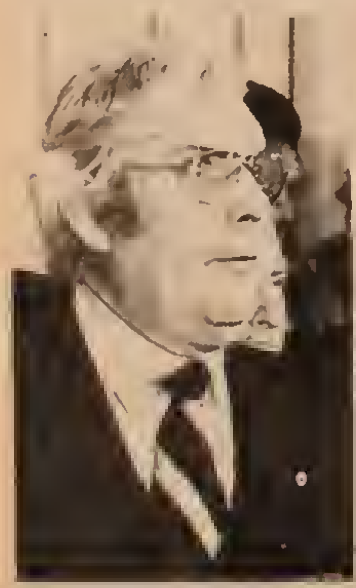
The TWU membership on the lines in this strike needs a leadership with the guts and *program* to stand up to the bosses' courts and politicians, and to wage a militant class struggle against the capitalist austerity offensive, from Carter to Koch. This is fundamentally where Cherry, Lewis and McDonald cop out. A class-struggle leadership with a program for victory would seek to mobilize all New York labor to defend the TWU against the Taylor Law. It would shut down *all* the commuter busing and put the screws on PATH and LIRR unions to bring out their ranks as well in a powerful joint transportation strike. Such a genuinely militant leadership would call for democratic, elected strike committees to make it into a mass strike against the ruling-class offensive that can stay out to win.

The transit strikers must fight Carter, Koch and Carey *politically*, just as the politicians are fighting against the TWU. At the same time as he blames the strike on minorities in the union, Koch tries to mobilize the ghettos against the strikers: "Those transit workers are causing pain and suffering to blacks and Hispanics and the poor—to the people of the South Bronx and Bed Stuy, who don't have cars to get to work." This is an old refrain, the same strategy New York rulers have followed since Mayor Lindsay mobilized blacks against the UFT in the 1968 teachers strike. The fact that Lindsay and Beame were able to get away with this falls at the feet of the union leaderships, however, with their ties to the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party.

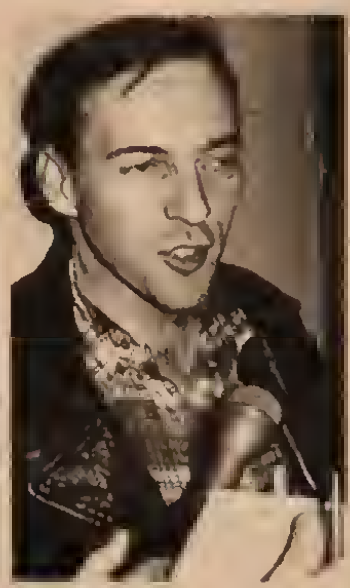
It is not too late for the New York labor movement to win for its members and all working people, by welding a concerted assault against the banks, capitalists and their politicians by all those layers whose desperate frustration cries out from every corner of this city under siege. Broad sections of the working masses and middle classes who now see "big labor" as one of the factors conspiring to drag them down would rally to the side of the union movement if it showed it could win and raised a strategy to fight the cutbacks, givebacks and takeaways. Rising unemployment, grinding inflation, falling real wages—these capitalist assaults on the working class are compounded by measures which afflict the middle classes, from the abolition of rent control to the effective demise of low-tuition public higher education.

What is urgently needed is a militant leadership with a program to win the strike. No contract, no work! Eliminate the phony mail ballot. Demand elected strike committees and mass membership meetings to take over conduct of the negotiations and to formulate strike demands! Rally the city labor movement in support of the TWU. New York's 230,000 municipal workers know that they are next on Koch's chopping block, and that their fate depends on a transit victory. The PATH and LIRR workers should be brought out *now* in a joint strike with the TWU. In the face of serious attempts to break the strike, the labor movement must shut down NYC through citywide strike action. In a city where 40 percent of black youth are without jobs, the demand for a shorter work-week at no cut in pay is crucial in uniting transit workers with the unemployed. Against the city bosses' talk of making the riding public pay with a fare increase, the TWU must fight for *no fare*. Free transit has been a paper demand of the union for years—now make it a reality.

For five years the working people of New York City have been bled by the bankers and capitalist politicians. The transit strike is the first time labor has fought back, and the TWU has the power to bring the bosses to their knees. It proved that in 1966. But the union is weighed down with a leadership which has sold out time and again, and an opposition that is qualitatively no better. The Lawe bureaucracy and its fake-militant opponents with the program of relying on the capitalist courts and the strikebreaking Democrats are no answer. The TWU needs a leadership that uncompromisingly stands for the independence of the labor movement from the bosses' parties and state, that will fight for a genuine workers party. Forging such a leadership is key to winning this battle, to smashing the Taylor Law and Carter's wage limits. ■



John Lawe



George McDonald

Henry Lewis

Arnold Cherry

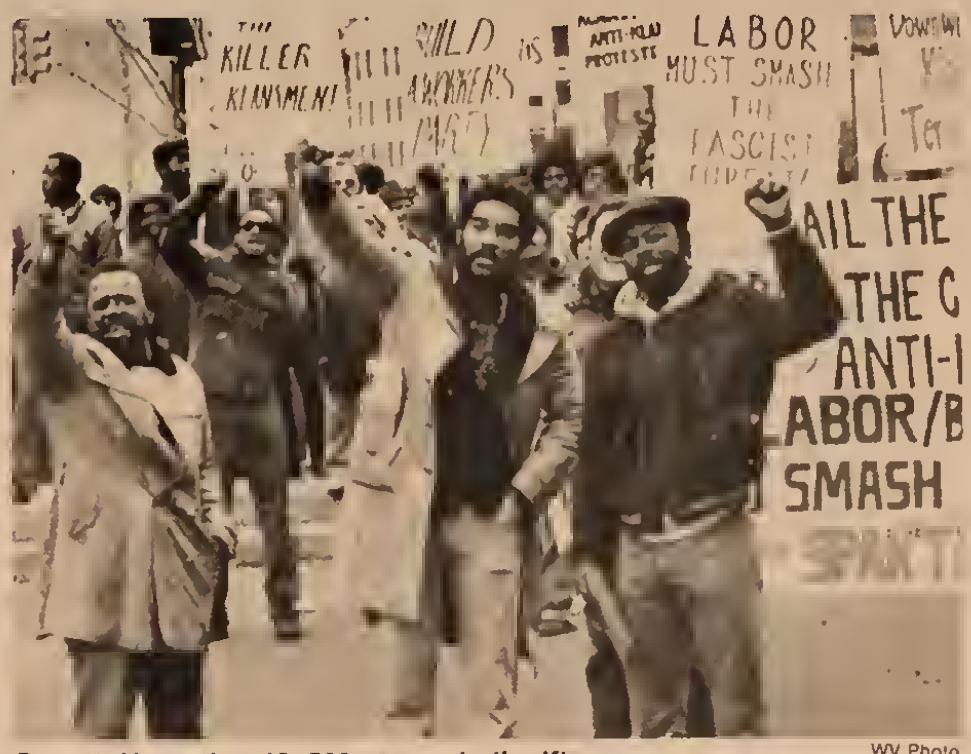
WV Photos

Detroit Mayor Burned When Black Workers Said:

"Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

In the aftermath of the broad-daylight massacre of leftists and unionists by the Ku Klux Klan at Greensboro, North Carolina last November, the "respectable" civil-rights politicos got worried about growing black dissatisfaction at their do-nothing attitude toward rampaging fascists. A *New York Times* headline (18 November) caught the mood: "Rights Leaders Troubled by Prospect of Leftist Gains Among Blacks." In an attempt to bring the outrage over Greensboro under their control, black preachers and liberal Democrats associated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference called a "National Conference of New Strategies to Counter the Ku Klux Klan" in Atlanta on December 14. One of the featured speakers brought in to argue against holding a protest march was Rev. Dan Alridge, an assistant to Detroit's black Democratic mayor Coleman Young.

Now here's a man who's got some experience under his belt. Coleman Young has the dubious distinction of trying to stop the most significant labor/black anti-fascist demonstration Detroit's seen in many years. When the KKK announced they were planning to hold a race-hate march in the heart of Detroit the week after the Greensboro massacre, Young banned *all* demonstrations, threatening to arrest anyone who marched, Klansmen and anti-fascists alike. But an ad hoc committee endorsed by union militants and heavily built by the Spartacist League called for a mass anti-Klan counter-demonstration on November 10. Despite the ban, the threats of mass arrests and an initial media blackout followed by a red-baiting campaign, some 500 anti-KKK protesters—including about 200 black workers from Detroit's auto plants—turned out to insist that "The Klan Will Not Ride in the Motor City!"



Detroit, November 10: 500 say no to the Klan. WV Photo

At the subsequent Atlanta convention Young's sidekick Alridge felt compelled to defend the decision to ban anti-Klan demonstrations—a decision which "has come under some criticism." Alridge admitted that the city had promised to arrest equally the Klan and the anti-Klan but in the next breath tried to take credit for protecting the anti-Klan rally:

> "So, our posture was that we would simply...arrest anyone who we saw assembling and marching without a permit. Subsequent to that, however, there was a counterdemonstration by persons opposing the Klan and we provided the best possible protection we could for those persons."

In fact, Young *denied* a permit for the November 10 rally. But his threats having failed to stop the anti-Klan militants, who distributed nearly 100,000 leaflets calling for a mass black/labor demonstration, Young backed down at the prospect of arresting maybe a couple hundred black workers—not too good for the career of any Detroit politician, much less one who trades on the illusions of "his" people. Finally, when a federal judge intervened, Young indicated the rally would have a "de facto permit." But the media refused to take an ad from the rally's organizers publicizing this backhanded backtracking. The scare campaign was still on. Had a layer of militant black workers not come forward (despite the best efforts of their union chiefs) to support the demonstration, it is not hard to imagine what Young and his cops would have done to the rally and its radical organizers.

Those "hard-core" militant blacks who attended despite the red-baiting and the threats listened sympathetically to the speeches—dominated by the politics of the Spartacist League given the default of the more "respectable" forces—but many remained skeptical of the perspective that the organized labor movement take the lead in the anti-fascist struggles to come. Indeed, many black workers who showed little surprise at the sabotaging passivity of their union "leaders" evidenced lingering illusions in the black Democratic "machine" of Coleman Young. "Mayor Coleman should be here today" was a common comment from those whom Young had threatened to arrest through a media campaign to bait the meeting as "illegal."

If the rally fell far short of the massive outpouring which would really have sent the Klan scrambling, it did show the racist marauders that there is among the most advanced workers a layer committed to a real fight against Klan terror. And it did expose the "anti-racist," "friend of labor" Detroit mayor as another hustler in the service of the racist capitalist system. A month after the event, the glib black Young spokesman Alridge felt the pressure to justify Young's "neutrality" between the Klan and the anti-Klan. And not surprisingly, he offered what must surely be the most "leftist" rationale ever for having threatened to unleash the cops against anti-racist militants:

> "I think that a movement, one that considers itself to be a revolutionary movement, ought not to come and ask the police department—if you will, the lackeys of the capitalist-imperialist state—to protect you."

"Leftist" verbiage aside, Young is in an unenviable position as a front man for a bourgeois party whose presidential candidates didn't even bother to show up for a major black establishment gathering last month. When Young suggested at that confab in Richmond, Virginia that Carter should be supported, his speech was drowned out with boos. But the real verdict was offered at the Detroit anti-Klan rally by Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander:

> "You know what Coleman Young is—the awful example of what selling your black political soul to the Democratic Party means. You go morally and politically blind. After a while you can't tell the difference between the guys in white sheets and the guys on the other side."

Those who can tell the difference must break from illusions in the capitalist state and its political parties and fight for a union-based workers party on a program of working-class power and liberation of all the oppressed. ■

Hands Off Doc Who Put...

Egg on Koch's Face

Daily News

On March 26, Dr. Nayvin Gordon was convicted of tossing eggs at NYC mayor Ed Koch. The doctor, a member of the Progressive Labor Party's Committee Against Racism (CAR), had been arrested at the annual convention of the American Public Health Association at the New York Hilton last November. There he was protesting Koch's vicious program of eliminating medical facilities in the ghettos, including closure of Sydenham and Harlem Hospitals in Manhattan and Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx. Now Gordon faces up to a year in jail plus a $1,000 fine for "assault"—i.e., wounding the ego of the petulant "mayatollah."

Even the bourgeois press wasn't too sympathetic to the mayor. The *Washington Star* ran an editorial congratulating the CAR members, "It is with a definite surge of nostalgia that we greet—nay welcome—the news that a time-honored form of political dissent has made a vigorous reappearance." But Koch responded by calling for legislation that would make *any* "harassment" of a government official a felony. It seems Hizzoner needs lèse majesté laws and lots of cops around him at all times because it's hard to keep up a "man of the people" image when you've got egg all over your face.

In fact, right now thousands of New Yorkers would like to do more than just put yolks in the mug of this racist labor-hater. One transit worker remarked to *WV* after the strike-breaking Taylor Law was invoked, "The only thing that bothers Koch is when someone throws an egg in his face. Now he is throwing egg on our face." And when a Teamster on Brooklyn Bridge called him a "union-busting bastard," the mayor threatened, "Go ahead, strike me and I'll have you arrested." Koch better not keep this up or he may find that taking a poke at him could become quite a popular pastime.

The CAR stunt last November was no more militant than the pie-throwing antics of an Aaron Kay. But it certainly was defensible and even enjoyable. Drop the charges against Doc Gordon! Don't let Koch throw the egg man in the can!

Reporters' Notebook...

(continued from page 7)

"escort" to start their runs. Today the strikers form a caravan with their cars and drive to the Liberty terminal in Yonkers. Obviously taking the cops by surprise, TWUers set up mass picket lines at two gates, marching and chanting, "No Extra Runs! No Extra Shifts!" Despite the militant mood, however, the officials try to minimize the demonstration's impact, dispersing the men after just 15 minutes on the line.

Wednesday, April 9: Two hundred men show up early this morning at the New York Bus Company terminal near Co-op City in the Bronx. This company is organized by Local 100, but the TWU bureaucracy is incapable of achieving elementary solidarity through normal union mechanisms. The men are working overtime and extra runs—it amounts to scabbing on their own union brothers! This time when the pickets arrive, the cops were tipped off in advance. There are 75 riot-equipped cops guarding the entrances to the terminal.

The pickets block both ends of the block, some 150 of them sitting down in the street until the line starts walking. No buses move from 5:00 until 6:45 a.m. When the TWU bureaucrats try to move the picketers away from blocking traffic they shout back, "Shut It Down" and "Nothing Moves!" Finally, union officials succeed in dispersing the crowd. Some bus windshields get busted as the workers reluctantly depart.

These militant actions center on the bus drivers. The subways are shut down tight, but the MABSTOA drivers are most directly threatened by actual and potential scabbing. It's clear the drivers are getting edgy. TWU cars block traffic on the Major Deegan and Hudson River Drive, infuriating the commuters. What is necessary is action by the whole union to mobilize the NYC labor movement in solidarity with the TWU. Stop all the scab buses! Stop the scab flotillas! Shut down PATH and the LIRR! ■

Initial List of Endorsers, April 19 Committee Against Nazis

The following individuals and organizations have endorsed the April 19 demonstration to "Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday." The demonstration will take place at 11:00 a.m. at the San Francisco Civic Center.

Bernie Abrams, survivor of five years in Nazi concentration camps
Larry Ackerman, Steward, CWA Local 9410
ACTWU Local 1414C Executive Board
Maria Amaral, President, Norte Alameda Mexican American Political Association (MAPA)
American Indian Movement, San Francisco
Matt Ayon, Secretary-Treasurer, IBT-ACA Local 9
Bay Area Spartacist League
Spence F. Burton, Director of Education, California State Association of Letter Carriers
Tim Chapman, Steward, ILWU Local 6
George P. Cleveland, Directing Business Representative, IAM District Lodge 56
Rev. Michael Collins, Co-Chair, Affirmation
Virginia Collins, civil rights activist
Walter Collins, civil rights, antiwar activist
Committee of Salvadorean Progressives, United Salvadorean Front
Paul Costan, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Crusader, San Francisco gay newspaper
Jim Danzy, President, ATU Local 1555
Bob Dawson, Vice President OPEIU Local 29
Pete Farruggio, Steward, ILWU Local 6
Rick Flores, Vice President, USWA Local 2869, Fontana, CA
Charles Garry, attorney
Gay Liberation Alliance, San Francisco
Dr. Carlton Goodlett, editor and publisher, *Sun Reporter*
Stan Gow, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10
Earl F. Grogan, President, APWU, San Francisco Local
Fernando Guerrero, Board of Governors, OCAW Local 1-1978
Hilda Guerrero, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Bill Hampton, brother of murdered Black Panther leader
David Hilliard, former Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party, SEIU Local 411
Norman Hunisman, President, District Lodge 56, President Local Lodge 739, IAM
Kathy Ikegami, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Mike Kasian, Steward, ILWU Local 6
Sanford Katz, attorney
Howard Keylor, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10
Bill Kiezel, retiree, UAW Local 1364
Ray King, Executive Board member and Trustee, USWA Local 2869, Fontana, CA
Seymour Kramer, President Local 1741, United Transportation Union
William Kunstler, attorney
Conrad Lynn, attorney
Bob Mandel, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6
Tanya Mandel, East Bay Women for Peace
Jane Margolis, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410
Hilding Martinson, Business Agent, UE Local 1412
Militant Caucus, UAW Local 1364
Militant Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union
Howard Myron, Chief Steward, Long Lines Division, CWA Local 9415
National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch No. 214, San Francisco
New American Movement, S.F. Chapter
New York Gay Activists Alliance
Pacific Center for Human Growth
Sophie Polgar, survivor, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp
Mark Pope, past Co-Chair, National Caucus of Gay and Lesbian Counselors
Dave Ramel, ILWU Local 34
Robert I. Rowe, President, ACTWU Local 1414C
George Santori, OPEIU Local 3
Henry Schmidt, retired International Vice President, ILWU, leader of 1934 San Francisco general strike
Dennis Serrette, National Organizer of the National Black Communications Workers Coalition (NBCC)
Israel Shahak, chairman, Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp survivor
Yvonne Smith, Steward, CWA Local 9415
State Association of Letter Carriers
Stan Steiner, author, *La Raze* and *Fusang*
Vera Stainer, survivor, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp
Yuri Suhl, author of *They Fought Back* (history of Jewish resistance in Warsaw Ghetto)
Ron Teninty, Business Agent, IBT Local 315
Third World Women's Alliance, S.F.
Terrie Valenzuela, Recording Secretary, ACTWU Local 1414C
Robert F. Williams, author, *Negroes With Guns*
Women's Committee, UAW Local 1364
Evelyn Wyatt, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Bob Zellner, civil rights activist
Dorothy Zellner, civil rights activist

Organizational affiliation listed for purposes of identification only.

Anti-Nazis...

(continued from page 12)

Defense Guards to Smash Nazi/Klan Violence!"

One of the most emphatic speakers was Seymour Kramer, president of Local 1741 of the United Transportation Union representing schoolbus drivers. The crowd cheered Kramer's call to action:

> "The fascists are not open to discussion ...but to a superior mobilization. The Nazis have two freedoms: to run, and to full nationalized health care after we catch them. We will fight in the spirit of the Warsaw Ghetto...and we will win!"

Following the rally Kramer and another speaker, Maria Amaral of the Norte Alameda Mexican American Political Association, endorsed the April 19 mobilization.

The ILWU demonstration was the day's top news story. ILWU Executive Board member Bob Mandel, one of the initiators of ANCAN, was interviewed on major local TV stations. The editor of a gay community paper, the *Crusader*, has endorsed the April 19 demonstration, as has Carlton Goodlet, editor of the Bay Area's major black newspaper.

ANCAN's work for a labor-led action is gaining momentum because the hatred of Nazism runs deep in the working class. What Allen Vincent and his Jew-baiting, race-hating terror mob represent is so repugnant that the sentiment to pull the Nazis' plug is becoming irrepressible.

Resolution by the National Association of Letter Carriers, Golden Gate Branch 214 (which covers all of San Francisco) at its branch meeting April 7:

Motion:

1. To endorse the April 19 demonstration "Stop the Nazis celebrating Hitler's birthday."
2. To inform our members and encourage their attendance.
3. To use the influence of the union to get other unions and organizations to participate.

The Nazis are advertising their "birthday party" with a piece of racist filth which is a provocation against blacks, Jews, women, gays and all decent people. The leaflet—which outraged people have ripped to shreds wherever it has been pasted up—rails against the "Jew democracy" which "enforces your right to blow dope, turn queer, marry a nigger, and kill the unborn." These creeps even have a dial-a-Nazi phone number to advertise for their Hitler "party." After filling the phone lines with obscene racism, the voice says: "Don't forget the Nazi Rally in San Francisco, April 19th." We won't forget. And we won't forget the Nazi reign of mass murder it celebrates.

Liberals Talk While Nazis Grow

It is clear that even a fraction of the Bay Area labor movement in a mass militant mobilization could easily wipe the Nazis off the streets. The will is there; certainly we have the power. Why do the brownshirts think they can show up to spit in the faces of the people of San Francisco? All that stands in the way of a complete wipe-out of Hitler's birthday is Mayor Dianne Feinstein and the cops.

There is an orchestrated campaign emanating from the mayor's office to undermine the April 19 ANCAN demonstration. The city is stalling on a sound permit for the anti-Nazis—though they gladly offered one to the Nazis! Quentin Kopp proposed a resolution to the Board of Supervisors condemning the Nazis but telling the outraged public to "eschew attendance" on April 19. To defuse the pressure for a militant mass mobilization, Feinstein is pushing for an "educational" event on Nazism—the mayor's "Days of Remembrance" on April 13-19. In effect the government is trying to demobilize the population while threatening to mobilize the cops to protect the Nazis. One local newscast reported that 500 cops would be ready to protect the Nazis on April 19.

The liberals are worried about the Nazis' "free speech." But the Nazis and Klan recruit not by words but by armed terror and murder. And this is broadly understood. "If they have the right to free speech," said one maritime union official, "we have a right to kick their ass." This is the only "education" that Nazis understand. And the Jewish community has had the most excruciating "education" at the sadistic hands of Hitler, Eichmann, Goering, Himmler—all the heroes of Allen Vincent's little band of sociopaths. We know that when the Nazis started out they were treated as a joke. And when the stench of burning flesh filled the air, it was too late to put up an effective fight. The Nazis must be stopped, wherever and whenever we can.

While the liberals talk about "free speech," the Nazis grow under the careful protection of the cops. Just last month in Walnut Creek, California, the state reportedly spent $200,000 extra of taxpayers' money to pay the cops to protect the Nazis. If Mayor Feinstein, already despised by the most conscious workers for her strikebreaking, unleashes the cops against thousands of sworn enemies of fascism—unionists, blacks, Asian Americans, Latins, concentration camp survivors, World War II veterans, gays—she will go down in history as the Nazis' favorite mayor. And she better not expect to run for elected office again, or appear in public, or plant a tree in Israel.

And as the capitalist state continues to protect the fascists, many who call themselves leftists go right on calling on the state to "ban the Nazis and Klan." At the ILWU rally Linda Wong of the Legal Alliance for Greensboro Justice appealed to the Board of Supervisors to withhold a permit for the Nazis. This futile gesture parallels the reformist strategy of the Communist Workers Party and the "Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition," which pins all hopes on the Board of Supes: "If the Board of Supervisors votes to support the fascists, then we will hold our rally at the United Nations Plaza" (some distance away from the Nazi rally).

The strategy of relying on the state to get rid of the Nazis is worse than futile. It is no less dangerous in the long run than the strategy of adventurist substitution by small groups of leftists in street fights with the Nazis. In these situations, the fascists and cops come out ahead. What both fascists and cops fear is *mass mobilization*—the organization of force against Nazi/Klan terror, backed up by the power of organized labor.

"California Reich"

The Nazis have backed down only where they have been met head-on by mass action. Allen Vincent, the California Nazis' demented führer, tried to take over a San Francisco State University classroom one day in 1975. A crowd of angry students and workers drove him off. This incident is the central event in the film "California Reich" which documented the social depravity and genocidal intent of the California brownshirts. After Vincent has fled the campus he offers the camera a glimpse of his fear that "the communists will get me": "Sometimes when I'm in the shower—of course I put it out of my mind immediately—but I wonder if when I pull the shower curtain back, they're going to be standing there, waiting for me." Perhaps more than a Götterdämmerung flaming death, this sick criminal dreads public humiliation. He must have nightmares of being stripped of his Hitler costume, his swastika, his leather boots, and running away down Polk Street with a yellow stripe painted on his naked back.

In 1977 Vincent and his Nazis set up headquarters in the "Rudolph Hess Bookstore" in the Sunset district right across from a synagogue attended by survivors of the holocaust. Only a few days went by before the store was bombed out and the Nazis run out of town. After the fact, even the *San Francisco Examiner* (5 April 1977) was forced to acknowledge: "San Francisco is one of the nation's most tolerant cities but a terminal point was reached when a group of American Nazis tried to revive Hitlerism with all its horrors.... The ransacking and burning of the store was inevitable." The same paper reported the comment of then-supervisor Dianne Feinstein: "I conceivably could have done the same thing if it had been in my neighborhood.... In Nazi Germany the same thing existed and people laughed. Then suddenly the Nazis were in power."

Flash!

APRIL 9—In San Diego today a Klan ringleader, Tom Metzger, got a little of what these hooded race-terrorists deserve. According to an AP dispatch, 500 students at San Diego State University "jeered and pelted him with bottles, cans, and tomatoes" when this KKK thug took the podium at a "candidates night" (he is running for the Democratic Party nomination for Congress). Outraged students charged through a police barricade and "mobbed" Metzger, who was finally led off campus by the cops. To the students at San Diego State we say: Come on up to San Francisco April 19!

But that was Dianne Feinstein the Jewish Supervisor. Now as mayor she wants to stop us from doing "the same thing" now. She says now is the time for education. We say: long live the spirit of the smashing of the Rudolph Hess Bookstore. ANCAN says the Nazis *are* coming to your neighborhood, Mayor Feinstein—on April 19. And we will be there to stop them.

After the Greensboro massacre, Coleman Young, the black mayor of Detroit, tried to stop a labor/black mobilization against the Klan/Nazis. He tried to equate the Klan and the anti-Klan. But 500 mainly black auto workers, leftists and anti-Klan militants came out to say: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" Now the Nazis say they will celebrate Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. Thousands must come out on April 19 to say it better not happen here. We have a chance to push the Nazis back so far they won't dare show their faces or try to fly their swastika over San Francisco. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

The Nazis say they are going to celebrate Hitler's birthday in San Francisco.

STOP THE NAZIS!

SAN FRANCISCO—The Nazis who plan to celebrate Hitler's birthday at San Francisco's Civic Center on April 19 are in for a big surprise. The April 19 Committee Against the Nazis (ANCAN) reports that thousands of angry people do not intend to sit back and let the "National Socialist White Workers' Party" wave its swastika of race terror in the heart of this city. The powerhouse of northern California labor is stirring to the ANCAN call to "Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday":

> "We say San Francisco is a labor town, not a Nazi town.... This is a city with several hundred thousand homosexuals who know what happened to 'social deviants'—along with 'non-Aryans,' unionists, socialists—in Hitler's Germany. This is a city of blacks who know they are the central target of race terror in America. Of Jewish survivors of the extermination camps.... If the Nazis march here on April 19, no one will be safe."

When the unions—along with blacks, Jews, gays, Latins, Asian Americans and others who know they are the targets of Nazi terror—get mobilized, that will be the end of Hitler "birthday parties" in San Francisco. These sick little Hitler-lovers with their helmets and weapons, their dreams of death camps and plans for race war, will find that Hitler's birthday is no holiday here.

Support for the anti-Nazi action is building. The president of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 739 in Alameda says his Local will distribute 2,000 ANCAN leaflets. This is the Local that brought out 500 members last November to protest the slaying of Charles Briscoe, a black worker and IAM steward, by the racist Oakland cops. More leaflets are being distributed by anti-Nazi unionists in the Molders Union and Teamsters in key shops and warehouses, including the Safeway warehouses which were centers of militancy in the Teamsters strike. All three postal workers unions' leaderships have thrown their support behind the anti-Nazi mobilization and one union official said he hoped this would be the largest labor demonstration in years. The National Association of Letter Carriers (Golden Gate Branch 214) motion (see box) passed overwhelmingly, with only one dissenting vote.

Recent Nazi/Klan activity in California has given the Committee's call special urgency. "We've got to stop these guys," said Rick Flores, vice-president of the heavily black and Chicano Steelworkers Local 2869 in Fontana, California where a Chicano member of the Local was driven from his home by Klan night-riding terror.

On April 5 the Bay Area's first officially sponsored anti-fascist labor demonstration in years was held at the Civic Center by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). The demonstration was in response to a petition circulated by supporters of the ILWU "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" now actively working with ANCAN. Although 500 ILWU members had signed the petition demanding labor action after the November massacre of leftists and union organizers by the Klan/Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina, only a couple of hundred turned out for the April 5 rally thanks to the apathy of the union leadership and a publicity blackout in the official union bulletin.

Some elements of the ILWU bureaucracy, aided by the Communist Party, hoped the April 5 demonstration would replace the one being built for April 19, but the event had the opposite effect. Nearly half the crowd stood with the ANCAN banner: "Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday! It Better Not Happen Here!" "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" supporters carried their own banner: "500 ILWU Members Say Uphold the Right to Armed Self-Defense! For Labor/Black/Latino

continued on page 11

WV Photo

ILWU demonstration at S.F. Civic Center, April 5. On to April 19 anti-Nazi mobilization!

April 19 Committee Against Nazis

Mass Mobilization, S.F. Civic Center, Saturday, April 19, 11a.m. Be There!

Myth of Muslim Unrest in USSR Exposed

Soviet Central Asians Back Afghan Intervention

"Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" has been the Spartacist League's slogan since the Soviet Union's military intervention against the feudal-reactionary "rebels" in December. In that poor and desolate country, the only road forward lies through defeating these tribal leaders who are fighting for the primitive and repressive institutions of feudalism and tribalism—especially the veil, illiteracy and slavery for women. We have insisted that, despite bureaucratic domination of the USSR, the transformation of Afghanistan into a society like that of Soviet Central Asia would be a tremendously progressive development for the Afghan masses. This elementary Marxist proposition is fiercely resisted by most avowed "leftists," but evidently not by the peoples of the Muslim regions of the USSR. In a recent article in the New York Times *(11 April), Craig R. Whitney revealed that in his travels through Soviet Central Asia he could not find a single soul who supported the CIA-armed Afghan rebels—not even a mullah! We reprint below some excerpts from his article, "In Soviet Asia, Afghan Thrust Finds Wide Acceptance":*

Central Asian Red Army soldiers in Afghanistan: "This myth that the Soviets invaded Afghanistan because they are afraid of Islamic fundamentalism infecting Soviet Central Asia is not merely bullshit ... in fact, the European Russians would be much less committed to the liberation of Afghanistan than the young soldier who only has to walk into a village to see his own past."
—speech by Joseph Seymour, Young Spartacus No. 79, February 1980 AP

DUSHANBE, U.S.S.R.—A young man, 23 years old and a student at the university here, close to the border of Afghanistan, will have to do three months of active military duty this summer.... In December, he recalled, ..."Reservists were given secret orders, at night, to return to active duty.... They weren't told where but after a few days it was clear—Afghanistan."

"The reservists are all back home now," he went on. "And most of them were glad to go to help—it's a very backward country and we are neighbors, after all."

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...the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks who live in the region and share linguistic, ethnic, and religious ties with many of their Afghan neighbors seem to display a far wider acceptance of the Soviet military role across the border than Russians in Moscow's critical intellectual circles.

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Years of ideological and social transformations, extirpation of ancient customs and exposure to Russian culture have made Soviet Central Asia a different world from the mountain backwardness of Afghanistan. Women on the Soviet side of the border do not wear the veil and they are not chattel of their husbands. There is little unemployment. And if there is no great wealth, there is also no abject poverty or hunger.

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"We remember the Basmachi rebellion here," commented a university professor in Dushanbe. "They were also a bunch of mercenaries and gunmen, much like the Afghan rebels. Ibrahim Bek, the last Basmachi leader, was caught near Dushanbe only in 1931, a decade after Soviet rule had been proclaimed in Tadzhikistan. We know the barbarism and the suffering of that kind of war, and any Tadzhik would be able to sympathize instinctively with the supporters of the revolution in Afghanistan."

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Moslem religious leaders here preach political loyalty to the Soviet state so Islam is officially tolerated. Moslems, when they are asked to express their feelings about Afghanistan in private, say their duty is to help their fellow Afghan Moslems reach the same levels of economic progress and social emancipation that they have in the Soviet Union.

In Bukhara's 16th-century Mir-Arab Medresseh, or Moslem theological seminary, one of two still permitted in the Soviet Union, the director, Abdul-Kakhar Gaparov, said:

"Wherever there has been a revolution, there have been people who are against it. Here, after our revolution, the Basmachi rebels fought against it for a long time. Many of the rebels in Afghanistan are from the Moslem brotherhood, an extremely reactionary group."

"If they were truly patriots," he went on, "the Afghans outside their country would support the revolution, for bringing social progress to their people at home."

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Out in the desert at Khiva, Bakhadyr A. Rakhmanov, an irrigation engineer born in the town, remembers that there was a slave market there until the Soviet authorities deposed the last Khan of Khiva. He added: "The Afghans are our neighbors. Where there is poverty and backwardness it is our duty to help."

* * * * *

At a park in Dushanbe, a truck driver was no less fiercely loyal, as William R. Carter, a Harvard graduate student, found out when he was having an innocent conversation with a friend of the driver.

"Carter!" roared the truck driver, a Tadzhik. "Carter is a warmonger, a menace, worse than a gorilla! Don't give him your address." ■

Iranian USecers Having Second Thoughts About Khomeini

When the American embassy in Teheran was seized last November with the blessing of "imam" Khomeini, the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) joined the chorus of opportunists who portrayed this diversion as a great "anti-imperialist struggle." Ever faithful to the "faghi" Khomeini, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) even went so far as to dub the "Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam" at the embassy as some kind of Marxists (not even Brzezinski believes that!).

But for the centrist USec majority, who have criticized Khomeini now and then while embracing his "Islamic revolution," all the rah-rah for the embassy takeover hasn't gone over so well. Judging from the Mandelite press lately, the USec has been catching flak from Iranian militants in Europe. In a recent issue of *Socialist Challenge* (7 February) the British International Marxist Group (IMG) ran a centerfold, "Iran: One Year After the Insurrection," featuring two articles with counterposed lines on the embassy issue. One article by John Leadbetter simply enthuses over how the Iranian masses are in motion, recalling Bernstein's hoary reformist dictum, "The movement is everything, the final goal nothing." The second, by Azar Tabari, rips his arguments to shreds:

> "The occupation of the US Embassy in Teheran and the events around it have very little to do with anti-imperialist struggle. Nor can the demand for the return of the Shah be characterised as anti-imperialist in any meaningful sense....
>
> "The embassy occupation, far from impelling these [mass] struggles forward, acts as a brake upon them. It simultaneously diverts attention from the real issues facing Iran and serves as a rallying cry for the most typical obscurantist appeals to 'national unity,' overlaid with the Islamic veneer that renders this time-honored reactionary appeal even more retrogressive....
>
> "The nefarious effects of this project on the consciousness of the workers and rural poor of Iran cannot be underestimated. The consolidation of Khomeini's authority over the past nine months has meant mounting self-abdication of any confidence and independence in favor of trust in god and his imam."

So after a year of massacres of Kurds and Arabs, stonings of homosexuals and adulterers, arrests of oil workers and leftists—including their own comrades, a dozen of whom sat on death row for over six months—it seems that the scales are falling from the eyes of at least some Iranian USecers. All the babble about an "unfolding process of permanent revolution in Iran" won't wash with the reality of clerical reaction in power. References to the embassy seizure as a "diversion" might suggest that the writer has been influenced by the international Spartacist tendency. More likely they are due to pressures emanating from the fact that with its uncritical enthusing over the American embassy seizure the USec has placed itself *to the right* of even the left-nationalist Fedayeen guerrillas. The latter at least recognize that the takeover is "a pretext for violently crushing the oppressed of our country" (Fedayeen al-Khalq leaflet dated 22 November 1979). But the "alternative" to Khomeini put forward by these latter-day Guevarists is simply bourgeois liberals such as Mehdi ("You are weak, sir") Bazargan.

An even sharper criticism of the Mandelite Iran line appeared in the form of a letter from a group of Iranian supporters of the Swedish USec section, the KAF, published in its *Internationalen* (2 January):

> "Will the Iranian working class become conscious of the fact that there is no difference whatsoever between the existing regime, i.e., Khomeini's government, and the capitalist regime of the shah? That an Islamic republic in principle serves the same interests as the shah's regime or any other capitalist government....
>
> "'Exposure of imperialism' from Khomeini's class interests is calling Carter 'Satan.' A trial of the shah will be nothing more than denunciations such as 'Satan,' 'murderer,' that his actions are in conflict with Islam and 'God' and that's all. With this political outlook, the only purpose of Khomeini and the Islamic Republic is to stupefy the people."

In response, the KAF political bureau could only respond lamely that "Khomeini has not been successful in holding back the mass struggle, even though he has used quite brutal methods."

In her article in *Socialist Challenge* Azar Tabari bemoans the fact that "most of the far left" internationally could possibly portray Khomeini and the Persian mullahs as "progressive":

> "It does not bode well for the future of Iran that the majority of the international left has been unable to distinguish between a deepening process of permanent revolution and a rise in irrational fanaticism serving to consolidate the rule of a repressive and reactionary theocracy."

How true. But the "majority of the international left" included *every* USec section, "sympathizing" section and split sections—including the rival groups in Iran. In fact, the only tendency which counterposed a proletarian revolutionary alternative to Khomeini, even before the reactionary fanatic came to power, was the international Spartacist tendency. ■

Détente...

(continued from page 4)

propaganda, that SALT combined with all the détente rhetoric would induce "peace-loving" elements in America to curb the militarists and warmongers in the Pentagon. Fat chance! Additionally, in 1972 the Soviet leadership was obsessed with the budding Washington-Peking axis. Maybe by giving Nixon a sweet deal on arms, they thought, he would be less interested in an alliance with the bellicose Chinese.

Whatever Brezhnev & Co.'s motivations and illusions around SALT, it did nothing to stop the U.S. arms build-up targeted at the Soviet degenerated workers state. The Pentagon continued to deploy those weapons not covered by SALT (MIRV, cruise missiles) and developed new ones (the MX missile, Trident submarine). Eventually the Russians had to counter with their own arms build-up or risk a nuclear first strike. And now Carter has launched the most massive, accelerated nuclear weapons program in U.S. history.

With SALT I the Soviet bureaucracy threw away an exceptionally favorable opportunity to shift the balance of forces against U.S. imperialism. Had the Soviets pushed ahead with their weapons programs in the early-mid 1970s, they might have achieved a strategic advantage. And given the anti-militarist climate in the U.S. in the early 1970s, a rapid escalation of the Pentagon budget would have met great resistance. If at that time Nixon had attempted anything like Carter's present nuclear weapons program, he would have pushed this country further down the road toward a political explosion.

1972: Brezhnev Dances to Nixon's Tune

The first volume of Kissinger's memoirs ends in January 1973 on a triumphant note. It was the year of Nixon's February visit to Peking, of the Moscow summit and SALT I a few months later and finally of the Paris "peace" accords on Vietnam. It was the year of détente. As we have seen, the Nixon administration made détente with the Soviets conditional on their cooperation in arranging a "fair compromise" over Vietnam. This strategy was brought to a head at the time of the North Vietnamese 1972 spring offensive.

While U.S. planes were bombing Hanoi and the U.S. Navy was mining Haiphong harbor, Kissinger went off to Moscow for secret talks with Brezhnev. He threatened to cancel the upcoming Moscow summit, torpedo SALT, oppose ratification of the West German *Ostpolitik* treaties—in short, to scrap détente—unless the Russians pressured North Vietnam to show "restraint." Specifically, he proposed a ceasefire in place, which became the basis of the Paris "peace" treaty nine months later. A top Kremlin aide was immediately dispatched to Hanoi to deliver Washington's message. And as Kissinger observes: "Nations do not generally transmit offers with whose rejection they intend to associate themselves."

North Vietnam, however, did reject the offer *then*. But the Soviet bureaucracy is nothing if not persistent, including in selling out its allies. Since the Russians supplied almost all of North Vietnam's modern weapons, they were not limited to purely moral suasion. Brezhnev & Co. kept assuring the Nixon administration that they weren't stepping up arms shipments to Hanoi. And shortly after the Moscow summit Soviet president Nikolai Podgorny visited Hanoi to explain to his Vietnamese comrades the ways of détente. This time the Kremlin's "good offices" had the desired effect.

When North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho returned to the negotiating table the following month, he was singing a different tune. Hanoi dropped its demand for unconditional U.S. withdrawal and agreed to an indefinite ceasefire in place as a condition for the American pull-out. It further dropped its demand for the elimination of U.S. puppet Thieu, instead proposing a coalition government with him! A little later even this was shelved as too radical and Thieu stayed in power another two-and-a-half years. As we wrote at the time, this compromise with U.S. imperialism which the Hanoi (and Moscow) Stalinists accepted was "based on the fundamental *strategy of betrayal*" ("The Civil War Goes On," *WV* No. 16, February 1973).

At this point the U.S. rulers ran into an obstacle they didn't expect, but probably should have—their own puppets in Saigon. Subsequently, following the ignominious collapse of the Saigon regime in 1975, the Big Daddy imperialist war criminal and his corrupt flunky Thieu (who managed to escape at the last minute with several tons of gold dug up from the presidential palace grounds) engaged in rather comical mutual recrimination. In his 1972 diary, Nixon wrote:

> "...our fate is really in the hands of the South Vietnamese....
> "We give them the most modern arms, we emphasize the material to the exclusion of the spiritual and the Spartan life, and it may be that we soften them up rather than harden them up for the battle.
> "On the other hand, the enemy emphasizes the Spartan life, not the material, emphasizes sacrifice and, of course, with the enormous Soviet technical help on missiles, guns, etc. they have a pretty good advantage."

But as ludicrous as Nixon's ode to "the spiritual and Spartan life" is, it was recently equaled by Thieu, who commented: "Without the American presence we could have beaten the Communists" (*New York Times*, 7 October 1979). Well, they certainly deserved each other.

Vietnam News Agency

NLF rolled to victory in 1975 despite Stalinist sellout in "peace" talks.

Thieu and his clique wanted no ceasefire, no settlement; they only wanted the American army. While the Nixon administration was certainly willing to axe Thieu if he remained too stubborn, it decided to meet him half way. During the final months of 1972 Kissinger sought to pressure the North Vietnamese to accept *worse* terms than he had *already* agreed to. Here again he got a little help from his Soviet friends: "Dobrynin added privately that Moscow was in touch with Hanoi and that he recommended I keep the talks going to give the Kremlin more time to make its influence felt." But Nixon/Kissinger decided the Kremlin's influence was not enough or working too slowly. It took the massive, terror bombing of Christmas 1972 to get the North Vietnamese to sign this imperialist robber's "peace."

From the vantage of 1980, the January 1973 Paris "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam" might seem an unimportant, face-saving episode on the road to eventual U.S. defeat. After all, one might argue, the Communists conquered South Vietnam in 1975, so what did it matter what happened in 1972-73? For opponents of U.S. imperialism, the tens of thousands of Indochinese who died as a result of the needless prolongation of the war matter. But Kissinger also believes it mattered and, at least in terms of American politics, he's right.

The Nixon administration had written off South Vietnam by 1971, maybe earlier. But they still believed it very important *how* the U.S. disengaged. They were determined that the American army would not be conquered by the Communist forces nor would they capitulate to antiwar agitation by unconditional withdrawal. As Kissinger put it:

> "An ignominious end in Vietnam would also leave deep scars on our society, fueling impulses for recrimination and deepening the existing crisis of authority. I continued to believe that we needed to leave Vietnam as an act of government policy and with dignity, not as a response to pressures and a collapse of will."

If North Vietnam and the Viet Cong had gone for victory in 1972-73, Nixon would have continued the war even at the risk of a domestic explosion.

And an explosion there would have been! Never has popular opposition to anti-Communist militarism been anywhere near as great as in the early 1970s. Around 1970 antiwar agitation began to extend from the campuses to other sectors of American society. A number of key trade unions, especially those with large black memberships, came out against the war. If Nixon had pushed the Vietnam War another year or so, the campus protests would have been joined by *political labor strikes against the war*, an unprecedented development in American history. The "existing crisis of authority," so feared by Kissinger, would then have acquired revolutionary implications.

But the imperialist/Stalinist compromise of January 1973 was a political victory for Nixon. Kissinger's description of American reaction to the treaty at the time is accurate enough: "Doves could rejoice in the end of the war. Hawks could take pride in the preservation of America's dignity." To many people it seemed as if Nixon/Kissinger had achieved peace on their own terms, i.e., the Saigon puppet regime remained in power.

Of course, it took no great insight to see that the weak, unpopular, corrupt, clique-ridden Thieu government would likely as not fall to the North Vietnamese in time. But time is often a decisive factor in politics. Those two and a half years before the fall of Saigon—"the decent interval"—were immensely important for U.S. imperialism internally. Those years defused a grave and escalating political crisis and demoralized a generation of antiwar radicals.

But détente did more than allow U.S. imperialism to withdraw from Vietnam in the least damaging way. With the blessing of Brezhnev (and Mao), the bloody-handed imperialists Nixon and Kissinger could present themselves as the architects of a stable world peace. Remember, incredible as it seems, Kissinger won the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize (jointly with Le Duc Tho, who refused it)!

There's an old saying: war is the mother of revolution. The long, losing, dirty colonial war in Vietnam created the potential for a mass revolutionary defeatist movement in the very heartland of world capitalism. No man did more to arrest this revolutionary potential than Leonid Brezhnev. To break the counterrevolutionary détente with imperialism it is necessary to carry through a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy in the deformed workers states—and a social revolution in the imperialist centers as well. Only the Trotskyists, who warned from the beginning against treacherous illusions in "peaceful coexistence," can lead this world revolutionary struggle. ■

Times' Sulzberger Got His Gun

When Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post* (3 April) revealed that *New York Times* publisher C.L. "Punch" Sulzberger keeps a .38-calibre pistol in his desk drawer, we wondered why. After all, the prestigious liberal publisher doesn't ride the subways like the rest of us, nor does he live in the South Bronx, and we bet he doesn't walk alone through Central Park late at night. Deep within his plush offices—how many armed men routinely patrol the *Times* building?—you wouldn't think Sulzberger would need his own piece, too. The *Post* coyly suggests it makes Sulzberger feel more secure in *Times* labor disputes: "Punch has been running the *Times*, and negotiating with union leaders, with a persuader at his side" for about 15 years.

In a *WV* article not too long ago, responding to a liberal media campaign to channel public outrage over escalating "random, almost casual violence...into a campaign for more cops, stiffer prison sentences, the death penalty" and tighter gun control, we noted:

> "The bourgeoisie's response to crime is to strengthen its own repressive apparatus, while disarming the citizenry. Sulzberger and his cronies—who are driven about in chauffeured limousines and never have to descend to the subways—can advocate strict gun control knowing that they are protected by a host of private guards and cops while the masses are kept defenseless."
> —"Fear and Violence in NYC," *WV* No. 147, 4 March 1977

Now it turns out Sulzberger is also one of 550 "civilians" (in all of New York City) approved by the police department for a pistol permit.

Meanwhile the press, *Times* included, continues to scream about crime on the streets in "Fear City" and to propose more cops and mandatory jail terms for anybody found carrying an unregistered weapon on the streets (which is where you need one). Criminals, nuts and 30,000 brutal racist off-duty cops in bars have guns. Law-abiding NYC working people don't. Sulzberger doesn't think we need them. After all, he's got his—and anyway, in the words of F. Scott Fitzgerald, "the rich are not like you and me."

The only real solution to spiraling crime rates is abolition of the capitalist system which breeds poverty, frustration, desperation, race hatred and violent crime. The bourgeoisie's recipes—more cops, crushing the unions, cutting welfare—only make more violence. Marxists struggle against the bourgeois state's monopoly of the means of violence and defend the right of the working people to defend themselves. And the next time the pressmen have to negotiate with Sulzberger, we hope they too can bring along their "equalizers."

NY Transit...

(continued from page 16)

maniacal war against the people of New York. His antics have people yelling at their TV sets and even pedestrians on the Brooklyn Bridge fantasizing about punching the mayor in the face. The *New York Times* (12 April) commented:

> "It is an irony of New York labor negotiations that Mr. Koch...could be one of the strongest allies of Mr. Lawe in winning ratification. For in saying the settlement is high, he might convince transit workers that it is, and thus help Mr. Lawe."

The sellout pact is certainly worthy of John Lawe. Transit workers have lost so much in the last six years that the 30 percent demanded by the TWU would barely suffice to restore real wages to their 1974 levels! This time around the rotten deal is for 9 percent increase in the first year, 8 percent in the second. The COLA applies only for the last six months of the contract, with a cap limiting it to 3.7 percent. And inflation is galloping at 18 percent! This "raise" is subway robbery.

Then there are the open giveaways. Twenty minutes wash-up time gone. "Broadbanding"—using lower-paid workers to do more than one job. Stretching out to two-and-a-half years the period required for new workers to receive the full wage scale. According to management figures, this giveback alone is worth $15 million—while the 1 percent more "won" by the strike in wages is only $10 million. The Taylor Law fines, meanwhile, are to be deducted from paychecks in the first 30-90 days after the strike (not right away, of course, so that they don't provoke a big "no" vote against the contract). The fines will total $35 million, to be handed over to the MTA bosses! This rotten betrayal of everything the transit workers fought for—this contract which is nothing but takeaways from start to finish—should be and may well be overwhelmingly rejected by the TWU membership.

What then? Now as two years ago there will be the court suits by dissident groups challenging the union vote. Dragging the union into the capitalist courts (as the revenue collectors recently did also) cannot bring a victory for labor even if the dissidents "win." It merely increases state control of the unions. And it can backfire, as happened in 1978 when the courts threw out a ballot that was going against the sellout pact. And if the contract is voted down, what does it mean to "return to the bargaining table" without resuming the strike? Already all wings of the TWU leadership are making a mockery of the union's traditional demand, "No contract, No work!" Militant transit workers must demand a resumption of the official union strike, and prepare to win full amnesty and the full demands *and more. Doubling* the wages should be the start—along with an iron-clad, 100 percent, uncapped COLA, full 20-years-and-out pension! And there must be the corresponding effort to mobilize the union—for democratically elected strike committees—and the rest of NYC labor in an all-out fight against Koch, Carey...and Carter.

The Dissidents Go Along

As Lawe rushed to the mikes to announce a "settlement" on Friday, the press sought out the "dissident" members of the Local 100 executive board for their comments. "TWU Rebels Vow to Topple the Accord," headlined the *Post* (12 April). A follower of George McDonald, head of "The Committee," was quoted as saying, "This is the biggest swindle in the history of the labor movement." This undoubtedly reflected the mass sentiment in the ranks. As transit workers went back to work dejectedly, those who said they would vote for the pact were few and far between. "Eleven days on strike for *nothing*," was the frequent comment. But the dissident leaders did *not* unanimously denounce the contract as a sellout. And most importantly they bear the crucial responsibility for the fact that it is being foisted on the strikers. This is the real story of the betrayal: the opposition *majority* on the exec board not only went along with Lawe's sellout, they were instrumental in producing it; without their acceptance he couldn't have pulled it off.

McDonald, Arnold Cherry of the Unity Slate and Henry Lewis of the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers had formed a Good Contract Committee to unite the anti-Lawe dissidents in the bargaining period. Now they come out smelling like a rose. It's Lawe's sellout, right? They voted against it, right? Not so fast. In the first place, why didn't they object when Lawe announced that the "agreement," which the exec board did *not* approve, would be sent to the membership? Obviously Lawe meant a mail ballot which would take a minimum of two weeks—and that clearly meant a back-to-work order. Then when the Local 100 president told the media the strikers were ordered back, why didn't any of the executive board members contradict him? Some say they were buffaloed, that Lawe pulled a fast one with his "gift of the gab." The fact is, the dissidents let Lawe decree an end to the strike because it got them off the hook.

This much, at least, is clear in the strange and murky case of Arthur Morris. Since Morris was elected on Cherry's Unity Slate, various anti-Lawe dissidents argued on Friday night that they were robbed since he would have voted against the pact. What really happened to cause his absence in the crucial hours? Was Morris shanghaied by Governor Carey with the connivance of the MTA? Did he leave on his own after receiving assurances from Lawe supporters that nothing of importance was in the offing? There are several contradictory stories. But in any case, why didn't the dissidents do anything about it?

They could have called up and gotten his vote by telephone. They could have held up the vote to get him to return. They could have screamed to the press, storming out of the executive board meeting en masse to denounce government interference in the bargaining. They could have demanded an immediate mass meeting of the TWU membership to discuss and vote on the "settlement." Any one of these actions would have stopped the sellout in its tracks. In 1978 the miners constantly lobbied their general executive board to "keep them honest," then refused to go back until the whole membership had voted on the pact.

The TWU "dissidents" didn't, because they wanted the deal to go through—with their "dissenting" votes, of course. Otherwise they would have had to take responsibility for the strike. After all, as Cherry admitted in an interview with *WV*, "We can't call ourselves dissidents because we are in the majority at this point." Arthur Morris was a godsend for the "dissidents." If this or some similar fortuitous event had not occurred, *they* would have had to push through the sellout, and thus seriously damage their militant image. So it is no surprise that McDonald should reply to *WV*'s question, did he see the strike settlement as a defeat: "No, I think it was a move forward for labor." For his real goal is to be elected in Lawe's place, not to win the strike. By Monday morning, McDonald was urging his supporters to accept the pact: "To vote it down now would be ridiculous.... We'd lose more than we would gain" (*New York Post*, 14 April).

From the very beginning of the strike we warned that the dissidents had no program for victory. In fact, we foretold exactly what happened: "The point is not to call a disorganized strike for a few days or even weeks until there is a new majority on the TWU executive committee, and then have essentially the same rotten settlement shoved down the throats of a demoralized membership" ("Strike to Win!" *WV* No. 253, 4 April).

If there is defeatist sentiment among transit workers today it is because their union leaders, both Lawe and the dissidents, failed to lead a militant mass strike, then engineered a return to work at the moment when its effect was taking hold. They have convinced many who wanted to struggle that there is no way for the unions to win. But the strikers were prepared to stay out for full amnesty—and even today the TWU membership could be galvanized to go back out on strike, *to finish the job*, if they saw a leadership capable of leading it.

TWU Can Still Take the Lead

What was needed to win the strike was first of all to exercise the power that the union had, to tighten the torniquet around the bosses' arteries and keep on squeezing. It was also necessary to combat Koch's efforts to whip up anti-union frenzy in the city. A powerful demonstration of 100,000 NYC unionists downtown in the centers of power would have dramatically proved that not all New Yorkers are strikebreakers.

A joint transportation strike would also have heated up the conflict in a hurry. But there was nothing but tokens. Long Island Railroad Teamster trackmen went out for 31 hours; PATH operating engineers refused to work overtime for one day, temporarily laming the scab shuttle from Penn Station to World Trade Center. Teamster chief John Mahoney expressed the back-stabbing spirit of the business unionists perfectly with his greasy statement that the LIRR union was going back as a demonstration of "good faith." It was an explicit invitation to the city to piece off the more peripheral unions in order to strengthen its hand against the main enemy—the lower paid, more heavily black, traditionally more militant subway workers. Moreover, throughout the strike, 2,700 members of Victor Gotbaum's DC37 of AFSCME crossed TWU picket lines every day to man control centers for the MTA bus and subway system—and this at a time when there were no buses or subways to run! What kind of solidarity do they expect when their own contract expires June 30?

From Day One to the end, the transit strike was a political battle. In the aftermath, union-buster Koch is still fighting, ludicrously posing as the great defender of the 50-cent fare. But the TWU could undercut this cynical ploy to scapegoat the union by demanding and fighting for a free fare—an official union position since the days of Mike Quill, but one neither Lawe nor the "dissidents" talk much about. In black and Hispanic communities there was certainly an awareness that when the TWU was under attack by the strike-breaking, labor-hating, race-baiting mayor, their side was not with Koch.

In the middle of the battle there was a real opportunity to reverse the dangerous polarization between the minority population and the unions which has lasted since the 1968 teachers strike. As city politicians try to polarize New York along race lines, which Koch's cutbacks of ghetto hospitals and schools have done, transit workers could take the lead in uniting all the oppressed against the capitalist "austerity" drive. A class-struggle leadership of the TWU could have led a break by the labor movement from the anti-union Democratic Party of Carter, Koch and Carey, sparking the formation of a workers party to fight for a workers government.

The abysmal sellout of the NYC transit strike of 1980 is a defeat for the entire NYC labor movement, for the black and other ghetto populations, the poor and working people. It was a defeat caused not only by the official union leadership—which was in management's pocket from the get-go, just looking for the moment to call off a strike they didn't want—but also by the legalist/reformist "opposition" groupings which didn't want, plan or lead a militant transit strike to save New York. Today, transit workers must fight back with every means of labor struggle at their disposal. Turn the contract vote into a rout of John Lawe, who sold us out, and the McDonalds, Cherrys and Lewises who went along. Rip it up! Vote it down! Prepare a strike to win! ■

Bosses Own the Courts

Taylor Law Must Be Smashed On Picket Lines

With NYC transit workers ordered back to work under an "agreement" that has not been agreed to by any union body—whose terms subject the TWU membership to court fines totaling tens of millions of dollars—there is a predictable explosion of court suits by union dissidents. They range from the unprincipled to the ineffective, all seeking to gain in the bosses' judicial system what they haven't won on the picket line.

Suit Number One is against the Transport Workers Union itself, demanding that the back-to-work order be overturned because of irregularities in the Local 100 executive board meeting where Local president John Lawe rammed through the pact despite a tie vote. This anti-union "tactic" may well backfire, and in any case only aids the capitalist state in its efforts to hamstring the labor movement; it must be repudiated by all defenders of union independence. Suit Number Two, introduced by supporters of dissident leader George McDonald, is against the anti-labor Taylor Law, the New York state legislation banning strikes by public employees.

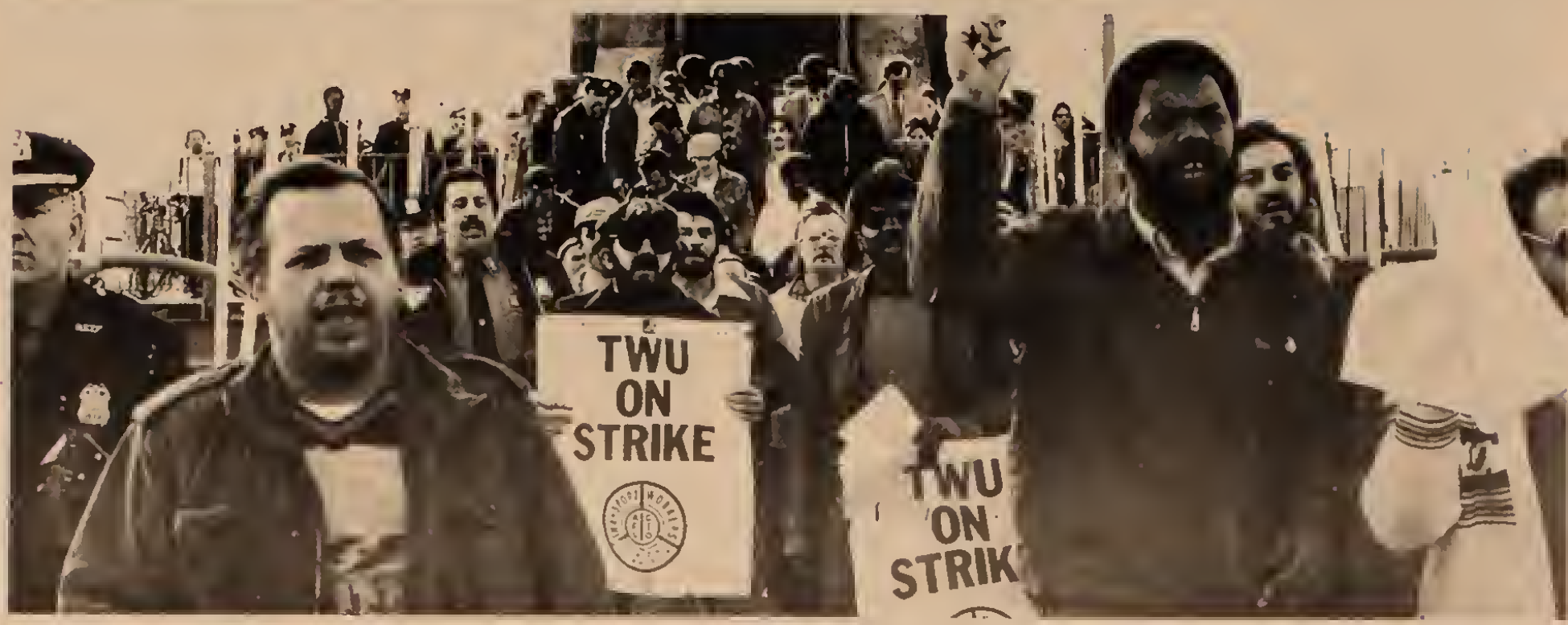
McDonald figures he has the MTA lawyers beat—he claims there was no legitimate strike vote. But what does that mean—that he's opposed to the strike! Moreover, once the strike began, "Management...never offered us protection to get across the picket lines"! So he would have scabbed? These are the arguments of someone who is already thinking about how to break future strikes, a new John Lawe in the making. Not surprisingly, McDonald is now supporting the sellout pact.

Make no mistake about it—laws like the Taylor Law are plenty constitutional—for the courts, like the cops, are instruments to defend the interests of the ruling class. Attempts by the sanitationmen and teachers in 1968 to constitutionally challenge Taylor Law penalties and anti-strike injunctions failed completely. And in 1975, striking NYC firemen got a taste of the bosses' "justice" when they were slapped with a $650,000 fine for a five-and-a-half hour walkout!

Amnesty can be won, not in the courtrooms but on the streets. The 12-day New York transit workers strike in 1966 won amnesty from penalties of the even-harsher Condon-Wadlin Act. Most notable is the example of the coal miners, who for years have struck against endless court injunctions handed down by company judges. In 1978 they held out for 110 days against the companies and successfully defied Jimmy Carter's imposition of the hated Taft-Hartley Act.

The right to strike, like every other union gain, will be won on the picket lines, not in the bosses' courts! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD



WV Photo

Vote It Down—Prepare a Strike to Win!

NY TRANSIT SELLOUT

How Dissidents Went Along With Lawe Sellout

APRIL 15—This one really stinks. After 11 days on strike, with their ranks solid and the city beginning to feel the pinch, 33,000 New York transit workers were sold down the river. The Transport Workers Union of America is the strongest municipal union in the country, the powerhouse of New York labor. For a week and a half, TWU Local 100 held the threat of dreaded "gridlock" over the heads of city rulers. But the membership was betrayed.

They could have won this strike if they had leaders fighting to win it. Instead they had a leadership fighting to lose, joining MTA bosses in grinding down the membership's supposed "strike fever" until a moth-eaten contract could be imposed. "Johnny Lawe sold us out," say thousands of transit workers. And they are right. But the Local 100 chief had more than a little help from his opponents, "dissidents" who sat on their hands, more interested in getting into office two years later than fighting for a contract to protect their men from massive speedup and inflation.

An official union sign at the March 27 City Hall demonstration proclaimed: "TWU Leaders Will Go to Jail Before Their Men Go to the Poor House." Well, Lawe isn't sitting in the slammer, and transit workers *are* in the poorhouse. Meanwhile, the "opposition" is talking out of both sides of their mouths—some now call for approval of the despicable contract, others are back to their backstabbing tricks of suing the union. All of them promote the illusion that they can "fight" the Taylor Law in the bosses' courts. And none of them call for what is obviously necessary: go back out again, this time prepared to finish the job! Don't buy the "buybacks," throw back the givebacks! Smash the Taylor Law!

WV Photo

TWU's Lawe (right) and MTA's Ravitch shake on rotten deal for NYC transit workers.

Strikers Winning in the Streets...

Above all, the TWU strikers had to hold out: "Transit workers, they may have you by the throat but you've got them by the balls!" Our slogans found an echo because they told a basic truth: "They've got the money—You've got the power!" The ruling class knew it well and seriously prepared for class war. City Hall, the Wall Street bankers and Midtown corporations mobilized everything from 10,000 extra cops to a flotilla of hundreds of scab boats. The mass media churned out anti-strike propaganda hour after hour. At the Brooklyn Bridge and in his "operations control" bunker, union-busting mayor Koch tried to galvanize the population against the unions. They showed the fist of the capitalist state—judges "evenhandedly" meted out million-dollar fines against the unions while wagging their fingers at the Metropolitan Transit Authority whose insulting "offer" provoked the walkout in the first place. Behind it all were Carey and Carter, and the threat of calling out the troops to break the strike.

But the strike was effective, doing what it had to do. Sure, in the first week—with Passover, Good Friday, Easter and school vacation—the traffic tie-ups weren't as big as in the 1 January 1966 transit strike. Nevertheless, despite Koch's propaganda, business interests were hurting. Private industry and commerce were losing $100 million a day, department store sales off 30 percent, garment shops talking of moving out of town. The *Post* put the total loss at a billion dollars. The united front of the ruling class was beginning to come apart. And if "Nightmare Monday" didn't materialize, "Nightmare Wednesday" did. The power of a strike is based on withholding labor and stopping production—and those trains didn't move. Even the scab buses were increasingly being stopped at the terminal gates. The TWU strikers had done the essential. Now it was necessary to stay out until the bosses began to scream.

But Lawe ordered the men back to work—without a majority vote on the executive board and with no authority under the TWU constitution to do so. Even the 22-22 split in the Local 100 leadership was the result of a bizarre episode smacking of duplicity or worse. Anti-Lawe dissidents had held a majority until one of their number, Arthur Morris, disappeared on the night of the crucial negotiations only to appear the next day at a National Guard camp in Connecticut! Lawe took advantage of this absence, slammed through a vote, declared the union deadlocked and rushed to the cameras to announce a "settlement," ordering the men to report to work. And for what? A contract with a wage "increase" only half the current rate of inflation. For one percent more than the mediators' last proposal before the strike was called. For givebacks that will cost TWU members tens of millions of dollars. And with no amnesty from the anti-union Taylor Law which threatens to take a grand from the pocket of every striker and $1 million from union treasuries!

But the struggle isn't over. Transit workers can still fight back. The TWU bureaucrats still pretend the membership has a right to vote on the contract—if only by undemocratic mail ballot, which doesn't allow them to debate the pros and cons, and only after the strike was called off without consulting the ranks. Lawe and his cohorts couldn't shove the '78 contract down the transit workers' throats without two votes, and then stuffing the ballot boxes with votes from non-TA employees. They don't have to get away with it this time.

...Union Misleaders Sell Out at the Bargaining Table

In the aftermath, Koch railed that "the city won the battle in the streets; the MTA lost it at the bargaining table." If there were differences between the capitalist rulers, Koch distinguished himself as the all-purpose hater—against unionists, blacks, whoever crosses his

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 255 2 May 1980

An Entebbe Planned by an Idi Amin

Crazed Carter Drives toward WW III

Zabala/New York Times

AP

Helicopters and imperialist humiliation: the flaming wreckage of Carter's panicky fiasco at a remote spot in the Iranian desert on the anniversary of the fall of Saigon in April 1975. Five years ago, a defeated U.S. imperialist army cut and ran in embarrassed retreat, scrambling to get out, losers dangling from the skids of helicopters that couldn't wait. That victory for the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam was for U.S. imperialism not merely a humiliation but a defeat of historic importance, setting the stage for the present melodramatic debacle in the desert.

"Bold mission," says the capitalist press, "daring commando raid" or at worst "brave blunder." Brave? This was a cowardly act that left equipment, secret documents and above all the bodies of the dead behind, abandoned on the sands of the Kavir. After the panicky flight, the White House blustered rightly about the "moral depravity" of displaying the charred bodies for TV cameras at the U.S. embassy compound. But it was the American government and military that displayed their own cowardice, a special kind of cowardice bred in imperialist desperation and demoralization, conditioned in the dirty war in Vietnam, the school of imperialist losers.

Moral depravity? What bourgeois hypocrisy. The dead ought not to be treated like dogs either by panicked American commanders or by sadistic mullahs. In Afghanistan the Russians gave decent burials to the Islamic reactionary enemies, while the rebels flayed their victims alive. These maiming rites, however, are hailed by the bourgeoisie as "freedom fighting."

What kind of "heroes" leave the bodies of their fallen comrades behind? The kind trained in Vietnam, like Charles Beckwith of the Special Forces and his "elite," "Blue Light Team." The kind programmed for computerized mass terror bombing, for spreading fiery hell over peasant villages, habituated to the My Lais and the thrill of the "free fire zone." Beckwith, who led the raid with his gang of "angels," is a creature midway between Watergate "plumber" Gordon Liddy and the *Apocalypse Now* character who is exhilarated by "the smell of napalm in the morning." It is no wonder the Beckwiths are the "heroes" in an army trained in desperate counterrevolutionary war against the workers and peasants of the world, from the Bay of Pigs to the jungles of Angola.

World Losers Threaten Armageddon

Humiliation is certainly the word for what U.S. leaders felt last weekend. As the *Washington Post* (27 April) wrote: "For want of just one helicopter, President Carter's first attempt to use military force blew up on the pad.... what does that admission say about the overall readiness of the American Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps to go to war?" A lot. No one missed the fact that the Israelis did it at Entebbe, the West Germans did it in Somalia, but the United States—the "technological giant of the world"—couldn't even make it to Teheran before botching the job, because of a helicopter stuck in the mud. This was an Entebbe planned by an Idi Amin!

Carter accepts "full responsibility" for the fiasco. Of course he does. If he had any choice in the matter you can bet he would have opted for a Nixon-style "plausible denial," no doubt blaming it on Reagan, Kennedy, Brezhnev, etc. But for various reasons (only some of them known) Washington found it necessary to scrub the "mission" publicly. (Note that when the Russians intervene militarily it is always an "invasion"; when the U.S. does it the media snaps to attention and refers to a "rescue mission.") All the American military leaders consider the plan "eminently feasible." Sure, that's what they said about the Bay of Pigs, too, said the CBS White House correspondent. As for a commando divorced from any command structure, drawn from all three branches of the U.S. military, it's bound to fail—and great for spreading the responsibility.

In the U.S., Secretary of State Vance finally resigned, confirming the long-since established ascendency of his rival Brzezinski, only to be succeeded by the equally ineffectual liberal "dove" Muskie. But Crazy Carter and his mad anti-Russian Dr. Strangelove are embarked on a frenzied drive toward a nuclear World War III against the Soviet bloc.

What is in the minds of the American bourgeoisie as they anticipate such a global conflagration? First, they foolishly believe that as in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 (where military disproportions profoundly favored the U.S.), in a crunch the Kremlin will back down. Second, they are banking on the deep yearning for peace among the Soviet peoples, the result of their enormous losses and sacrifices in the Second World War. Third, they harbor the egregiously chauvinist assumption that the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet East will betray the USSR on behalf of Islam (which even the *New York Times* admits is a myth).

Above all, the Americans are made to face the loss of global hegemony. It's no longer a little adventure in Saigon—now they have strong impulses to bring the whole world down with them. True enough, Carter's Iran bungle is demented. But it only indicates the

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Defend the Soviet Union! Hands Off Iran!

"New FBI" Terror in Harlem

There's supposed to be a "new FBI" these days which has given up hiding its agents behind Klan white sheets in favor of Sheik of Arahy robes to go after bribe-taking Congressmen, labor officials and pornographers. Sure, the FBI murdered Black Panther leader Fred Hampton in his bed, but that was in the bad old days, liberals are saying. Now they cheer their post-Hoover, cool young "heroes" (they've even got black and women G-men now!), who are allegedly going after the real "bad guys" at last. But better not try to tell it to the black residents of 92 Morningside Avenue in Harlem—not after the feds crashed through their doors April 19 in a pre-dawn raid, shoving shotguns into the guts of terrified, sleeping people, smashing windows, ripping up furniture and clothes closets and forcing women to pull up their skirts and pant legs. The women were humiliated at gunpoint to "prove" they weren't Joanne Chesimard (Assata Shakur), who supposedly had a scar on her leg.

"The Gestapo came to Harlem Saturday night," wrote NYC's main black bourgeois paper about the FBI's door-smashing, glass-splintering terror raid. "So when I opened the door, there they were with shotguns and machine guns, 'boom, boom, boom' about five different pieces of steel into my belly," said resident Wilbur Jackson (*Amsterdam News*, 26 April). The FBI said they thought Shakur, the former Panther and Black Liberation Army leader, was in the building. (She had disappeared without a trace after a sensational prison escape last November.) But their terror tactics were clearly a vindictive racist vendetta aimed at intimidating black people and anybody who might even dream of sympathy for the escaped fugitive.

Big surprise! It turns out this is the same gang of thugs who spied on and harassed Martin Luther King, protected the Klansmen who slaughtered four black girls in the 1963 Birmingham Sunday bombing, waged a deadly (and largely successful) campaign to wipe out the Panthers, gunned down Hampton while he slept. The *Washington Post*, *Newsweek* and lesser liberals like the *Village Voice*'s Jack Newfield now tell us the leopard has changed its spots, that FBI critics are "quarreling with ghosts." They're *glad* the FBI has "moved with the times," has the most modern computers, up-to-date disguises, *effective* young agents to infiltrate the population. But it's these liberals who are living in a ghost world if they think that FBI "dirty tricks" disappeared with Tricky Dick. The imperialist ruling class needs its secret police. And if they occasionally entrap straying Congressmen or burgle the opposition party's election headquarters, their constant "enemies lists" are the pick-up lists of "subversives" to be interned in concentration camps.

The FBI's real job remains the intimidation, terrorization, repression and even liquidation of the oppressed, blacks, labor and socialists, in the service of this vicious, racist capitalist state. That's what the Morningside raid was all about. ■

Braithwaite/Amsterdam News

After the "new FBI" got through.

Seattle Port Shutdown Whips Bosses!

A shutdown of Seattle/Puget Sound ports by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) April 15 demonstrated the tremendous power of the working class. In 24 hours a two-week-old strike of ferry workers which was heading for massive defeat was suddenly transformed into a victory by the exemplary action of the ILWU. Coming on the heels of the longshoremen's solidarity shutdown of the Los Angeles port to defend striking oil workers on March 1, the Seattle action showed the kind of class unity which can put the bosses on the run.

The unusual port shutdown was called by ILWU International president Jimmy Herman in response to the vicious assault against the beleaguered Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU), which has jurisdiction over the complex ferry system in the Puget Sound area. Approximately 700 IBU workers had been forced to strike on April 1 when the Washington State Ferry System attempted to merge the union's pension plan into the state plan—a move correctly seen by the union as a first step toward undermining contract bargaining by putting the IBU under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service system. The state also made the outrageous demand of abolishing the cost-of-living allowance (COLA).

The state government began throwing every weapon at the IBU: a temporary restraining order against striking was issued and, when that was ignored, the national IBU president and secretary-treasurer were thrown into jail. Although they were released after a union appeal to the state Supreme Court, the union was slapped with an unheard-of fine: $300,000 plus *$300 per hour* as long as the strike continued! The state judges and capitalist politicians huffed-and-puffed about the "illegal" strike, but they changed their tune when thousands of ILWUers in 11 locals shut down Puget Sound ports in solidarity with the IBU to fight the outrageous fines.

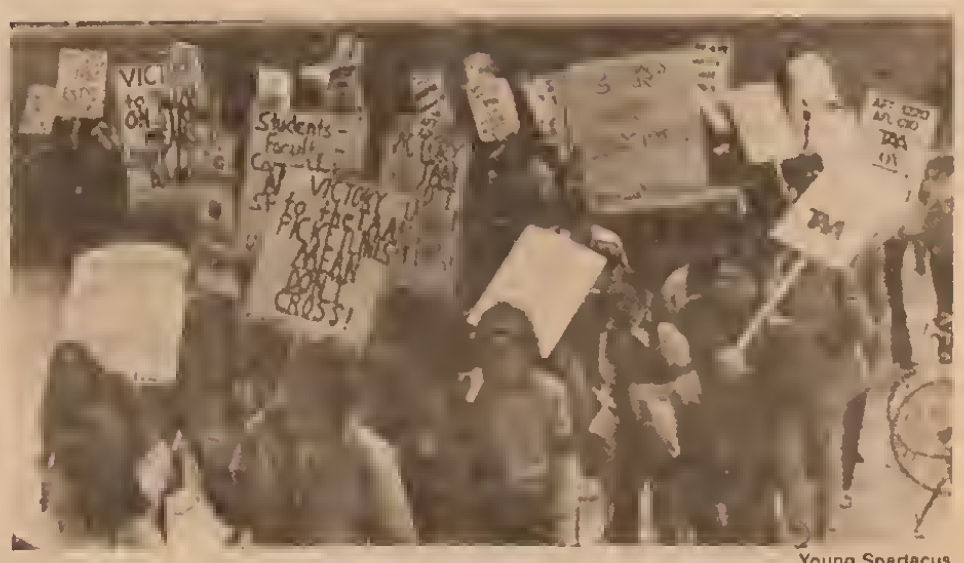
"It looked like the entire power of the state was coming down on us, but suddenly the whole atmosphere changed," one local union official commented. Quickly the astronomical fines were cut to a token $900 total, the IBU retained its COLA formula (reportedly worth up to a 43 percent wage increase over 3 years, as opposed to the state's "offer" of a flat 6 percent in one year), and the state retreated on its pension plan grab. So the two-week IBU strike ended in a union victory, starkly revealing that the working class gets only those rights for which it struggles!

Of course Jimmy Herman has not suddenly become a militant class struggler. He took this action as a one-shot self-defense—clearly the ILWU could be next on the chopping block after the IBU. But usually Herman has resisted *any* calls for solidarity action, such as when the "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" group in the ILWU called for a San Francisco Bay Area port shutdown to defend the recently defeated oil workers strike. Such militant labor action—"secondary strikes" and "hot cargoing"—could have shortened the birth pangs of the United Farm Workers union by years and can be instrumental in bringing the union-busters such as the J.P. Stevens Company to their knees. Not to mention the Pacific Maritime Association. ■

SYL in Madison Sit-In

In a militant show of support for striking teaching assistants, students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison seized two buildings in less than a week. On April 17, 200 students occupied Peterson office building and held it for 36 hours, demanding "a reasonable and enforceable contract between the administration and the Teaching Assistants Association." The sit-in also demanded an end to the police violence which had resulted in the arrest of over 50 TAs and their supporters on "disorderly conduct" charges since the beginning of the strike April 1. A week later, on the morning of April 24, 175 students entered South Hall, blocking the entrances and holding the building until noon the next day.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) actively participated in both building occupations, arguing for militant tactics and a class-struggle strategy to *win* the strike based on the understanding that *picket lines mean don't cross!* This idea of elementary trade-union solidarity—instinct to tens of thousands of coal miners—is anathema to fake-lefts on the Madison campus. Members of the Revolutionary Student Brigade have crossed TA picket lines in order to attend classes while Progressive Labor has urged its supporters to scab on the strike, "to organize students from within"! These phony communists balked and equivocated until they finally killed the Peterson sit-in by pushing through a motion on the second day to continue the occupation in rotating twelve-hour shifts. This ridiculous proposal—vigorously opposed by the SYL—allowed the cops to come in on the third day and drag out the 75 students who remained inside.



Young Spartacus

Demonstration in solidarity with teaching assistants strike.

The SYL has won recognition at Madison as the only consistent champion of militant labor solidarity. The growing political authority of the newly organized SYL chapter was reflected when the South Hall sit-in went on record unanimously in support of the SYL's declaration of "unconditional opposition to the draft and Carter's new Cold War drive." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Tied to the Bourgeoisie...

Stalinists Sabotage United Front Against Fascists

The "United Front Against Fascism" was the perennial call of the Stalinized Communist parties in the decades before they discovered "peaceful coexistence." It was their ultimate justification for every opportunist betrayal from the bloody strangling of the Spanish revolution to lining up behind the "democratic" imperialists in World War II. And it was all a lie—the Stalinists were never interested in the most powerful united action to smash the fascist terrorists, but rather in "uniting" the oppressed with their oppressors.

According to the CP, you see, it is necessary to unite with the progressive, democratic, peace-loving sector of the bourgeoisie to defeat the reactionary, fascist war-mongering sector. In the U.S. this was the Stalinists' excuse for heading off movements toward a workers party and tying labor to FDR and the "lesser evil" Democrats. So again in San Francisco on April 19. Since SF mayor Dianne Feinstein, the Democratic Party, the cops and the bourgeoisie as a whole didn't want to stop the Nazi terrorists from marching on Hitler's birthday, neither did the CP. In the face of a genuine, powerful, labor-based united front mass action against the fascists, the Communist Party became the biggest splitters of all.

The April 19 Committee to Stop Nazis (ANCAN) demonstration grew out of a struggle inside the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) following the vicious Greensboro, North Carolina Klan/Nazi murders last November. Early on some 500 members of the ILWU signed petitions demanding their union call a Bay Area-wide anti-KKK rally calling for jailing of the killer Klansmen, for union-organized labor/black/Latino defense guards against fascist violence and to uphold the right of armed self-defense. But the leadership of the traditionally "progressive" ILWU, in particular the CP spokesmen in the union, instead tried to channel sentiment into support for a separate demonstration on April 5, explicitly in order to avoid a confrontation with the Nazis. As it turned out, only about 200 people showed up, and fully one-half of these supported ANCAN. So intent were the Stalinists in their opposition to independent labor action which might embarrass the Jewish mayor, they spent more time trying to wreck the April 19 action than they did in building their own!

Although ANCAN's campaign was broadly popular in the labor movement, the CP did manage to get some of its "progressive" friends to waffle. Leaders of the East Bay Women for Peace, which had initially overwhelmingly endorsed the ANCAN demo, called back 36 hours later to renege on their endorsement. Members of the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression were also interested; however, they reported a phone call from New York finally squelched the effort to join the ANCAN rally. Now after some 1,200 people turned out to the April 19 demonstration, CP supporters are quietly saying it was a "mistake" not to have endorsed. But the Communist Party did more than not endorse—it did everything possible to wreck the demonstration...and failed. (Meanwhile, a Moscow Tass reporter showed up to file a story on the rally for the Soviet press—better get your line straight, guys! Perhaps the Nazi threat strikes a rather different chord for the Russians than for the pacifistic American CP.)

WV Photo

CWP-led rally less than 1/3 size of ANCAN demo in SF April 19.

The Communist Workers Party (CWP) five of whose members were massacred by the Klan in Greensboro last November 3, was leader of a second "Anti-Nazi/Klan Coalition" which held a separate San Francisco rally April 19. The CWP, Maoists who support the now deposed Chinese "Gang of Four," is an unstable, previously deeply isolated, Stalinist sect both more militant and

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Bob Mandel at Cal Anti-Draft Rally

On the Red Side in Afghanistan

We print below excerpted remarks by Bob Mandel, convener of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis, at an April 9 teach-in against the draft at the University of California at Berkeley, broadcast live over radio station KPFA. Brother Mandel was introduced as a former member of the "Oakland 7," a group of antiwar activists indicted in 1966 for their activities against the draft for the imperialist war in Indochina. Today he is a member of the executive board of ILWU Local 6 and a spokesman for the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in that union.

The most striking difference between the New Left in the '60s and the anti-draft demonstrations that have swept the campuses of late, is that the New Left had a side, and it was a very clear side: we stood for the Vietnamese workers and peasants against the Vietnamese landlords, against the dope pushers.... And I would suggest that, if you look at the situation both in Afghanistan and in Iran the side should be just as obvious. You have to decide, are you for Jimmy Carter's so-called "Human Rights" crusade or are you for the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, to put it very bluntly. And I say to you, if you look at why the Soviet Union intervened, and what the present regime in Kabul stands for, that the Soviet intervention is right, plain and simple. And I will tell you why.

Many people in this country don't like what the Khomeini regime in Iran stands for. They know that it drops bombs on national minorities; they know that homosexuals are prosecuted; they know that a woman who is found guilty of committing adultery is executed; they know that women are forced to wear a *chador* [veil]. So Iranian Muslim fanatacism is not approved of by the American public. Well, the program of the Afghan rebels is exactly the same. You may have seen a picture in the newspapers three weeks ago, of a turbaned man with a beard carrying an approximately 1905 rifle, and lying at his feet was the dead body of a female teacher. Her "crime" was that she was a woman who had taken off the veil, and she was a teacher in schools which only in the last two years had been open to women. That is the difference between the one side and the other. And therefore I think you have to take a side....

Now one of the key differences, in my opinion, between the situation now and the situation in Vietnam, is that there are people like myself in the labor movement who are fighting to see to it that the unions do not line up behind an imperialist war drive either against Iran or against the Soviet Union, the way the labor movement essentially did in the '60s. The labor movement has enormous potential power, and in 1973, when Nixon escalated the bombing of Cambodia and Laos, the Australian longshoremen for two weeks struck against American shipping—would not handle a single ship in or out of the harbor. *That* is social power.... The labor movement has the power to bring society to a halt.

Now we've had some very interesting debates in our union on the question of Iran and Afghanistan. I've been elected to the executive board for about five or six years now, and we don't run on the program of, "Vote for us, we'll get you more money," and "we'll be democratic." We do say those things—but we try to say that international issues are of vital importance to working people in this country. It's their kids who will first be drafted. It's the children who cannot get student deferments who will first be drafted—overwhelmingly working-class, black and brown. So our international union slapped a boycott on Iranian cargo about three days after the Iranians seized the embassy. Our International president essentially put himself on Jimmy Carter's side. We got up in the union meeting and spoke against it. We said, "Look, if Jimmy Carter drafts people to go into the Middle East, it will be for Big Oil. It'll be for strategic anti-Soviet reasons. American workers have no interests in fighting a war, not only for the oil corporations which are ripping them off, but also for a president who imposes a 7 percent wage freeze when inflation was first 12 percent and today 18-20 percent."

And we said to people, "If you want to understand what the Soviet Union is, clearly it is no socialist heaven. But you as union members know that your lot with the union is qualitatively better than if you were a non-union worker.... The Soviet Union is very similar. The Revolution of 1917 made extraordinary advances for the workers of that country; and while I believe that it is deformed today by the bureaucracy that runs it, nonetheless, the advances of women, the advances of minorities, the advances of the working class are qualitatively more than are available in comparable societies under capitalism."

So I want to make only a couple of final points. One of the results of the fact that the New Left did not know what the Democratic Party was, and that most of the New Left did not understand that "student power" is limited, and that most of the New Left did not have an orientation to take its radical or revolutionary politics into the unions, is that today we have a political scenario in the United States where not only is there the onset of an economic crisis, but where the Nazis dare to march in San Francisco April 19 to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday.... I would like to urge all of you to come out on April 19, to the Civic Center, to *stop the Nazis.*

We say, very simply, that it's not a question of free speech—it's a question of murder.... Our job today is to run the Nazis out of San Francisco: they were run out in 1976, by the Spartacus Youth League and the Progressive Labor Party; Jews in the Sunset burned down their book store in 1977; and in 1966 Jews and unionists ran [Nazi leader] George Lincoln Rockwell out of the Civic Center. So I invite all of you: if you are serious about stopping imperialist war, then you have to stop armed terrorist groups in the United States as well, who seek to put themselves at the service of the U.S. ruling class which butchers working people, national minorities, oppresses everybody and exploits everything in this world. ■

Crazed Carter...

(continued from page 1)

folly he is capable of with the imperialists' mega-death arsenal. *It is deadly dangerous to underestimate the irrational responses of world losers.*

"Mission Impossible"

Carter's attempt to prove that the U.S. could make a military intervention into Iran showed the opposite, indicating a lot about the degenerate state of the U.S. military. It seems to have bothered the imperialist chieftain not at all. Carter's weakness is so striking that above all he cannot abide appearing weak or paralyzed. In a *Newsweek* interview as reported by Martin Schram (*Washington Post*, 27 April) Carter made this incredibly revealing statement:

> "I have a very real political awareness that at least on a transient basis [the] more drastic [the] action taken by the president, the more popular it is. When President Ford expended 40 lives on the Mayaguez [a ship seized by the Cambodians in 1975] to save that many people who had already been released, it was looked upon as a heroic action, and his stature as a bold and wise leader rose greatly."

"A bold and wise leader"? Carter's Iranian adventure was so ill conceived that the plan seems like an adaptation from the script of those TV shows based on the low-level technocratic fantasies of failed CIA operatives. Someone forgot to tell Carter and Brzezinski that those missions really are impossible. And then the script became a Mel Brooks scenario.

As on the "Mission Impossible" shows, nobody seemed to ask even the most basic question. For instance: Why weren't there more helicopters? What kind of plan for an operation in the desert takes no account of sand storms? Why such haste in retreat that the team left the bodies behind? When "defense" secretary Harold Brown was asked how such a large force could expect to roll into downtown Teheran unopposed and how it thought it could get the hostages away from 150 armed guards, Brown replied: Oh, that's the easy part.

The plan as presented was so harebrained that all manner of speculation is in order. The Russians charge that the action was just a cover for a coup attempt that didn't come off. The Iranians say the raid was only one part of the plan and there are more troops out there in the desert. The more conspiratorially-minded speculate that the plan was never intended to "liberate" the hostages, but to get them all killed either by their guards or in an Attica-style kamikaze attack killing everyone at the embassy.

While the White House press corps lectures about how hard it is to operate in the desert, we can't resist a comparison with the Russian intervention in Afghanistan. Whereas the Americans apparently couldn't land a few aircraft on vast expanses of desert without getting sand up their turbines and gyroscopes, culminating in having their planes go bump (and bang) in the night, the Russians landed a plane every couple of minutes in Kabul, took their tanks right in and put down the reactionary *jihad* of Islamic fundamentalists with speed and efficiency. No wonder everyone recognizes that the Russian presence on the Afghan border of Iran is one of the few stabilizing features in a dangerously unstable situation.

Hands Off Iran! Defend the Soviet Union!

In the aftermath of Vietnam, the U.S. in its weakness and decay has found the leader it deserves in Jimmy Carter. In the smoke of the spectacular failure, some things have become blazingly clear—first of all, as one "hostage mom" said of Carter after his stunt failed: "He's off his rocker!" Yes indeed. That Carter is a wimpy and incompetent political cynic was already broadly understood, but this event more than any other has placed his personal stability in question. This is a theme that the Russians have been sounding for some time. A special Tass statement (*New York Times*, 26 April) said that Carter has the U.S. "balancing on the brink of insanity." It went on to say that the "abortive provocation" proves that Carter "could not care less" about the hostages "and is prepared to sacrifice their lives for his election interests." In this observation, the Russian news agency is joined by everyone from the families of some of the hostages to European statesmen. But weak, muscle-bound, incompetent madmen are dangerous, especially when humiliated.

Khomeini, of course, is delighted with Carter's disastrous adventure: once again the ayatollah can whip up anti-American sentiment to prop up his shaky regime, beset by Iraqi border skirmishes, Kurdish nationalist insurgency and leftist dissent in the universities. When *he* launches a "cultural revolution" to cries of "death to the communists," he really means it. And Khomeini's executioners are the very same "students following the Imam line" whom the left has uncritically hailed for seizing the U.S. embassy. Marxists, while upholding the norms of diplomatic immunity, are essentially indifferent to the fate of the CIA spies, Marine Corps volunteers and veteran imperialist diplomats being held captive. But the fact that Khomeini has insulted Carter and the U.S. does not make the Iranian Muslim patriarch an anti-imperialist hero. For the workers movement, the Islamic fanatics' embassy seizure was a *diversion* to bolster the clerical-reactionary Iranian regime.

Under Carter and Brzezinski (a manifestly mad irredentist who waves his rifle at the Russians at the Khyber), events have taken such a dangerously bizarre turn that even Khomeini makes sense when he declares that "by this act Carter has proven that he has lost rational thinking and that he is unable to govern a big country like the United States" (*New York Times*, 26 April). In the same speech, Khomeini boasted that he leads a country of "35 million martyrs." So here are two sets of dangerous nuts, each with his own obsessional concerns. Carter will do anything to get reelected and the old ayatollah will gladly sacrifice all the people of Iran to oppose "the Great Satan." *But these dangerous nuts are not equally dangerous!* Only one of them is the chief of the largest imperialist power in the world. Only one of them has his itchy finger on the nuclear trigger of an arsenal pointed at the Soviet Union.

It is becoming widely recognized that Carter may indeed drive to thermonuclear war with Russia over Iran or even Afghanistan. Even before the "rescue" fiasco, West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt observed, "This looks more and more like July 1914." Even now Carter continues to threaten more military action against Iran, and there have been reports of jet fighter planes exchanging fire in the straits of Hormuz. Carter says he will not blockade the harbor. He says he will not bomb. But for months the administration insisted an Entebbe-like mission was militarily impossible and would be foolish. Carter must not be allowed to run his imperialist gangsters around the world like some kind of international nightriders. In a military confrontation between Iran, even under the leadership of the reactionary mullahs, and U.S. imperialism, workers must demand: Hands Off Iran!

Just as Khomeini used the hostage crisis to refurbish his fake "anti-imperialist" credentials among Iranians who hate the role U.S. imperialism played in the shah's regime, Carter used the crisis to whip up domestic chauvinism and promote an atmosphere of imperialist war-readiness. The media played along as Americans counted the days of captivity, learned the names of the hostages and followed the political conflicts among their families (how many Americans could name even one member of the crew of the Pueblo spy ship held for 11 months by the North Koreans?). But while Carter was happy to foster a crisis atmosphere in which the patriotic would feel constrained to rally 'round the president "in our nation's

RCP Deep-Ended

The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of would-be cult leader Bob Avakian seems to have gone over the edge. It has proclaimed its upcoming May Day demonstration to be virtually the opening shot of the American proletarian revolution and is furiously "building" the action in the cynical tradition of Stalinist martyr-making, sacrificing any hope of influence in the working class to the publicity which it hopes will compensate for its lack of mass support. With Avakian along with other RCP comrades arrested for spectacular stunts (including particularly an indefensible pistol-packing attack on the Chinese embassy in Washington, the raising of a red flag over the Alamo, an attempt to storm a Chicago unemployment office, a confrontation last Tuesday at the Oakland City Council which became a police riot, as well as numerous invasions of factories and high schools), the RCP's "strategy" would appear to be to get the rest of its membership to consummate unity with their chairman—behind bars.

Last week the RCP's strategy of confrontation assumed tragic dimensions when RCP supporter Damian Garcia was stabbed to death and two others injured in a melee at Pico Gardens housing project in Boyle Heights, California near Los Angeles. The *Los Angeles Times* (23 April) reported the RCPers had been "trying to generate support" for their May Day action when "a confrontation occurred that escalated from the use of water hoses into fights in which the stabbings occurred." The RCP's *Revolutionary Worker* (25 April), however, claimed Garcia was "singled out consciously and deliberately targeted for murder" as "retaliation for what happened at the Alamo."

"What happened at the Alamo" was only one of numerous incidents where the RCP tried to pursue its self-appointed mission to single-handedly raise the red flag over America. Of the many reports that have reached us of East Coast and Midwest plants where the RCP invaded the workplace and provoked fistfights with the workers, two are particularly worthy of comment. A couple of weeks ago, at the Ford assembly plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, the RCP staged a rally in the parking lot, then proceeded to enter the plant with their red flags to demand that the workers walk off the line. After lengthy arguments, finally some 10-15 reactionary workers drove the RCP off with pipes, sticks and other factory debris. Chased out of the plant and past the gate, the RCP supporters continued to hait workers, challenging them to come outside the gate if they really wanted to fight and promising to return in force the next day. When they did they were stopped at the gate by cops and company guards. The next week the RCP returned with a larger contingent and provoked another fistfight. If nobody was killed in this incident, it was not for want of the RCP trying.

More recently, at a Chicago-area U.S. Steel plant at South Works, the RCP invaded the factory to lower the American flag and raise a red flag in honor of its May Day rally. The logical culmination of this policy came about a week later, when five RCP supporters actually quit their jobs at South Works so they could spend all their time "building" the demonstration, thereby sacrificing some 30 years seniority in the steel industry. There could be no clearer indication that the RCP has no perspective for the day when the advanced workers, supported by the masses of their class, will raise the red flag over their factories as an assertion of *power*—the power of the united proletariat, acting as a class for itself, to collectively own the means of production and administer its own state power. With no confidence in that perspective, the Avakian cult abandons any possibility of a base among the workers in favor of maximum visibility for its "May Day Brigades."

The spectacle of RCP-supported trade unionists abandoning the workers for the greater glory of Bob Avakian recalls nothing so much as the misguided people, mainly blacks, who left their livelihoods to follow demagogue Jim Jones into the wilderness—at the eventual cost of their lives. The RCP members, many of whom now wear bullets around their necks in imitation of their leader, are the cannon fodder for the megalomaniacal ego of Avakian. Every issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* features the voluminous speeches of Chairman Avakian along with numerous photos suitable for framing. And the "May Day Brigades" are presently his proudest creation.

"Class Struggle Rages Over Button Day" proclaimed a recent front-page headline (4 April) in the *Revolutionary Worker*:

> "March 27 was button day nationwide. From the Revolutionary Communist Party and the National May Day Committee, the call went out to wear a May Day button that day, to wear it in defense of Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the RCP and, as the leaflet said, the most consistent, determined and far-sighted revolutionary leader in the country today....
>
> "Where Bob Avakian's name or picture was brought out in some places, it sharpened up the revolutionary stakes involved in Button Day, and sales shot up...."

For the RCP the proof that Avakian is "the most consistent, determined and far-sighted revolutionary leader" is the fact that he is facing up to 241 years in jail for his provocative stunts. We leave it to our readers to imagine what the RCP has in mind for its more expendable, rank-and-file supporters. The RCP's silence on what exactly it intends to *do* with its "May Day Brigades" on May Day only increases our apprehension.

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Cuba Masses Say: Gusanos Go Away!

When 10,000 people jammed the grounds of the Peruvian embassy in Havana demanding "asylum," the imperialist press thought it had scored an anti-communist propaganda coup. See how thousands are willing to sacrifice anything to escape this Caribbean gulag, they said. But Cuban *jefe máximo* Fidel Castro quickly turned the tables on the anti-communists. The Cuban government granted exit permits to everyone at the embassy and even invited exiles to come down by boat and pick up friends and relatives wishing to leave. Suddenly the heat was off Havana and on the U.S. State Department, which had trouble explaining why the supposed victims of Communist tyranny were not welcome in the "land of the free."

Immigration officials screamed and hollered, threatening to fine anyone bringing "illegal aliens" into Florida by boat. (The INS does jail and send back Haitians trying to escape their U.S.-backed dictator all the time.) But as both Castro and the Miami exile community knew, Jimmy Carter in an election year could not afford to turn away Cuban "refugees," no matter how dubious. So some of the more mercenary-minded among the Cuban exile boat owners launched a "freedom flotilla" to Mariel harbor in Cuba, where the would-be emigrants awaited transportation to the mainland. But anybody who couldn't fork over the $1,000 going rate for the ride is still waiting. Guess they just ran out of "Human Rights" luck.

But the most striking aspect of the whole affair is the outpouring of hatred by the Cuban masses for those trying to flee to the imagined capitalist land of riches. "*Gusanos* Get Out" said crude hand-lettered signs. "We Don't Want Shits Here," proclaimed others. On April 20 one million Cubans (half the population of Havana!) turned out for a demonstration commemorating the defeat of the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

Though the newspapers made little of this huge rally, from TV news clips shown in the U.S. it is clear that this was an emotional, enthusiastic throng. The Cuban people turned out in an outpouring of genuine hatred for the "scum" who, seeing their pot of gold at the Miami end of the rainbow, turned their backs on the revolution and offered themselves as propaganda tools for the U.S. imperialists.

The Cuban masses are well aware that the exiles in the U.S. enjoy a higher standard of living than is now attainable in Cuba. But as Castro observed in 1965, "Any other Latin-American country to which [the U.S.] made such an offer [of unlimited immigration] would empty out overnight."

When refugees from right-wing dictatorships apply for entry, the "no vacancy" sign is always hung out. Only a handful of the tens of thousands who fled from the Chilean junta's bloody terror after the U.S.-backed coup in 1973 were granted asylum in this country. But time and again Washington has rolled out the red carpet for right-wing criminals—from Eastern European Nazi collaborators after World War II to the dregs of the Saigon torture government after its fall in 1975.

Montes/Gamma

Havana, April 20: One million strong, Cubans commemorate imperialist defeat at Bay of Pigs, denounce gusanos.

As Trotskyists we hold no brief for the Stalinist bureaucratic caste which from the moment of the Cuban revolution's triumph has usurped political power from the Cuban working class. But our program of political revolution against Castro and his cronies has nothing in common with the pro-imperialist smear campaign of the big business press. Deformed by the nationalist bureaucracy and its counterrevolutionary policies of "peaceful coexistence," the Cuban revolution is nonetheless the first successful anti-capitalist revolution in this hemisphere. Despite the hardships imposed by the U.S. trade embargo, the Cuban masses understand that they have achieved historic conquests. Only by militantly defending these gains will it be possible to extend the social revolution to the rest of the Americas and carry out a workers political revolution to replace the narrow Castro regime with genuine soviet democracy!

As for the "human garbage" in the Peruvian embassy, we can well understand why the Cuban masses would like to see them go. So would we. ■

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darkest hour," he soon began to come under pressure for doing "nothing." What finally set him off was Khomeini, who said the one thing that was sure to get the imperialist chief reaching for his gun: that he would probably keep the hostages until after the election. So Carter decided to get rid of the hostage crisis by any means necessary.

Whipping up an atmosphere of chauvinist war-readiness is fundamentally an anti-Soviet ploy. But the more Carter threatens Iran, the more difficult it becomes to bring the Iranian mullahs into the strategic anti-Soviet military alliance. This simple fact more than anything else deters Carter/Brzezinski from an all-out war course. And the Iranians are well aware of the power of threats to play the "Russian card." When Carter talked about mining Iranian ports, Ghotbzadeh replied with a threat to set fire to the Persian Gulf—and to seek "foreign aid" to remove the mines. Regarding economic sanctions the foreign minister said pointedly: "If the whole West wills that a country like Iran be totally dependent on the East because of the question of the hostages, we are not going to certainly starve to death" (*Washington Post*, 25 April). And the USSR has made it clear it is prepared to help break a U.S. blockade.

The imperialists are quite right to view the mullahs' Iran as potentially as hostile to the Soviet Union as was the Iran of the shah. But the hostage crisis threw a monkey wrench into their plans. The U.S. had its chance to make an anti-Soviet hostage deal at the time the Russians intervened in Afghanistan, when the Iranian rulers were upset over the fate of their reactionary fundamentalist brothers in Kabul. But the deal fell through, whether because the U.S. did not keep the shah cooped up in Panama or because Khomeini could not afford to lose his "anti-imperialist" trump card under conditions of turmoil at home. So although there is good reason to believe Bani-Sadr when he promises the Islamic Republic will resist the Russians "to the last drop of blood," there is for the moment a dramatic failure of the reactionary rulers of the U.S. and Iran to come together in an anti-Soviet alliance. As revolutionaries committed to the defense of the USSR against imperialism, we recognize that the present inability to forge a global anti-Soviet alliance as profoundly a good thing. Defend the Soviet Union! Hail the Red Army in Afghanistan! Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet Olympic Boycott!

"My Superpower, Right or Wrong"

Carter's misfire amidst the talk of war has produced an expected initial spirit of no-criticism. Even Kennedy has learned that gloating over Carter's impotence in the hostage crisis tends to backfire. Now that Cyrus Vance has resigned in protest, the mask of bourgeois unanimity is beginning to slip. In fact there is plenty of anxiety over Carter's war course—not because there is any significant difference in capitalist circles over the need to build up an anti-Soviet nuclear arsenal, but because some elements think Carter might blow up the world out of ambition or pique. Even Barry Goldwater has been flapping around as a "dove" critic:

> "Let me remind my colleagues that if we mine the harbor, if we blockade that is an act of war. And either Iran can retaliate or they can very rapidly find an ally in the Soviets, who can really retaliate. I would beg of my president to take a long, long time before he decides to perform an act of war that could drag this country into war at a time when we are not ready to go to war."
>
> —*New York Times*, 25 April

Of course there is the usual Congressional bellyaching about the lack of "consultation" (though why they want to share the responsibility for this one is beyond us). This takes the form of appeals to the "War Powers Act" passed in 1973 when Congress was looking for paper resolutions to appease mass antiwar sentiment. But the "War Powers Act" will never apply. The military adventure in Iran is being called not military but "humanitarian"—and what war is not deemed "humanitarian" by its leaders? And remember Korea, which was not officially a war but a "police action."

With Vance bailing out, what has been true for some time is now officially stated: Brzezinski is in control. Formerly, the bourgeois press and liberal détente-lovers could console themselves with the notion that Vance was a great moderating influence on Carter/Brzezinski. But as Brzezinski said recently, "the National Security Council is not a democratic body." Vance was the U.S. Bani-Sadr, the man who makes more rational deals only to find out later what the real policy is.

For the Europeans, Vance's resignation will scare them even more. And they are scared. When Schmidt talks about July 1914 he isn't kidding. And the Germans know that the nuclear war Carter wants to start will be fought on German soil. There is growing sentiment for neutrality in West Germany, reflected particularly in the pressure the chancellor is under from his own Social-Democratic party. In France, *Le Monde* editor André Fontaine writes of the "unanimity" of "low esteem" for Carter and describes an election between Carter and "cowboy" Reagan as a choice between maniacs.

So the "allies" are dragging their feet on Carter's Cold War, generally offering up symbolic gestures. But Carter has adopted a curious form of blackmail to compel at least token compliance. Basically he uses his own instability as a threat. So, he implies, you think I'm a warmonger? So you want "peaceful" economic and diplomatic pressure? Then you better do what I say. This "stop me before I bomb again" game seems to have limited success in Europe. But it is a very dangerous game.

Carter has whipped up a "crisis" of East and West within which he can demand allegiance from the "allies." The policy of the British, whose rotting economy makes them particularly loyal to U.S. imperialism, was caught by the conservative London *Economist*, which took the attitude that Carter wasn't very good but he was the only president "we have." The line of "Our Superpower Right or Wrong" has now been echoed by the French and somewhat more reluctantly by the Germans. Meeting in Lisbon on April 10, the Common Market declined to vote for sanctions against Iran, but on April 22 they came around far enough to vote to impose sanctions by May 17 "if the hostages are not released."

But it is not sanctions but missiles that matter in the last analysis. In their present mood, the Europeans might be willing to trade the U.S. some economic sanctions against Iran for a less war-hungry policy toward the USSR. But at present the two have become inseparable. At bottom, the resistance stems from the weakened position of American imperialism as hegemonic "world policeman." The European imperialists have their own interests that cut against the U.S. attempt to impose the old post-war Cold War "leadership." Trade with the Soviet bloc is too important to sacrifice for Carter. Japan needs oil to survive.

The dread threat of nuclear annihilation hangs over the entire world. The U.S., no longer the hegemonic imperialist power it once was, is still trying to act like it. This is the political etiology of Carter's apparent insanity, of the unguided irredentist missile Zbigniew Brzezinski. Just as the bourgeoisie as a whole will never passively accept that it has outlived its function, so Carter/Brzezinski refuse to accept the fall of Saigon and what it meant for U.S. imperialism. This is one good reason why the Soviet bureaucracy's illusions in détente and appeals to European capitalism not to "appease" America will literally go up in smoke unless the working class saves civilization from impending historic catastrophe. After two world wars and a great depression in this century, never has world revolution looked more like the road of peace and progress. ■

Fight Mass Layoffs with Sitdowns, Not Protectionism!

Depression Hits Auto

Depression times have hit Detroit. One out of every four of the state's 400,000 auto workers is unemployed and the numbers are rising. Local radio stations report plans to set up soup lines this summer, and in interviews laid-off auto workers have said they are selling their blood to make ends meet. As unemployment in the motor capital of America, now at 14 percent, nears the 17.5 percent mark of the 1974-75 crisis, welfare rolls have already swollen past recession levels. While the Chrysler Corporation was just lavished with a $1.5 billion federal handout (even though Chrysler bosses have deliberately run it into the ground), the companies and the government are determined to unload the cost of the economic crisis onto the workers.

With inventories piling sky-high, auto manufacturers are making a frantic plea for import quotas and laying off 215,000 production workers, including 184,000 "indefinitely." Even salaried employees are being laid off in record numbers, 40,500 to date. The numbers thrown out of work may soon eclipse the 300,000 idled at the peak of the 1974-75 recession. According to the saying, when the U.S. economy sneezes, Detroit catches pneumonia. But this time the layoffs will cut deep and last perhaps five years or longer. Many former auto workers may never see an assembly line again, as they are thrown onto the scrap heap like worn-out tools. This is the vicious outcome of capitalism's boom-bust cycle.

One fact stands out sharply in the recent wave of mass auto layoffs compared to 1974-75—the mounting number of plant closures. Of course, Chrysler's decrepit Dodge Main is long gone, together with Eight Mile Stamping Plant outside Detroit. But Ford has shut down its Pico Rivera plant near Los Angeles and plans to permanently close a Windor, Ontario casting plant and mothball its Mahwah, New Jersey assembly plant as well. All are relatively new, built in the '50s. And GM has stopped production at its L.A. facility, Southgate, leaving southern California with a single assembly plant. Meanwhile, fully *one-half* of all auto plants across the country have been shut down for at least a month now, while scores of second shifts have been canceled. Clearly this is no "rationalization" by the bosses to improve efficiency, but a pared-to-the-bone retrenchment in preparation for a lengthy depression.

How are auto workers to survive? The Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) program was heralded by UAW tops as the solution to mass layoffs in this highly cyclical industry. Yet Chrysler's SUB fund has already been exhausted for workers with less than ten years seniority, and state unemployment benefits for Chrysler workers laid off last summer are due to expire soon. Ford has announced that workers with over ten years seniority may get only six months of SUB. Recently, benefits from the Trade Readjustment Act (TRA), which provides 70 percent of base pay for up to a year for workers laid off because of foreign competition, were extended to 132,000 auto workers. But the capitalist press, annoyed that these payments will total $1.4 billion this fiscal year, has launched a scurrilous attack against TRA benefits for "overpaying" unemployed auto workers!

Ford Facts

Buy Products Made In America
We Build Them — Why Not Buy Them

THE 1980 CENSUS UPDATE

FREE INCOME TAX SERVICE

BUY A FORD PRODUCT AND SAVE A JOB

Who puts this out, anyway—the company or the union?

U.S. capitalism is in the early stages of a severe depression and the industrial heartland of the Midwest is its first victim. Auto manufacturers are panicked by the steady increase of fuel-efficient Japanese imports, now controlling 25 percent of the U.S. market. Mid-April auto sales are down by one-third and 1980 Big Three profits are expected to drop by a mammoth $5 billion. Even the *New York Times* (20 April) paints a "depressing" picture of the auto industry: "This is no cyclical downturn of the sort so often brought on in the past by styling changes, and temporary setbacks in the economy."

The U.S. economy is going to hell on all fronts. For years capitalist politicians and their economists have said they

Militant Slate in Local 600 Elections

For a Class-Struggle Opposition in the UAW!

DETROIT—As United Auto Workers (UAW) locals around the country voted for delegates to the upcoming international convention, a newly formed Militant Slate made a good showing at the giant Ford River Rouge complex in nearby Dearborn. The candidates of the Rouge Militant Slate were leaders of actions last fall which brought together hundreds of Detroit-area workers against the Ku Klux Klan. The three—Frank Hicks, Charles DuBois and Ken Granquist—squarely rejected reactionary schemes that lead toward world war. Their leaflet read: "[UAW chief] Fraser blames our problems on the Japanese 'yellow peril,' Carter says it's the 'red menace.' We know it's the bosses in their greed for the green dollar who are attacking our union and destroying our lives. *For a new UAW leadership to win!*"

In the Maintenance and Construction Unit, Rouge Militant candidates Frank Hicks and Charles DuBois got 141 and 146 votes respectively—some 7 percent of the vote. In the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) Rouge Militant candidate Ken Granquist got 87 votes—approximately 10 percent. For the Militant Slate, the results reflected a real base of support for its fighting program. One slate supporter, Al Miller, told *WV*, "I look at the elections as a victory for us even though we didn't win." It meant, he said, growing support for a militant fight for "jobs, pay increases, and taking a stronger stand for the unionized workers in fighting the fascist Klan and Nazis. In closing, I'll just say our day is coming!"

The Rouge Militant candidates are well known throughout Local 600 as the leaders of last October's campaign against KKK-hooded foremen in the plant and as organizers of the November 10 labor/black demonstration in Kennedy Square in the wake of the massacre of five anti-Klan militants in Greensboro, North Carolina. Over 1,000 Rouge workers signed the militants' petition to drive out the racist foremen. And more than 500 people, predominantly black auto workers from Ford, GM and Chrysler plants across the city, came out to the November 10 demonstration—the first labor-centered anti-fascist rally in the U.S. in decades.

Frank Hicks

Charles DuBois

Ken Granquist

During the delegate election period, the Big Three auto makers added thousands of auto workers to those already on the street with new announcements of plant closings and shift shutdowns, sending unemployment to levels approaching the 1974-75 recession. The Rouge Militant Slate fought the reactionary smokescreen of anti-Japanese protectionism and collusion with the auto bosses that had been advocated by both Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi and Fraser's Solidarity House:

> "Fraser blames Japanese workers for U.S. unemployment. Rinaldi and every unit chairman jumped on the 'Buy American' bandwagon, singling out the Japanese in racist fashion. This campaign is dangerous. Trade wars lead to shooting wars. This campaign feeds the atmosphere that breeds the Klan and Nazi scum."

In contrast, the Rouge Militants called for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and a campaign of sitdowns backed up by labor solidarity when the companies close plants or ax entire shifts.

Frank Hicks was the spokesman for the November 10 Demonstration Against Klan Terror. In 1978 when the Nazis tried to get a foothold in Detroit, opening a headquarters less than a mile from the union hall, Hicks raised a motion in the Local 600 skilled-trades unit for a massive labor demonstration outside the Nazi "bookstore." But Rinaldi & Co. scuttled this labor-action proposal, instead pressuring liberal black Detroit mayor Coleman Young (whose cops were protecting the Nazi bunker). Also in 1978, Hicks fought for a one-day UAW strike in solidarity with the coal strikers. And last summer, when Dodge Main was first threatened with closing, Hicks got a motion passed by the Local 600 Maintenance and Construction Unit demanding the International organize plant occupations and sit-down strikes to stop the layoffs. But the UAW bureaucracy sabotaged solidarity action and turned to toothless pressuring of labor's "friends" in Congress.

After the convention delegate election, *WV* interviewed Frank Hicks and asked him the significance of the vote. He replied,

> "Look, in the seven years I've been at Rouge, I've seen a lot of fly-by-night oppositions. Sometimes they're bureaucrats on the make. In the late 1960s, a lot of younger, slicker black candidates got themselves elected in Rouge units. For instance, there was Hank Wilson in Assembly and Grady Glenn in the Frame plant. But as soon as they got in office, it was the same old story: in the '74-'75 mass layoffs, the only thing Wilson's unemployment committee did was endorse him for unit president.
>
> "At Chrysler there was the Coalition for a Good Contract, or a Better Contract, or a Decent Contract. They could talk all day about union democracy, but as soon as the contract period was over, or they were given a few low-level positions in the union, their opposition just faded away.
>
> "The hard questions have to be answered, the key fights made for sitdowns against plant closings, for leading brothers and sisters against the Klan. The hard clear program is a must—you have to know where you're going. Look, Carter is threatening to pull the trigger on World War III over Iran and Afghanistan. You have to say where you stand. Well, as we said in our election leaflet, 'we must defend the Soviet Union against Carter's attacks like we defend our union against company and government attacks'."

In the delegate elections, Rinaldi's men—Bob King in skilled trades and Johnny Vawters in the DAP—did not face any serious threat from out-of-power bureaucratic oppositions. In DAP, Rouge Militant candidate Ken Granquist out-polled three out of four

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Sauro/New York Times

Last line at Ford, Mahwah, N.J.

could control the economy through the inflation/unemployment "trade-off," a little more of one, a little less of the other. Pro-capitalist union leaders have bought this myth in supporting wage-price controls. But today we have both the highest inflation in three decades *and* the beginning of mass unemployment. Real wages fell almost 10 percent this past year even *before* the economy as a whole turned down. With overall national output going down fast, things will get worse, with no immediate prospects for relief.

Bourgeois economists are now almost unanimous in their projection of gloom ahead for U.S. capitalism. They differ only in their assessment of the severity of the slump—mild recession, deep recession or depression. The irrationality of decaying American capitalism is made clear in the economic statistics: in the first quarter of 1980, oil profits zoomed over 100 percent while auto profits plunged 90 percent. And the enormity of the problem far surpasses the capacity of the present economic system to solve it. According to the *New York Times*, retooling production to meet the demand for subcompacts would require some $80 billion capital.

The jobs of 750,000 auto workers are on the line. With the bond market in a shambles, credit tight and inflation soaring at 19 percent, there is no chance of investors coming up with such a massive infusion. Any talk of a federal subsidy to tide the industry over is pure bunk. This is not a question of a bailout for "welfare bums" like Chrysler. A reformist scheme like this, even if it were feasible, would be taken out of the hides of workers through slashing jobs, conditions and benefits and very probably on the condition that the union surrender its right to strike. Given the scope and depth of the problem, the future for auto workers in capitalist America is bleak.

What is needed is a class-struggle leadership at the helm of the United Auto Workers (UAW) committed to waging a struggle for a workers party and a workers government to expropriate the auto industry and all the means of production. Instead the UAW is shackled with the class-collaborationist leadership of Doug Fraser, whose claim to fame is that he will be the first union president to be "honored" with a seat on a major U.S. company's board of directors. Fraser follows in the footsteps of his predecessor and fellow social democrat, Leonard Woodcock, who was rewarded for his "statesmanship" with an ambassadorship to China.

Fraser has lately been busy drumming up support for the chauvinist, company-backed campaign for import quotas. In February he took a highly publicized trip to Tokyo to demand that foreign companies which sell over 200,000 units in the U.S. be required to build four-fifths of their parts here or face severe

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After UAW's Longest Strike

Harvester Workers Beat Back Forced Overtime

CHICAGO—In the longest strike in the history of the United Auto Workers (UAW), 35,000 International Harvester workers successfully beat back management's attempt to impose forced overtime and other contract takeaways. Returning to work after 172 days on strike, they had scored a victory against the giant agricultural implements manufacturer, long the only UAW-organized company without some form of mandatory overtime. For the UAW, this breaks the pattern of unending sellouts in recent years. And for IH workers it was sweet revenge against hated boss Archie McCardell who had been specifically imported from the aggressively anti-labor electronics industry to try to break the back of their union.

The IH strike also serves as a message to auto workers that in an industry where grueling forced overtime is the norm and takeaways endemic, the companies can be beat. But the Harvester victory is a defensive one, a matter of stopping company assaults through rank-and-file determination. The contract negotiated by the UAW International saddled agricultural implement workers with the same rotten 9 percent wage increase over three years forced on the auto workers, which has *already* been eaten up by inflation. And in the wake of the strike, Harvester has begun a series of layoffs, reflecting the general economic crisis and the weak demand for farm machinery due to Carter's blackmailing grain boycott of the Soviet Union.

The business press has been trying to portray the strike outcome as a "compromise," but if so, it is certainly one which represents capitulation by the company on a key issue. The new Harvester contract preserves the right to refuse overtime by creating a pool of volunteers who can be called upon for overtime work. And the union also stopped a company crusade for non-union part-time workers, along with takeaways on such issues as seniority and holiday pay. The money settlement was widely considered a sellout. But with a clear victory against forced overtime—*the* issue of the strike—and the men out of work more than five-and-a-half months without income, the union membership recognized it was time to go back and overwhelmingly ratified the contract.

In addition, workers at a truck plant in Fort Wayne, Indiana won the right of first preference in hiring at a new similar facility in Wagner, Oklahoma—a favorable settlement in light of the fact that previously (according to UAW Local 57 in Fort Wayne) hiring was done by the Wagner Chamber of Commerce, which axed any applicant with a union background. The only local not yet back at work is Local 1336 at Louisville, Kentucky, which is respecting picket lines of Harvester employees organized in seven craft unions.

Throughout the strike, workers screamed for the blood of Harvester chairman Archie McCardell, the union-hating "efficiency expert" specially lured in from Xerox Corporation with a million-dollar bonus in 1977 to cut costs and increase "productivity." The giant electronics conglomerates—IBM, Xerox, Polaroid and so forth—remain bastions of anti-unionism, much of their operations located in the "right-to-work" South. McCardell was brought in to do a job on the IH workers, and in two years he duly slashed 10,000 jobs. He went into the strike declaring that the company *would* at all costs secure the right to forced overtime to bring its profit margin up to its competitors'. McCardell was so hated that at a December 12 demonstration outside corporate headquarters in Chicago strikers dismembered a McCardell effigy and paraded with its head on a picket stick. On February 7 they burned him in effigy at another demonstration outside the Melrose Park IH plant. And the strikers may indeed have gotten McCardell's head. With Harvester reporting a $225 million first-quarter loss, with no forced overtime reaffirmed, there are persistent rumors that he will be dumped.

The real obstacle in this strike was the UAW bureaucracy. The International tried to shaft the strike at every turn. They allowed IH workers to walk the picket lines alone for months, after settling with Caterpillar Tractor Company where a contract providing for mandatory overtime was rammed through. They allowed significant scabbing at some plants and refused to mobilize militant mass picketing to shorten the strike. Then after Harvester hoisted the white flag in February, UAW vice president for Agricultural Implements, Pat Greathouse, tried to swing a deal whereby the company could get its non-union (i.e., potential scab) part-time workforce. Only the determination of the rank and file stopped this sellout.

By sticking it out month after month, the IH strikers managed to win. UAW ranks ought to sit up and take notice of this fact. If they had had a leadership with a militant program to match the members' willingness to fight, ag imp

WV Photo

Archie McCardell burns in effigy. They busted the union-buster.

strikers might have been able to get rid of the wretched wage settlement as well. A class-struggle leadership would have springboarded from a defensive victory against forced overtime in Harvester to securing the same provisions for all ag imp and auto workers, forging ahead to win a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Today, when Solidarity House is waving the flag for protectionist policies and Carter is pushing his anti-Soviet war drive while the Klan/Nazis are escalating their terror at home, militant auto workers must build an internationalist, class-struggle leadership to fight for a workers party and a workers government. ■

Auto...

(continued from page 7)

import restrictions. It's hardly surprising that the Big Three are pleased with Solidarity House's embrace of protectionism. Ford executive vice president William O. Bourke said of Fraser, "He is the most effective negotiator we could have.... We have more agreements than disagreements..." (*Automotive News*, 18 February).

The UAW tops are not alone in pushing for reactionary protectionist legislation. It goes right down the line. On March 27 a demonstration was called in Dearborn, Michigan by Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi and UAW regional director Buddy Battle as part of their reactionary "Buy American" campaign.. Two hundred auto workers picketed, not in front of Ford World Headquarters, not at the huge Ford Rouge complex, but at a local Toyota dealer. The picket signs read, "Save a Job—Buy Products Made in America." Not to be left off the social-patriotic bandwagon, fake opposition groups like the Independent Skilled Trades Council support protectionism in a slightly modified form, demanding that the government pass laws prohibiting the Big Three from building plants abroad.

Economic protectionism only pits American workers against their counterparts overseas, creating a poisonous climate of chauvinism that vicious anti-black, anti-labor groups like the Klan thrive upon. It also feeds the war hysteria being whipped up by Carter. These schemes are consciously designed to divert the attention of auto workers from their real power—to shut down production to halt layoffs and fight for jobs for all.

Yet the labor front in auto has been quiet for months. If it has been easier now than in 1974 for Solidarity House to push its protectionist garbage, this is partly because auto workers correctly perceive that any struggle for jobs today runs smack into the deepening depression. And they do not see any possibility that their leaders can take on the whole capitalist system. In the context of an $80 billion retooling of the entire industry, any talk of trade-offs is simply impossible—and the workers know it.

But it *is* possible to fight the system. A fighting strategy to rally auto workers has been put forward by the Rouge Militant Slate of Local 600. Instead of piecemeal reforms, they call for a nationwide UAW strike and sitdowns demanding jobs for all, and for building a "workers party pledged to expropriate the capitalists and establish a planned economy with production for human need, not private profit." This is the road forward for auto workers and the rest of the working class.

—For full unlimited unemployment pay!
—For free job training under union control!
—Jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!
—No forced overtime!
—Fight layoffs with industrywide strike action coupled with plant occupations!
—For mass labor defense of occupied plants!
—Expropriate Big Oil!
—Break with the capitalist parties! Build a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government! ■

Militant Slate...

(continued from page 6)

members of the "Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW." This small group had, incredibly, criticized the petition campaign against the KKK-hooded foremen as a *diversion* from the contract struggle. "This is ridiculous," said Granquist. "Everyone in the plant knows it mobilized the rank and file against the company. It was the most significant political blow against the Klan undertaken in the Rouge in recent history." The Committee's other claim to fame is its defense of its backers, now the so-called Revolutionary Workers Group, who scabbed on an AFSCME strike at the University of Michigan in 1977.

The Rouge Militant Slate gained support from a number of longtime militant black workers. Pat Martin, a black skilled tradesman with 15 years, said in a statement endorsing the slate:

> "American workers have traditionally considered Democrats as the pro-labor party. The Democratic coalition of labor, blacks, liberals, etc. has lasted for many years. Now at the beginning of the 1980s, it is a good time to examine some of the results of this partnership. Rapidly rising unemployment, soaring interest rates, prices and taxes, possible war in the Middle East are just a few of the signs of the 18-percent runaway inflation. Keep in mind that all of the above are happening with a Democratic mayor in a union city, with a Democratic president and U.S. Congress controlled by Democrats—the so-called party of labor!
>
> "Workers in the coming decade will be faced with more and more layoffs, plant closings, inflation, etc. Those workers 'fortunate' enough to keep their jobs will have to deal with speed-up, harassment and a general decline in the quality of their work life. Looking at this situation we must all make some hard decisions in the very near future. Do we continue to rely on the old Democratic-UAW leadership, or do we seek new leadership? Do we need to organize and work for a true workers party? If you think it's time for a change, an important first step would be the support of the Rouge Militant Slate in the upcoming election for UAW convention delegate."

Summing up the election, Rouge Militant candidate Charles DuBois told *WV* the three intend to form a class-struggle caucus in Local 600:

> "We intend to live up to our responsibility and wage a fight, not by ourselves, but with a class-struggle opposition caucus. We will be a caucus that speaks the plain political truth about the crises that we face. We will not accept mass layoffs and plant closings as a way of life for the '80s. We want to build labor and black defense guards to whip the fascists and beat back racist attacks. We stand for a break with the Democrats, to build a workers party to fight for a workers government." ■

Stalinist Sabotage...

(continued from page 3)

more contradictory than the Communist Party. The group has gyrated wildly between adventurist small-group confrontation with the Klan/Nazi killers, and the most cringing Moscow-brand ultra-legalism. Immediately after the Greensboro murders they even threatened Spartacist members with sticks and even guns for defending the CWP against the racist terrorists. But recently they have turned sharply into a "unity" phase in which they attend SL forums to polemicize, even feeling the pressure to send a speaker to the ANCAN demonstration.

In all of the lengthy negotiations over the April 19 rally, the CWP's bottom line was explicitly "non-confrontation"—i.e., they would let the fascists march. Thus, even after the Nazis' permit to march was revoked and a permit granted to ANCAN, the CWP went to the City Council April 10 and pleaded at length with the Board of Supervisors and Mayor Feinstein to pass a resolution condemning the Nazis. They tried to build their April 19 coalition by attracting bourgeois politicians to speak, but were only able to get one black councilman from Oakland. They scheduled their rally at UN Plaza, three blocks away from where the Nazis had threatened to march. And in the course of several negotiations with ANCAN, they deliberately put forward impossible conditions including that the CWP be in complete charge of security and that there be absolutely no clash with the Nazis.

On April 19, the CWP-sponsored march was a clear disappointment. Tops, they had no more than 400 people—one-third or less the number who showed up at Civic Center. Several of the groups which had endorsed their action soon drifted over to the ANCAN rally. And one featured speaker, black teacher-activist Yvonne Golden, had to be pulled at the last minute when it was discovered she had scabbed on the 1979 teachers' strike! Finally CWP leader Nelson Johnson came over to the ANCAN rally where he accepted the offer of speaking time from the platform (an offer made a week before and turned down by the CWP).

As a measure of its contradictory and unstable character, when the CWP finds itself isolated, in remote, backward areas of the country, these adventurists taunt the Klan to come out with cries of "cowards" and the like. But, when the possibility exists of real mass action with hundreds of unionists backed up by the endorsement of a substantial sector of the California union movement, these visceral Stalinists hold back, in order to keep the masses tied to the bourgeoisie. The recent issue of the CWP newspaper, *Workers Viewpoint* (19 April) criticizes the Spartacist League for rejecting the "campaign to pressure the Board [of Supervisors] to take a stand." The attempt by the "Trots" to organize labor independently, they claim, "though it comes out in a 'left' form," lets "the government and politicians off the hook."

In a class by itself was the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which carried its policy of "free speech for fascists" to its logical conclusion by not showing up at *either* of the April 19 rallies—not even so much as a *Militant* salesman. Earlier these pseudo-Trotskyists had mobilized a goon squad to prevent well-known CWA militant Jane Margolis from speaking for ANCAN at a "public" SWP forum.

In addition there was a gaggle of smaller left groups, characterized above all by blind hatred of the Spartacist League; these also sneered and ignored the ANCAN rally—until the last minute, of course, when they scrambled to get on the platform. The snotty Ann Arbor-based Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG) first put out a leaflet calling ANCAN "sectarian splitters," then showed up at the last minute and asked for (and got) a speaker.

The Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) showed up decked out in red crash helmets while their speaker frantically proclaimed that the Oceanside Klan attack (where one of their members got 100 stitches after a fascist assault) was a "victory." (Some victory! In fact, to add insult to injury the Oceanside district attorney has now refused to prosecute the Klansmen, claiming their vicious assault on the anti-Klan protesters was self-defense.) They had earlier endorsed the CWP demonstration, but instead showed up at the ANCAN rally. And Bob Avakian's cultist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), which had endorsed the CWP rally, also showed up sporting tiny red flags. After snaking through the demonstration for a while chanting May Day slogans for the benefit of their videotape cameras, they trooped off.

Sometimes people new to politics ask us honestly why we are "so hard" on groups like the CP and CWP. "Why can't you all get together?" We patiently explain, citing historical examples of what those who endlessly spout off about "unity" really do when confronted with the need for a united front in defense of the working class and its allies.

The ANCAN demonstration was living proof that the reformists "unite" first and foremost with the class enemy. The action had to be built *against* the reformists' desire for a class-collaborationist bloc with the "progressive" Democrats. Not even the Nazis and all they represent could shake these miserable opportunists from their long-habituated capitulation to their capitalist friends. ■

RCP...

(continued from page 4)

The RCP's catastrophism is perhaps a response to the present foretaste of deep depression and imperialist world war inducing a foreshortening of historical perspective. But it is *dangerous*. The "theory" of exemplary violence by a vanguard of heroes was for the Weathermen and others a rationale for terrorism; now it is the RCP's justification for self-inflicted martyrdom. But whatever the rationale, the result is to feed the anti-communism of the more backward workers while sowing confusion among the more conscious elements. This "strategy" is politically catastrophic for the struggle to root the communist vanguard in the proletariat and physically catastrophic for the adventurist leftists.

Those who defend the left, including the nutty Avakianites, against capitalist state repression do not look with pleasure on the deliberate creation of martyrs. And we resent the RCP's provocative confrontationism, which can only isolate and discredit the revolutionary red banner, *our* flag, and the celebration of May Day, *our* holiday. ■

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Unionists, Socialists, Minorities Say:

Together We Will Smash the KKK/Nazis!

The ANCAN rally drew a broad array of speakers, from unionists to gay liberation activists, blacks, Jews and socialists. In addition to the remarks excerpted below, there were speeches from Kathy Farmer, shop steward in OPEIU Local 24; Jerry Foster, executive board member of OCAW Local 4227, ARCO group, in Houston; Joe Stevenson of the ILWU Local 6 pensioners; Fred Attison, a black longshoreman from ILWU Local 10; two speakers for gay liberation groups, Konstantin Berlandt and Don Rohloff; Bill Mandel, author, commentator and Soviet affairs analyst; speakers from the Jewish Community House and Jewish Student Union and a speaker from the American Indian Movement. Also spokesmen from the Revolutionary Workers Group, Committee of Salvadorean Progressives, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Comité Revolucionario de la Costura (garment trades) and Spartacus Youth League spokesman Aloha Gapasin. Messages of solidarity were read from David Hilliard, former chief of staff of the Black Panther Party and now an organizer for SEIU Local 411 in L.A.; from Frank Hicks, Charles DuBois and Ken Granquist, candidates of the Rouge Militant Slate, UAW Local 600 in Detroit; from Alvin Gant, president of Mailhandlers Local 302 (SF); from Howard Keylor, member of the General Executive Board of ILWU Local 10 (SF) and editor of the "Longshore Militant" newsletter, prevented from attending by a serious industrial accident; and greetings from Brother Henry Schmidt, 81 years old, one of the organizers of the 1934 SF general strike.

WV Photo

SL spokesman at April 19 labor rally: "Not a confrontation between the Nazi hoods and small groups of militants, but a massive demonstration of organized labor, blacks, gays, Latinos, Jews, Asian-Americans, socialists, all anti-Nazis, to stop these Nazi creeps in their tracks!"

BOB MANDEL

[Convener of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis and a member of the General Executive Board of ILWU Local 6.]

I want to welcome you here today. You're all here obviously because you were determined that the Nazis were not going to celebrate Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. And if you take a peek over to those steps right there [at City Hall], there are no Nazis. That's where that demonstration was supposed to happen. And the 500 to 600 cops that our strikebreaking mayor was going to bring out here to protect the Nazis and their KKK allies—they're not there either. Because they got the loud and clear message: SF is a labor town. SF is a black town. It's a Jewish town, a gay town, an Asian town. Labor and the minorities were going to get together and make sure that fascists did not march on our streets, that every decent person in this town has a right to be here.

Some people said, let's go to the Board of Supervisors, that's the way to handle it. But we know from Greensboro that the police were in collusion with the KKK/Nazi killers. We know from Oceanside, where the permit was supposedly revoked and the cops stood by while the Klansmen with their guns and their mace and their clubs and their dogs attacked the anti-Klan demonstration. We knew that it was not going to be the city that would stop them. It was not going to be [SF mayor] Dianne Feinstein, it was going to be labor and labor's allies. So that's why we're here today. That's why you'll see right over here on your right the sign that says, "500 ILWU Members Say: Uphold the Right to Armed Self-Defense! For Labor/Black/Latino Defense Guards to Smash Nazi/Klan Violence!"

So we've seen strike after strike attacked in the Bay Area in the last couple of years. Scabbing is going on all over the place. And it's in that situation that the Klan and the Nazis begin to get a whiff of blood. Because there was a period in Germany when they were small, when they could have been eradicated, when the combined might of 13 million trade unionists, Communists and Socialists could have squashed them. When the fascists could have been run out instead of labor being run out and lynched. Communists hung. Synagogues burned. Jews exterminated by the millions. We won't make that mistake again. We will not tolerate them around.

Now I watched the Black Panther Party in this area get annihilated, and I had a lot of friends in the Panthers. I also worked in the civil rights movement in the South. Jimmy Carter's running mate for governor in Georgia, Lester Maddox, used to beat us up, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, in 1963-1964, with ax handles, because black people went into his restaurants and wanted to be served. Lester Maddox—Jimmy Carter's running mate as governor of Georgia. Fascism isn't some group of nuts. The fascists are being looked at by big business which runs this country. The fascists are even being looked at by certain sectors of the Democratic Party. Did Teddy Kennedy speak out against the Greensboro murders? Hell no! Has any prominent Democratic or Republican politician spoken out against the Greensboro murders? Hell no!

RON TENINTY

[Business Agent, Teamsters Local 315, Richmond, California. Brother Teninty was the head of the strike committee during the bitter four-month strike against Safeway in 1978. When the Teamsters struck in self-defense against a vicious speedup program, the company, protected by the government, unleashed a massive 1,500-man army of scabs against the strikers.]

I would like to take just a few moments to address a very few, very small group of individuals scattered around the crowd—those individuals representing undercover the Nazis, the Klan, the CIA, corporate executives and probably all of the above. I hope you go back to your secret meetings and you tell the filth of the earth that there are people here from all walks of life, organized and unorganized, all sorts of labor, all colors, all backgrounds. They're united to stop you. They are not going to let you do what you've done in other parts of the country in the Bay Area. You will not raise your ugly heads in this part of the country. It's plain and simple. Thank you.

SEYMORE KRAMER

[President of United Transportation Union Local 1741.]

We are not looking to the [SF supervisor] Quentin Kopps of this world, the Dianne Feinsteins of this world to fight the fascists for us. They are as useful in fighting fascists as a

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WV Photo

ANCAN Convener, Bob Mandel, "We will not tolerate cross-burnings, racist terror, defiling of synagogues in the Bay Area."

Keep the Nazis on the Run!

1,200 Stop Hitlerfest...

(continued from page 12)

armed Klansmen marched into SF federal building). But when they seek to penetrate the proletarian centers with their race terror, the fascists can be interdicted. The Spartacist League, though numerically a relatively small communist propaganda group, has twice taken the lead in doing so—as an initiator and organizer of the April 19 Stop the Nazis demo in San Francisco and earlier in Detroit. When following the Greensboro massacre the Klan threatened to march in the heavily black center of the auto industry, the SL was instrumental in mounting a demonstration of 500 mainly blacks and auto workers, proclaiming: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City."

The alarming growth of fascistic terrorist groups does not occur in a political vacuum, nor is it a reflection of an atmosphere of random "hate" as many liberals assert. It is a direct reflection of the mushrooming economic crisis and international policies of American imperialism. The Klan/Nazis are the fascistic fringe of the White House's perspective of a popular mobilization for thermonuclear World War III against the Soviet Union. With Carter calling for going on the warpath against communism overseas, the KKK/Nazis feel it's open season on leftists, blacks, labor, Jews here. The mad anti-Russian irredentist Brzezinski brandishing a machine gun at the Khyber means broad-daylight massacres in Greensboro. Thus in battling fascist penetration of the industrial centers of America, we are in part seeking to deprive the bourgeoisie of a rabid constituency unashamedly demanding war on the USSR.

Break with the Democrats, Build a Workers Party!

It was notable at the San Francisco rally that union leader after union leader stated that you can't rely on the police or the Democratic and Republican parties to stop the fascists. The April 19 labor mobilization to stop the Nazis came in the context of an all-sided war on the West Coast labor movement, and this was reflected in the wide receptivity to the ANCAN call among Bay Area unionists. Beginning with the defeated SF city craft workers strike of 1976, northern California employers have been on the offensive in what was once a union stronghold. In self-defense, the labor tops have been forced to undertake actions which would have been unthinkable a few years ago, such as the March 1 ILWU shutdown of the port of Los Angeles in solidarity with the oil strikers.

Mayor Feinstein, a leading anti-union SF supervisor in 1976, is so bad that even dyed-in-the-wool labor fakers like state AFL-CIO head Jack Henning are mumbling about a labor party. And significantly, several of the union leaders endorsing and participating in Saturday's ANCAN rally had played key roles in recent West Coast labor struggles. The link between militant support for strike struggles and the Stop the Nazis demo was vividly expressed in an incident at the rally: when a camera crew of struck TV station KRON approached the gathering, the chairman announced that they were not welcome, that their way would be blocked by a line of monitors and protesters chanting, "Scabs out!" Upon hearing the announcement, the scabs turned around and left, as the crowd applauded.

WV Photo

Militant phone workers in official CWA contingent chant: "Sweep the Nazis off the streets."

The April 19 Stop the Nazis protest was built through a tenacious battle against the San Francisco rulers. Supervisor Quentin Kopp urged people to "eschew attendance" (i.e., stay home and watch the Hitlerites on TV). Marching in lock-step with the strikebreaking Supes, the press imposed a blackout up to and even after the 1,200-strong anti-fascist rally. After the Nazis' permit was revoked, no article on the ANCAN demo appeared in the SF dailies, and no mention of it was made on area television. Justifying this policy of deliberately suppressing news, Channel 2 reporter Bob Hirschfeld told an ANCAN press spokesman that covering our rally would only "inflame the public." On the contrary! By preventing the Nazis from staging their racist provocation, the April 19 Committee was performing a service for all opponents of genocide and for all decent residents of San Francisco. Unlike Chattanooga and Greensboro, no blood was spilled on the ground here by fascist assassins. By censoring news on the SF labor mobilization to stop the Nazis the capitalist media are *inciting to murder!*

But it was not just the ruling class that wanted to see the demonstration sealed off by a wall of silence. The reformist left formed a veritable popular front stretching from the mayor's office to the Communist Party, united by their common opposition to mobilizing labor to stop the Nazis. The Stalinists traditionally justify every opportunist sellout by the need to maintain "anti-fascist unity." But in the face of this genuine united-front action against the fascists, initiated by socialists and based on the power of the working class, they become the biggest splitters of all. The "unity" which these phony "Communists" seek is not unity in mass action against the KKK/Nazis, but rather the chains which bind the slaves to their masters and the working class to its exploiters.

The Communist Workers Party (CWP), whose people were murdered at Greensboro, held its own rally at the same time at UN Plaza, several blocks away. Where ANCAN was a mobilization of labor, socialists and minorities to stop the Nazis from marching, occupying the same site at the same time with superior force, the CWP (usually known for its adventurism) appealed to the Board of Supervisors and sought at all costs to avoid a "confrontation" with the Nazis. The CWP's much smaller turnout (about 400) apparently motivated CWP spokesman Nelson Johnson to turn up at the ANCAN demo to accept ANCAN's earlier offer to give the CWP speaking time from the platform.

The decay of capitalism—its exploding inflation, mass unemployment and deep economic depression, and imperialism's drive toward nuclear war on Russia—gives rise to dangerous lumpen elements on the fringe of the increasingly desperate petty bourgeoisie. This social garbage sees itself as the concentrated, "strong" version of the racism and union-busting emanating from the highest sources of power. While the fascists' crude call for "white power" was only a minor element in the mid-70s antibusing mobilizations such as Boston, it was a strand in the lynch rope of racism, stretching to Congressional liberals and Carter's "ethnic purity" White House, which defeated school integration and other token gains of the civil rights movement. And when Jimmy Carter's private band of thugs can yank Jane Margolis, a San Francisco CWA leader and an initiator of the ANCAN rally, from the floor of her union convention, small wonder that the Klan in Oceanside wades into a crowd of anti-KKK protesters with baseball bats, knives, guns, chains, mace, police dogs. The Klan/Nazis certainly sense their growing acceptance among the ruling class every time the cops protect them from an outraged population, every time the courts protect their so-called "right" to "free speech," every time the media "even-handedly" equate the racist terrorists with their victims.

In America a fascist movement will be built on white supremacy; it is the whip side of racism. This demands from the labor movement in response a commitment to fight against the oppression of blacks and other minorities. In this period of capitalist crisis and brutal fiscal "austerity" for the cities, of "guns not butter," minorities are on every capitalist politician's hit list. Cuts in hospitals, schools, jobs, housing all hit the ghettos first, as Democratic and Republican politicos openly dismiss their black constituents as "expendable." Although minorities have never been in worse shape economically, even in the Great Depression, they make a convenient scapegoat for capitalists who want to direct the workers' anger over factory closings and mass layoffs into racist frenzy. The Klan and Nazis have the same strategy; they only claim they can do the job more thoroughly with their fiery race terror. Behind the growing bourgeois acceptance of the fascists in 1980 is the as yet dim perception that these "silly men" in their storm-trooper uniforms and hooded robes, these Hitler nuts and no-brow Kluxers, may become necessary for the preservation of capitalism.

While promoting race war against blacks and nuclear war on the Soviet Union, the bosses will direct their strategic blows at the workers movement—the one social force with the power and clear class interest to smash the capitalist onslaught of depression and war. For this job the bourgeoisie will need armed shock troops of race terror, union busting and anti-communism. This is why the capitalist politicians will not and *cannot* "ban the Klan," why it is necessary to fight not only the Nazis but also the racist capitalist politics which spawns them. That is why, as a number of class-struggle unionists and the Spartacist League pointed out at the April 19 rally, the struggle against the fascists must be part of a fight to build a workers party. Not a mushy reformist parliamentary party, but a workers party that mobilizes the power of the union movement in this fight for survival. If labor and blacks are to have a future, in this country and on the planet, the time to wake up is now! Keep the Nazis/KKK on the run—this is the message of San Francisco, April 19. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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Protest Media Blackout

New York City
21 April 1980

New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

To the Editor:

We vigorously protest your burying coverage of the mass labor mobilization against the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan in San Francisco on April 19 in a photo caption of a small Nazi/Klan rally in rural North Carolina held the same day. The rally in San Francisco was called by the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) in response to an announced Nazi "celebration" of Hitler's birthday. This rally received wide endorsement and support from the labor movement, prominent and well-known defenders of democratic rights, civil rights activists, Jewish groups, concentration camp survivors and gay rights organizations. Over 1,200 protesters attended the ANCAN rally, including representatives of 22 unions and official contingents from Communications Workers of America 9410 (San Francisco) and 9415 (Oakland)—not the "several hundred" you report in your photo caption. The Nazi "celebration" did not take place in San Francisco.

Unfortunately, as your photo indicates, the Nazis and Klan were able to hold their "Hitlerfest" in North Carolina. The 50 fascists included Nazis in paramilitary dress complete with pistols and clubs. In addition to "celebrating" Hitler's birthday they demonstrated in support of the 14 Klan and Nazi members charged in connection with the murder of 5 anti-Klan demonstrators last year.

Your biased coverage of these two events is of a piece with your coverage of the Greensboro massacre where you equated as the "violent fringe" murderers who preach race hatred in the service of genocide with their victims who were murdered for their commitment to social justice for working people and racial minorities.

William Kuntsler, Attorney
Conrad Lynn, Attorney

Speakers...

(continued from page 9)

spoon is for cutting steak. It is we who will fight the fascists. Two weeks ago a smaller number of us gathered and I wanted to repeat what I said last time I spoke. Which is that we recognize only two rights for the fascists. We recognize their right to run and we recognize their right to medical care after we have caught them!

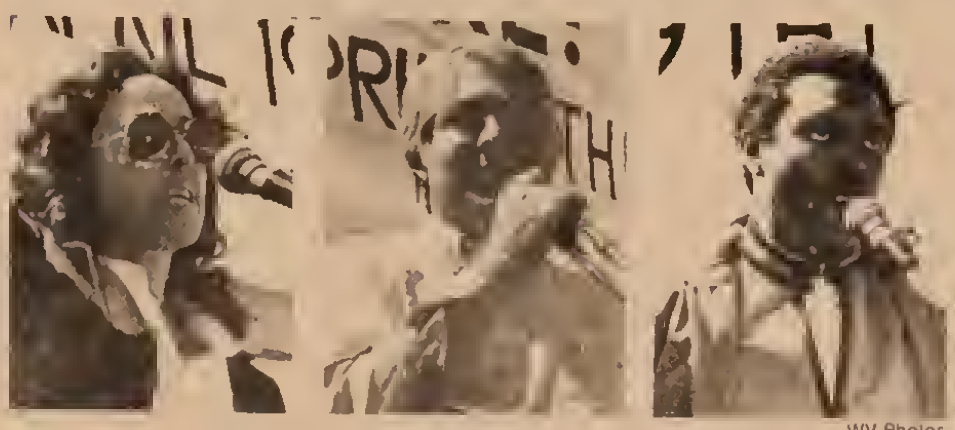
We come prepared for self-defense because we watched Greensboro. We come prepared to fight, but when we are ready to fight, let us not forget the climate that is being created by the most sophisticated reactionaries of this society, a climate in which Dan White could walk into that room and shoot Harvey Milk because he's a homosexual. And George Moscone because Dan White thought he was a friend of homosexuals. It is that kind of climate that allows Nazis to come out in the streets.

I'm a school bus driver, and I'm president of the union that represents school bus drivers. We work for a wage, like I'm sure 99 percent of you do. But we are also part of the integration busing program in San Francisco. We are proud of what we do. We are proud of helping to integrate this society. And I want to invite any reactionary, any Ku Klux Klanner, any Nazi to stand in front of my bus. I want them to stand in front of my bus, because 162 of us are ready to roll over them!

VINCE COURTNEY

[Executive-Secretary of Service Employees International Union Local 400 and a delegate to the SF Central Labor Council.]

I'd just like to congratulate you on your victory today. I'd like to say that Local 400 in the SEIU represents 16,000 people who live in San Francisco. All 16,000 of those are opposed to the Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan and we think it's important that we stand together and demonstrate very clearly that we will not have these people organizing in our back yard. Additionally, there's been a lot of comments made about some of the public officials in power. I do think it is important and we will hopefully be working with trade unionists all over San Francisco in developing our own program and working on our own program, because it's very clear that neither the Democrats or Republicans are capable of doing that for us.



WV Photos

Jane Margolis, CWA — Vince Courtney, SEIU — Nelson Johnson, CWP

JANE MARGOLIS

[Executive board member CWA Local 9410. In one of the most outrageous government attacks in recent labor history, Jane Margolis was dragged off the floor of the CWA national convention by Secret Service agents last summer so that she could not speak against the U.S. president. She is currently waging a million-dollar legal suit against the agency.]

People argue that the Nazis have the right for freedom of speech. But when I wanted to speak against the racist, strikebreaking policies of Jimmy Carter, they had me arrested and dragged me off my convention floor!

WV Photo

Detroit, November 10: Five hundred trade unionists, militant youth and socialists rallied in Kennedy Square to protest KKK terror, one week after the Greensboro massacre. They came from Ford's gigantic River Rouge complex and other major Detroit-area factories.

City Hall is trying to bust the union movement. It is trying to make people ignore the Nazis while they can grow. So the April 19 Committee said "No More!" We went into the streets of San Francisco. We went into the bars, into the laundromats; we went into the mom-and-pop stores, to the bus stops, on MUNI buses. And we discovered something: the people of San Francisco, from the Castro District to the shipyards of Hunters Point, hate the Nazis and do not want the Nazis in San Francisco.

Brothers and sisters, the Democratic Party has Kennedy, Carter. Tom Metzger is the statewide chairman of the KKK, and in southern California he is running on the Democratic Party ticket. So we say labor must have its own political party that fights for the power of all the oppressed.

NELSON JOHNSON

[A leader of the Communist Workers Party and one of the survivors of the Greensboro Massacre.]

On behalf of the CWP and on behalf of our comrades and friends back in Greensboro, we appreciate the opportunity to talk about what went down in Greensboro on November 3, 1979. It happened at 11:23 in broad daylight. The police department of Greensboro, just like these scum policemen here in San Francisco, operated with the Klan and Nazis. They knew that they were meeting seven miles from the demonstration. They knew that they had guns. They knew that nine carloads were driving directly into the ranks of the marchers, because the *tenth* car was a police car.

They saw them drive there, open the trunk of their car, take out automatic weapons, systematically and militarily dispersing the group and training the weapons in the head and in the hearts of five people and shoot them down in the street like dogs.

But then they covered it all up. Or at least they tried. They printed article after article saying that these people were merely insane. They put personnel carriers in the streets to block the streets so that you couldn't have the funeral march. Then they wrote in the papers all over the country, that anyway it was just a shoot-out between some communists and some Klan and Nazis.

WV Photos

Al Nelson, SL — Seymore Kramer, UTU — Ron Tenlnty, IBT

So, the struggle that we fight for today is not merely the struggle to slow down oppression, to stop so much Klan and Nazi violence. Our struggle is to uproot the source of it, which is the imperialist system, and to fight for socialism, a system that would free up the productive forces. The imperialists know that this imperialist system is on its deathbed and we have dared to administer the last blow to it. That's what Greensboro was all about!

AL NELSON

[Spokesman for the Spartacist League.]

Brothers and sisters, the Spartacist League, along with a number of brothers and sisters from Bay Area unions, was among the initiators of this call to stop the Nazis celebrating Hitler's birthday. And we are proud to be a part of this historic labor-centered rally. When these Hitler-loving creeps of the National Socialist White Workers Party—Nazis—announced their intent to celebrate Hitler's birthday right here in Civic Center, a celebration of genocide of 24 million people by Hitler's Nazis, we thought something had better be done, and done fast. Not a confrontation between the Nazi hoods and small groups of militants, but a massive demonstration of organized labor, blacks, gays, Latinos, Jews, Asian-Americans, socialists—all anti-Nazis to stop these Nazi creeps in their tracks. We say San Francisco is not a Nazi town, San Francisco is a labor town!

There are no Nazis here today and that's a victory. Police Chief Murphy said last Thursday that the Nazi permit had been revoked because of technicalities. The real reason was the fear by the police department that they would not be able to guarantee the safety of Allen Vincent and his little group of Hitler-lovers *because of this demonstration.*

To rely on the government, on the Democratic and Republican politicians, is not just illusory. It's dangerous, because these people are the enemy of labor. Look at the record. Since the days of Roosevelt, labor has been tied to the Democratic Party. And what has it gotten in return? It's gotten Taft-Hartley injunctions. It's gotten strikes broken up. It's gotten people beat up and put in jail. It's got wage freezes, unemployment, inflation, price gouging. The Democrats and Republicans are bosses' parties. And you can't have the working people who work in the factories and the owners of the factories in the same party and expect that you're going to get something out of that party.

The labor movement must throw off the shackles of these parties of big business and war. We need our own party, a workers party. A workers party, based on the trade unions and fighting for all the oppressed and all the exploited. We need a workers party to get rid of the bosses, their courts, their cops, their armed thugs, their fascists—to get rid of them once and for all, to establish a workers society, a socialist society, a workers government. That's the only way to end the threat of fascism.

The people who run this country are heading this country towards another war. And they're not going to go out there and fight themselves; they'll take *you* out there to fight the rich man's war—get *your* ass shot off so they can have better trade, so they can have better financial arrangements. That's the real system.

So we ran the Nazis out of San Francisco on April 19. Let's keep them out!

$$$ For ANCAN

The April 19 Committee Against Nazis worked hard to teach the fascist creeps a lesson they'll never forget. 130,000 leaflets and 5,000 posters were distributed in the trade unions, in poor, Jewish and minority communities, in workplaces, bars, taxicabs, on campuses. Sound equipment, chartered buses and telephone calls cost money, too. ANCAN has bills totaling several thousand dollars—show your support for this powerful anti-Nazi mobilization with donations of $10, $25, $50—whatever you can. Contributors will receive the ANCAN "STOP THE NAZIS!" poster. Send check or money order to: ANCAN, c/o P.O. Box 6571, San Francisco, CA 94101.

WORKERS VANGUARD

1,200 Rally to Stop Hitlerfest

WV Photo

S.F. is a Labor Town, Not a Nazi Town!

SAN FRANCISCO—No little gang of Nazis went goosestepping into Civic Center plaza to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday April 19. At high noon on Saturday the steps of City Hall were empty. Not because of a canceled police permit or Board of Supervisors resolution. The Nazis were on the run because a solid 1,200 people were occupying the spot where they had planned to stage their provocation. And behind them stood the power of the organized labor movement. If there weren't more—the 5,000 earlier predicted by the police—it was because the Hitler-lovers and their protectors in blue had already taken fright at the snowballing support for the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) rally and canceled their race-hate march. As several Bay Area union leaders remarked, the fascists would have gotten quite a thrashing if they had showed their faces. "Hitler's Birthday Is No Holiday Here" read the signs—and the crowd meant to prove it.

"This rally is a victory," declared ANCAN convener Bob Mandel, a General Executive Board member of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6. Not only was it one of the largest recent demonstrations in the Bay Area, it was the first time in decades in the United States that socialists and labor had linked arms in a joint political demonstration. This is what swept the Nazis off the streets and ensured that swastikas were not flaunted at City Hall. Dozens of signs said it: "San Francisco Is a Labor Town, Not a Nazi Town." Endorsed by more than 35 union officials and nine local unions, the demonstration was attended by hundreds of union members. In addition to the several local presidents and exec board members who addressed the crowd, there were contingents of phone workers with their official CWA local banners from both sides of the Bay and up from L.A., and another of militant ILWUers.

So Hitler's birthday was no holiday in San Francisco. But elsewhere in the country the fascists did "celebrate" the mass slaughter at Dachau and Buchenwald—and their own bloody terror here at home. In Benson, North Carolina 50 KKKers and Nazis showed up for their "Hitlerfest." In brownshirts and white sheets they came to establish a "United Racist Front" and to defend the 14 cold-blooded murderers who last November shot down in broad daylight five anti-fascist demonstrators in Greensboro. Even as ANCAN speakers in SF Civic Center plaza declared there's no question of "free speech" for fascist killers, in downtown Chattanooga Ku Klux Klan night-riders were blasting shotguns into a group of blacks, wounding four women. There was also a reported Nazi "birthday party" in Washington, D.C. But on April 19 it was safe for blacks, Jews, unionists, communists, homosexuals, Chicanos, Asian Americans and decent citizens generally to walk the streets of San Francisco—because of the determined action of ANCAN.

Previously holed up in rural southern backwaters, protected enclaves of reaction, the KKK/Nazi killers have been emboldened by the present rightward-moving political climate. They are still moving gingerly, sticking out their tentacles from the lily-white suburbs and relying on police protection (as at Walnut Creek, where cops penned up anti-Nazi demonstrators, or when

continued on page 10

AP

Chattanooga: Shot down on Hitler's birthday by the Klan.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 256 16 May 1980

Islamic Thugs on Bloody Rampage

Down with Khomeini's "Holy War" on Left

For the ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini it must have seemed like a gift from allah, a reward for the Shi'ite tradition of martyrdom, and a sure sign that the time to strike down his enemies was ripe at last. First, invaders from the U.S., the "Great Satan," mired in ignominious death in the fiery desert trying to rescue American hostages in Teheran. Then, only days later, his own diplomatic hostages were pulled out of the Iranian embassy in London by British SAS commandos—who stormed the embassy with the same esprit with which they shoot down Provo suspects in Northern Ireland. The irony that this elite unit of Western imperialism rescued the diplomatic corps of the "Islamic Revolution" was not lost on the American press. Nor was the contrast missed between the military professionalism of the SAS and the cowardly incompetence of the U.S. multi-service "Blue Light" bungle.

The Iranian government was quick to point to the "differences" between "their" embassy takeovers and "ours." In fact the main difference is that the Iranian embassy in London was seized by gunmen identifying themselves as representatives of Iran's oppressed Arab national minority in the province of Khuzistan. Their demands were just and aimed at Khomeini's Persian chauvinism, Shi'ite bigotry and exploitation of the oil workers: freeing 91 Arab political prisoners (including many strike leaders) and greater political autonomy for Khuzistan. The mullahs' regime on the contrary holds the U.S. embassy in Teheran as an act of state terror.

These days embassies are seized by those in a state of high moral dudgeon—like Khomeini and his disciples—who believe that their every act is sacred, that they are above "reasons of state." And more commonly, by those who never expect (rightly) to have state power. Marxists do not bow to the norms of "diplomatic immunity"—but they do intend to wield state power for their class, even if necessary for a time to coexist with competing state powers. So we do not look kindly on the fashion of embassy takeovers as political games of terror. In a world in which the taking of embassies seems increasingly to have become a distorted form of political discourse between the desperate, no one should be surprised to find Ayatollah Khomeini and Jimmy Carter at center stage. Such megalomaniacs with the vast resources of state power at their disposal can threaten not only hostages but the future of the planet.

Reactionary students, lumpens, terrorize leftists, kill 30 at Teheran University in late April. Kazemi/Stern

There seems to be a shared desperation between the cynical anti-Soviet fanatic in the White House and the religious fanatic of Qum. Faced with the declining power of U.S. imperialism, Carter threatens and bungles. Faced with a chronically weak state apparatus, Khomeini calls out for national religious martyrdom. After Carter's botched "mission impossible," Khomeini noted that Carter's "foolishness" in some way proved allah was indeed on the side of the ayatollah. He then explained that "Carter still has not realized what sort of nation he is facing.... Our nation is a nation of blood and our school is the school of holy war... Carter must know that a 35-million strong nation has been raised in a school in which martyrdom is considered happiness" (*New York Times*, 26 April).

But in fact Khomeini's holy war is directed at the U.S. only in words. His flailing sword of Islam is unsheathed to "cut short the hands" of the internal enemies of his theocratic rule. He has sent his army troops and *pasdars* (Islamic Guards) into a jihad on three fronts where the unconsolidated Islamic Republic faces its most severe challenges in many months: in border skirmishes with a well-equipped Iraqi army; against Kurdish nationalists resisting Persian chauvinism in turban; and in the universities, the mullah chant of "Death to the Communists" was delivered from the barrel of Islamic guns in the fiercest urban street fighting since the overthrow of the Bakhtiar regime last year.

We have said from the beginning that Khomeini's Islamic army could only be forged in bloody slaughter against the minorities and the left. But there will be blood on both sides. As long as the armed guerrilla fighters can call out a hundred thousand supporters to the streets as they did in their separate marches on May Day, and as long as Kurds and Turkomans and others continue to resist Persian chauvinism with gun in hand in the mountains and villages, mullah rule will remain shaky.

Annihilation for the Kurds

Khomeini's double oppression (national and religious) of Khuzistan Arabs along the Persian Gulf is tempered by

continued on page 4

PAGE 2

Death of a Princess

PAGE 5

Qaddafi's Murder Inc.

The Letter the CP Had to Print

The following letter was published without comment in the 10 May issue of the Communist Party's West Coast weekly, People's World.

NARROW

How narrow-minded and sectarian can the *People's World* get?

In your current issue you devote most of a column to your version of how and why San Francisco denied a permit for a Nazi rally. I assume your story was accurate as far as it went. There are two things it failed to report, however. One, which emerged very clearly in the discussion between an "anti-Nazi group" (your wording) and top police officials over the permit that was given to that group, was that that group made clear to the police that it would physically prevent the Nazis from meeting, and that that determination was very much a part of the city's decision to bar the Nazis.

The second is the *PW* prefers to know nothing, see nothing, and hear nothing when something happens under leadership it disapproves of. Your readers were not told that there actually was a rally against the Nazis at City Hall on April 19 attended, according to TV, by about a thousand. The attendance was obviously overwhelmingly of workers, not students or middle class people; that it was predominantly non-Jewish, and there was a very large minority of Black and Latino people present; that it was almost entirely of young people. I was there.

Furthermore, it had an exceedingly impressive sponsorship of elected union activists on the unpaid level.

But its organizers were Trotskyists, and that apparently made it a non-event to the *PW*. Such a news policy deserves no respect.

William Mandel
Kensington, California

British Steelworkers Tell WSL: We Don't Like Scabs

The Spartacist League/Britain's (SL) insistence that "Picket lines mean don't cross!" has won it the respect of striking workers who know that successful strike action means *no scabbing!* The SL has also outraged those fake-left British groups who have massively condoned or even engaged in scabbing, most notably during the recent British steel strike. Particularly stung by the SL's sharp exposure of their cowardly scabbing practices has been the fake-Trotskyist Workers Socialist League (WSL) of Alan Thornett, whose *Socialist Press* (23 April 1980) carried an envenomed polemic against the SL.

Under a general headline of "How scurrilous can they get?" the WSL attempted to amalgamate the SL's principled working-class defense of picket lines with another article charging the Healyites with a broad-daylight break-in and theft of private documents. The WSL was particularly infuriated by the principled action of SL supporters at the Birmingham British Leyland SD1 plant in refusing to cross picket lines set up by striking workers of two other Leyland plants for three days, while WSLers blithely went on through. *Socialist Press* even tried to *defend* this scabby action, proudly upholding one "SD1 militant" who declared that "he had, as an individual, refused to cross the picket line—but had been completely *wrong* to take such a stand." And "the worst of it," according to the WSL, was that the SL supporters weren't even victimized by management for their courageous stand!

The WSL charges the SL with an "ultra-syndicalist fetish over picket lines" and raises the malicious slander that SLers were "hated and despised by workers" during the steel strike. But as the following letter from two South Yorkshire steel workers proves, these WSL slanders don't fool real trade-union militants. They know that the picket line is a *class* line and the Spartacist League stands with those workers who uphold it.

Sheffield,
S. Yorkshire
5 May 1980

Socialist Press

Dear Editor:

We recently read your article "Sparts set up opponents for the sack" in the *Socialist Press* No. 195 dated April 23, 1980, and would like to correct some of the untruths and lies that you printed about the Spartacist League and their involvement during the steel strike.

The allegations that the Spartacists were despised by steelworkers is totally untrue. While many steelworkers did not always agree with their political strategy and views, they were nonetheless respected for their involvement and seriousness, wanting as we all did, the *victory* of the steel strike. As an example the Spartacists were welcomed and

continued on page 10

HOW SCURRILOUS CAN THEY GET?
1. WRP publishes burgled documents
2. Sparts set up opponents for the sack
The Battle for Trotskyism

Death of a Princess Haunts Saudi Monarchy

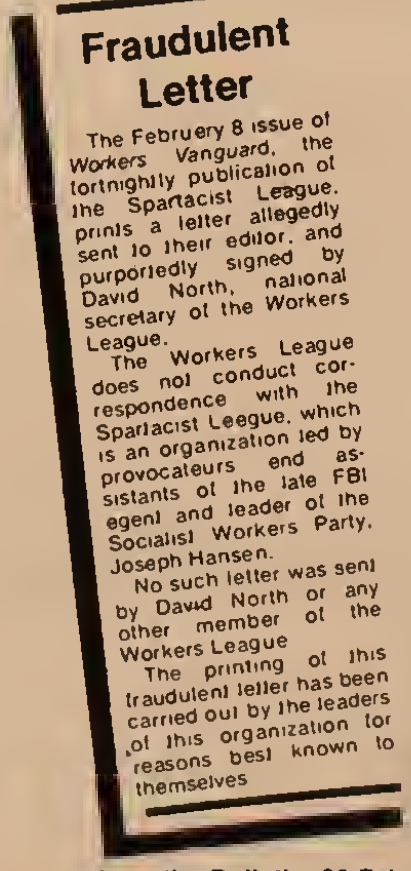
The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) finally showed its highly controversial film, "Death of a Princess," on New York TV May 12 despite heavy pressure from Mobil Oil, the Saudi Arabian government, U.S. senators and even the State Department. Given the heavy sponsorship of PBS (sometimes referred to as the "Petroleum Broadcasting Service") by Mobil, this act of defiance may well be its last, however. Too bad the "docu-drama" on the execution of Princess Misha of the House of Saud and her "commoner lover" was neither dramatic nor managed to document anything in particular.

What nobody had the courage to say is that the Saudi Arabian ruling class (or tribal family, more accurately) practices the most cruel and barbaric oppression of women. According to Islamic tradition, a woman guilty of a sexual offense must be punished by her family. Princess Misha's "crime" was to meet and (according to earlier news stories) secretly marry the cousin of the Saudi ambassador to Lebanon, while studying in Lebanon. For this she was dragged onto a pile of sand in the Jidda marketplace and shot, while her lover was forced to kneel and had his head crudely hacked off with five strokes from a short sword, as the other princesses were made to come out and watch.

None of the opponents of the PBS show (including the Saudi state) deny that this bloody killing took place. Mobil Oil (part owner of the Arabian oil syndicate Aramco) just thought it wasn't "in the best interests of the United States" to mention it. Most outrageous was the protestation of a U.S. senator that showing the killing was like making Charles Manson a symbol of the state of California! But the fate of Princess Misha and her lover was no random attack by some crazed desperado from out of the night—it was the calculated expression of barbaric Islamic "justice" carried out by the Saudi rulers. It was a legitimate symbol of the society that produced it as much as the U.S. government's legal murder of the Rosenbergs was not a random atrocity but a summation of what the witch-hunt was about.

That Western capitalism's diplomats and oil executives bow and scrape before this act of "native culture" is predictable enough in this era of imperialist decay—indeed, it is imperialism itself which is responsible for perpetuating such barbarism and backwardness. Still, one recalls the report of a British officer in India in the 19th century, who, upon being informed that *suttee* (wife-burning) was a native custom not to be interfered with, replied: "In my country we too have a native custom. If a man kills his wife, we hang him." Today it is only socialist revolution which can bring justice to the oppressed women of the East, and sweep these barbaric despots and their imperialist sponsors off the face of the earth.

Workers League: Maybe They Did, Maybe They Didn't, Maybe They Changed Their Minds

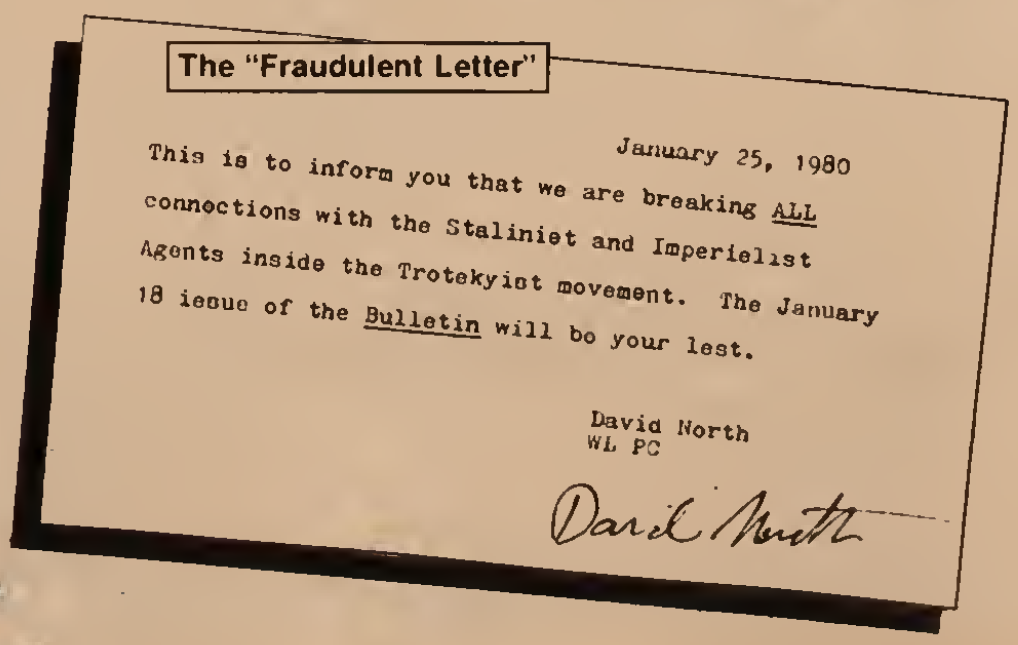

Fraudulent Letter

The February 8 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, the fortnightly publication of the Spartacist League, prints a letter allegedly sent to their editor, and purportedly signed by David North, national secretary of the Workers League.

The Workers League does not conduct correspondence with the Spartacist League, which is an organization led by provocateurs and assistants of the late FBI agent and leader of the Socialist Workers Party, Joseph Hansen.

No such letter was sent by David North or any other member of the Workers League.

The printing of this fraudulent letter has been carried out by the leaders of this organization for reasons best known to themselves.


The "Fraudulent Letter"

January 25, 1980

This is to inform you that we are breaking ALL connections with the Stalinist and Imperialist Agents inside the Trotskyist movement. The January 18 issue of the Bulletin will be your last.

David North
WL PC

David North

—from the Bulletin, 26 February

Oer Spiegel

Sipa Press

Oer Spiegel

Results of biggest Swedish labor conflict in 70 years: empty supermarket, empty subway, trucks wait in Denmark.

Social Democrats Sell Out National Strike

Sweden: The "Middle Way" Comes to a Dead End

STOCKHOLM, May 11—One hundred thousand on strike, 700,000 locked out. No television, no radio, no mass transit, no oil deliveries, shortages of bread and gasoline. Also no bingo halls and no toilet paper. In ten days only one plane left the country, when the king flew to Tito's funeral, and he had to get special permission from the air controllers. It was the greatest labor conflict in Sweden in over 70 years, the first general strike situation in an advanced capitalist country since France, May 1968.

But it was sold out—utterly, shamelessly, criminally. The social-democratic bureaucrats ordered the workers back for little more than half of what they had originally demanded, and what they had demanded was just enough to keep pace with the inflation.

This was Sweden, land of the midnight sun and the middle way—labor-management cooperation, cradle-to-grave social security, the highest standard of living in the world. It was the social-democratic Nordic paradise. No more. After being in office from 1932 to 1976, the social democrats were out in the cold. It took them three-and-a-half years to realize it, but they were now in opposition. With the bourgeois government and capitalists on the offensive, the strike was their belated response. And whatever the outcome, bourgeois and labor commentators were agreed on one thing: the "Swedish model" is dead. The class struggle lives.

The unions had demanded an 11 percent wage hike this year. But the capitalists were now determined to increase the rate of exploitation and so refused to budge from an offer of 2 percent. The national strike/lockout began in the last week of April when bargaining in the public sector broke down as the government refused to negotiate until a private sector agreement was reached. The unions ordered an overtime ban and selective strikes. The bosses answered by locking out thousands of workers in locations struck by the state and municipal unions.

The government sector strike/lockout shut down television and radio, hospitals (except for emergencies), subways in Stockholm and trolleys in Göteborg. On May 1 the scenario was replayed on the larger stage of the private sector and it steadily spread. Sweden was cut off from West Europe: on May 5 the last ferry to Denmark was shut down. On May 8 transport workers went out, cutting off deliveries of oil and gasoline. However, roughly three-quarters of the labor force remained more or less at work. What was clearly needed was not creeping economic paralysis, but a political act of working-class solidarity through a *general strike*.

The Swedish working class was more than willing to fight. Across the country, a million people participated in the May Day demonstrations, the largest ever. But the role of the social democracy was to hold down the struggle. The labor federation (LO) guaranteed that there would be no mass picketing, no strike demonstrations. And where they control local governments, the Socialist Workers Party (SAP) took the same anti-labor attitudes as its bourgeois partners. In Göteborg the city council locked out the streetcar workers. Asked if this was a betrayal, one SAP municipal board member responded, "If there is a conflict, we as employers, whether we are social democrats or not, have to play this role coolly and clearly within the framework of the normal means of struggle" (*Aftonbladet*, 7 May)!

Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie was pulling out all the stops to mobilize "the public" against the strike. "Sweden is being turned into a gigantic firebomb!" screamed one newspaper headline, in reference to the mass hoarding of gasoline. In child-worshiping Sweden, where baby carriages have white-walled tires and chrome-plated mud guards, it was the effect on the day-care centers that caused the most furor. Day-care workers refused to prepare lunch for the little ones if the regular cook was absent. With the overtime ban, the centers shut down earlier, leaving children crying outside waiting for their parents.

The workers were not passive in the face of the anti-strike media offensive. When the state TV tried to put on an extra program covering the strike, the union refused to broadcast it because of its slanted pro-boss bias. One of the scare stories circulating was that hospital workers were not permitting cancer patients to be operated on. When a *WV* reporter asked a Finnish nurse about this, she replied, "I don't want to make a comment about this, but people in Sweden are going to have to learn how to die."

Then on Sunday, May 10, LO chief Gunnar Nilsson agreed to accept an arbitration proposal of 6.8 percent (7.3 percent for the government sector), little more than half of what had been claimed was the "absolute minimum" needed to defend the living standard of the average worker. It was the bosses who initially resisted the offer, the Employers Confederation (SAF) proclaiming it was "fighting to keep Swedish capitalism viable internationally." At this point the Fälldin government appealed to the capitalists to accept the proposal "for the sake of labor peace," which the SAF grudgingly did. The result is that the bourgeois government comes out looking like the savior of the nation while taking the heat off the bureaucrats' sellout.

End of the Swedish Model

Everyone asks: how could it happen in Sweden? Behind the picture of Sweden as a social reformer's paradise stands one of the best organized working classes in Europe. If a large majority of Swedish workers believe they can have their way through peaceful pressure, orderly negotiations and friendly government intervention, they still believe in having their way. While SAP leader Olof Palme has the image of a modern reformer à la Willy Brandt, many of the ranks are far to the left of the party tops. When the capitalist class resorted to the tactic of a lockout to drive down wages, they were playing a dangerous game, provoking a powerful, if hitherto peaceable giant.

"The huge conflict serves as final proof that the Swedish model no longer functions," declared SAF managing director Olof Ljunggren. It is not only the bourgeoisie which is proclaiming the era of social-democratic reformism is over. At least the trade-union wing of the social-democratic bureaucracy recognizes the "good old days" of class collaboration will not easily return. "Labor and capital can no longer cooperate in the fine old spirit," laments LO chairman Nilsson.

Sweden's almost unique position as an example of successful social-democratic reformism derived from the fact that it was not drawn into the two world wars which drowned the European continent in blood. Officially "neutral," Sweden sold to both sides in both wars. It thus greatly expanded its productive apparatus and accumulated considerable wealth relative to its small population. It was on this basis that the ruling social democrats were able to establish a relatively high level of social services and various income-supporting welfare schemes.

However, by the 1970s Swedish capitalism could no longer afford the large welfare-state overhead plus increases in real wages. The 1974-75 world slump contracted Sweden's export markets, while rising labor costs and high taxes eroded its international competitiveness. When the bourgeois parties took back the reins of government after 44 years of social-democratic rule, the country was already heading for economic disaster.

For a time the bourgeois coalition dared not make any cuts in the national

continued on page 10

AP

Bakery in Stockholm. National strike/lockout led to shortages of bread, gasoline.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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"Holy War"...

(continued from page 1)

his need for continued oil revenue and a pool of skilled oil workers. Against the historically rebellious Kurds in the barren Zagros Mountains his bloody Great Persian chauvinism knows no bounds—except the instability of trying to build a modern centralized state based on medieval social institutions. The attacks on the Kurdish minority have become so ferocious in recent weeks that even those most servile apologists for the ayatollah, the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and their Iranian followers, the HKE, must mildly protest.

An article in the 5 May issue of the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* describes massacres in the hills which recall Deir Yassin or My Lai. To relieve a garrison besieged by Kurdish nationalist Peshmerga guerrillas in the city of Sandanaj, the Teheran government ordered in American-made Phantom jets and helicopter gunships which destroyed local hospitals and many homes. Then the military ordered that the city of 100,000 be completely emptied out so that they could conduct a "mopping up" operation in the style of the Pentagon's "free fire" zones in Vietnam. The second city of Kurdistan, Saqqez, with 40,000 inhabitants, was turned into a ghost town. The watchword of Khomeini's forces is clear: annihilation of the Kurds.

Nonetheless, the SWP/HKE refuse to recognize the right of self-determination for the Kurds or other minorities in Iran. Instead they call for "autonomy," which turns out to mean whatever the Kurdish ayatollah Hosseini says it means. Thus they write:

> "Despite the bitter experiences of the large-scale fighting in Kurdistan last year, the Kurdish leaders have constantly reiterated their determination, and the determination of their people, to defend the Iranian revolution and *the borders of Iran*." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 12 May

Suddenly the borders of Iran, carved out from the defeated Ottoman Empire after World War I by the French and British imperialist victors, must be defended. These frontiers dismembered Kurdistan between five states, subjugating this courageous people with a long history of fighting for its independence. And there is no question from whom the borders of the genocidal butchers of the Kurds must be defended: Iraq.

The SWP has suddenly discovered that Iraq is a "puppet" of U.S. imperialism. Whatever happened to the "Arab Revolution" which the SWP once so loudly vaunted and which always found the Iraqi Ba'athists in its vanguard? (Of course, the Iraqi colonels are no more friends of the Kurds than the Iranian mullahs, and for ten years waged a savage military campaign against them in the name of the "Arab Revolution" just as Khomeini does today in the name of his "Islamic Revolution.") Working people in both Iran and Iraq have no interest in becoming cannon fodder in a border war, but according to the HKE "the absolute majority of Iraqi people" want to "have their share in the sacred struggle of the Iranian people against U.S. imperialism" (*Intercontinental Press*, 21 April).

Leaving aside the question of how the Shi'ite clergy "sanctified" the Iranian side against the Iraqis, how does the HKE know that an "absolute majority" in Iraq supports Khomeini? Here these pseudo-Trotskyists are shamelessly appealing to the 55 percent of Iraq's population who are Shi'ites against the Ba'athists, who are overwhelmingly Sunni. (Such a blatantly religious appeal is of little use to the predominantly Sunni Kurds.) The HKE statement sinks to even lower levels, appealing to the "Brother *pasdars*"—the hated clerical militia who are the main instruments for Khomeini's annihilation campaign against the Kurds, Arabs, Azerbaijanis...and the left—to train a mass army of *20 million* to fight the U.S./Iraqi menace!

Bloody Purge of the Left on Campuses

While Khomeini was attempting to put down the rebellious Kurds by systematically destroying their villages and towns, he was also conducting a bloody purge of the Iranian left from its campus strongholds. Dozens were killed and hundreds wounded by the assault of Khomeini-loyal students and lumpen gangs recruited by the mosques. The guerrilla left played a key role in the overthrow of the shah, but from the moment of his victory Khomeini has been intent on disarming and disbanding "satanic" radical groups. Despite their continued (if critical) loyalty to his regime, the "imam" is determined to wipe out the "Marxist-Leninist" Fedayeen Khalq (People's Self-Sacrificers) and radical Muslim Mujahedeen Khalq (People's Crusaders). That these organizations still exist in Iran today is due not to the tolerance of the Islamic state but to its weakness. Khomeini intends to consolidate the repressive apparatus of his state power over the dead bodies of Iranian leftists.

Allied with the Kurds, armed and growing in their university recruiting

Islamic "Revolution" Crushes Left on Iranian Campuses

SWP/HKE: The Blood Is On Your Hands!

The following leaflet by the New York Spartacist League was distributed at an SWP forum on Iran May 4.

Crazy Carter's bungled imperialist "Mission Impossible" in Iran demonstrates he will do anything to stay in office as he drives toward World War III. The Spartacist League says, "Hands Off Iran!" But unlike the SWP and their cohorts in Iran, the HKE, we do not defend the equally crazy "Imam" Khomeini who also will do anything to consolidate his Persian chauvinist, Shi'ite Islamic theocracy. Khomeini opposes imperialism only when it stands in the way of plunging Iran back into the seventh century. He has no qualms about using American Phantom jets and helicopter gunships to massacre Kurdish rebels in Sanandaj. He offers "unconditional support" to his fellow Islamic clergymen in Afghanistan when they are tools of U.S. imperialism and the CIA. Khomeini and the Afghan mullahs and the U.S. imperialists know that their main enemy is the Soviet Union. It was the October Revolution which broke the reactionary social power of mosque and bazaar as it liberated the Moslem borderlands from imperialist subjugation. We call for unconditional military support to Iran against imperialist attack in order to open the road for the October of the Iranian working masses which will sweep away Khomeini and all the exploiters, capitalist and pre-capitalist.

Kazemi/Stern

Khomeini called for purge of Marxists in university. Leftists aid injured comrade.

During April dozens of leftist students were murdered and hundreds were injured as Khomeini sent his "Islamic Revolution" onto the campuses to "purge" them of "Marxist" influence. At Friday evening prayer services on April 18, the prayer leader at Teheran University called for ridding the campuses pictures of Lenin and hammers and sickles. Within hours Teheran University was stormed by knife, club and gun wielding Islamic thugs, the *Hezbollahi* or "people of the party of god." These are the lumpen gangs recruited and bribed by the mosque with CIA money to bring down bourgeois-nationalist prime minister Mossadegh in 1953 and restore the shah to power. The *Hezbollahi* attacks upon the left, nationalist and secular organizations last August paved the way for Khomeini to ban all political parties and papers, making the universities the last refuge of organized leftwing propaganda. Now Khomeini has determined to completely annihilate such groups as the populist Fedayeen Khalq, the radical Islamic Mujahedeen and the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh. The Fedayeen who barricaded themselves in buildings at Teheran University report that twenty of their comrades were murdered. In provincial universities the Islamic goons were even more vicious. At the university in Shiraz more than 400 were injured.

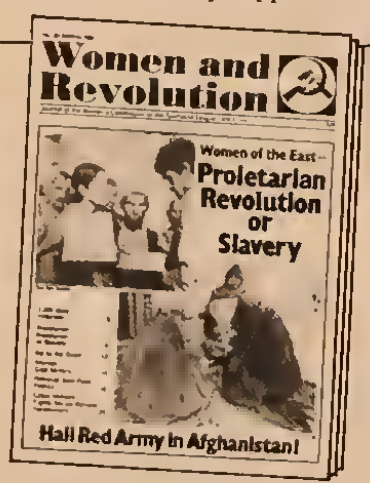
The SWP/HKE have praised the veil, the symbol of the Islamic enslavement of women, as "progressive" (which is like praising the chains of a black slave as "progressive"); they have denied the right of the oppressed nationalities of Iran to self-determination; they have supported Khomeini's Persian chauvinism to the point of backing Iran in their border war with Iraq; they have hailed as "brothers" the *Pasdars*—"revolutionary guards"—the hated butchers of the workers, leftists, Kurds, Arabs and other minorities. Now they have carried their criminal support to Khomeini's "Islamic revolution" to its logical conclusion: they hail the bloody purge of leftists on the campuses and denounce as "sectarian opposition" those who try to defend their organizations and their very lives from the Shi'ite clergy's stormtroopers.

The SWP—like Carter over his Iranian military escapades—has taken full responsibility for its Iranian cronies' defense of the massacre of leftists. In an article titled "Why Carter Fears 'Unraveling Authority' in Iran" (*Intercontinental Press*, 5 May/*Militant*, 9 May), the SWP quotes from an HKE statement published on April 21 at the height of the Islamic goon attacks upon campus leftists:

> "The Tudeh Party, Mujahedeen, Fedayeen, Paykor and other so-called Marxist organizations, which always start from their own narrow, sectarian interests, have essentially opposed this brave action. These forces, under the pretext of defending the 'barricade of freedom' (these organizations think that reaction has taken over the country and that the campuses are the last bastion) have mobilized against the action of the ISOs [Islamic Student Organizations]."

The ISOs were the first to mobilize around Khomeini's demand for the "Islamification" of the universities. *Hezbollahi* merely carried out this demand in a "revolutionary" fashion. Khomeini's governing "Revolutionary Council" then adopted this slogan and closed the universities in order to complete the "Islamification."

This recent betrayal places the HKE far to the right of Tudeh which was so subservient to Khomeini that they have been derisively referred to as "assistant ayatollahs." By this act the HKE is traitor to every principle the labor and socialist movement stand for. As if to compound their crime by showing the spoils as well as the dead bodies, the *Militant* carries in the middle of its article a large photo caption showing the last of the imprisoned HKE members leaving jail and stating that "in Iran, deepening revolutionary ferment has created an atmosphere open to debate of different viewpoints." Tell that to the Fedayeen who lost 20 comrades at Teheran University. With the SWP's full approval, the HKE has offered up the lives of Iranian leftists to Islamic reaction to save their own skins. But for the East the 1965 Indonesian coup demonstrated on a massive and catastrophic scale, for those even remotely connected to the left, that opportunism saved nobody's skin including their own. ■



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grounds, the left posed an obvious challenge to the clerical reactionaries. The signal for an assault was given by Khomeini himself in a speech read by his son to a mass Islamic New Year's rally on March 21. Three days after he had declared a general amnesty for the shah's SAVAK torturers and military butchers, Khomeini's "message to the nation" was reported in the *New York Times* (22 March):

> "He called for a 'revolution in the universities' to purge them of professors who have 'connections with the East or West,' warned against 'irresponsible intellectuals' and, in a clear reference to the radical guerrillas, said that 'mixing Islam and Marxism' was wrong."

The purpose of this diatribe was hardly abstract. As the 23 April *Washington Post* noted: "[Iranian president] Bani-Sadr defined a cultural revolution that would not only instill Koranic precepts in society but would strengthen his own authority to crack down on labor agitators in Iranian industries, autonomy-seeking minorities and leftist political opposition."

Soon the Islamic fanatics were carrying out Khomeini's instructions for a bloody purge of the left. The mullah-organized thugs who invaded the universities last month killed at least 26 people and wounded many hundreds. But at the Teheran University headquarters of the Fedayeen, the attackers ran into stiff resistance. The intent and authorship of these attacks were obvious to almost everyone. The Mujahedeen refused to join the Fedayeen in defending their offices because "to resist is to fall into the trap aimed at making us appear opposed to the imam Khomeini, when in fact we support him" (*Le Monde*, 22 April). But even they knew who was calling the shots. "Before long our parties will be outlawed," one Mujahedeen member predicted. "It is a return to the days of the Shah" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 4 May). Only the mullah-loving SWP/HKE tried to pass off the murderous anti-left assault as an "anti-imperialist mobilization of the Iranian people" (see accompanying leaflet).

The Iranian people suffered for decades under the blood-soaked American-sponsored shah, and one of Khomeini's main political assets is his reputation as a fire-breathing Yankee hater. In exploiting this sentiment he has even gone so far as to charge that the left are all foreign agents—not for the Russians but for the Americans! Yet the Iranian left has portrayed Khomeini's xenophobic opposition to Western culture (including such "Western" notions as Marxism and democratic rights) as "anti-imperialism." The ayatollah has shrewdly used the embassy seizure to bolster these credentials. Without this anti-American sideshow—and without the complicity of the left in hailing this diversion—Khomeini and his mullahs would be in deep trouble politically.

Compared to the disgusting capitulation to religious obscurantism by such "leftists" as the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party and the HKE, the program and actions of the Fedayeen guerrillas seem positively militant. Founded ten years ago by the merger of groups led by individuals who had broken from Tudeh and the secular wing of the bourgeois-nationalist National Front, the Fedayeen are by far the most subjectively revolutionary current of any size in Iran today. Thus the first demand in their "minimum" program is the destruction of the "dependent capitalist system." With their nationalist program for an "Iranian Revolution," they call only for "complete autonomy" for national minorities (thus treacherously opposing their right to self-determination or secession from the Persian state). Yet the Fedayeen have fought alongside Kurdish and Turkoman rebels against government troops and *pasdars*. They reject the characterization of the USSR as "imperialist" and ascribe Khomeini's anti-communist tirades to "American puppets inside the Iranian government" and to the "Iranian capitalist class" (*Kar*, 3 April).

Nevertheless, the Fedayeen remain committed to a Stalinist-populist strategy of support to the clerical leaders as a component of a "union of all the anti-imperialist forces from progressive national forces and religious forces to communist revolutionaries." While they recognized at the time that the embassy takeover was primarily a diversion whipped up by Khomeini, they see the infamous New Year's speech as a "turn" by the "imam" from his position at "the time when the American spy nest was occupied." And a Fedayeen spokesman told *Le Monde* after the university fighting that his organization still favored "critical support" to the Khomeini government.

It is necessary to build a Trotskyist party in Iran, a party that tells the plain truth that Khomeini's Shi'ite theocracy is every bit as oppressive as the shah's dictatorship. Such a party would no doubt draw many of its cadres from among those who prove able to transcend the left-Stalinist limitations of the Fedayeen. The Fedayeen are fighters, against the shah and—reluctantly—against the attacks of the clerical right. But the HKE has never fought anyone for anything. These are the craven opportunists who, only a few months before the outbreak of mass struggles against the shah, declared that the slogan "Down with the shah" was "ultraleft"! These "peaceful, legal" petty bourgeois, as foreign students in the U.S., learned their politics from the reformist SWP. They didn't learn to tell the truth—but they did learn how to finger rival Iranian student radicals to Houston cops. All this was good practice for their current role in Iran, where a decade from now they will be remembered as the "leftists" who justified the murderous goon attacks on the Fedayeen.

The most significant thing the HKE will ever do is to hideously discredit the name of Trotskyism in Iran. The future cadres of a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Iran will have to absorb the lessons that the HKE cannot teach: that Khomeini and the mullahs did not "betray" the revolution but intended from the beginning to build a clerical dictatorship, and that genuine national liberation from imperialism requires a struggle leading the oppressed masses to the dictatorship of the proletariat. ■

Qaddafi's Murder Inc.

Last Saturday Omram el-Mehdawi, a former official of the Libyan embassy in West Germany, was shot to death in Bonn. That same day Abdullah Mohammed el-Kazmi, a Libyan who had sought Italian citizenship, was murdered in a Rome cafe. According to the German news agency, Italian police arrested one of el-Kazmi's cousins, who had reportedly arrived from Tripoli two days before "to urge his relative to return to Libya" (DPA, 11 May).

In telling el-Kazmi to go home, the cousin was not expressing a personal opinion. The May 10 slayings were evidently the latest acts in a campaign of intimidation and "liquidation" of dissident Libyan exiles announced by Libya's fanatical dictator, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi.

Four Libyans who initially refused to leave the Libyan embassy here (rebaptized a "people's bureau" last September) after the State Department had ordered them expelled from the country as "would-be assassins" have now been escorted out of the country by the FBI; in a similar move, the British government has expelled four men connected with the Libyan mission as "suspected of having taken part in a campaign of harassment against Libyan exiles" in England (*New York Times*, 13 May).

In a speech last February to his "revolutionary committees," Qaddafi had threatened the "physical elimination" of his enemies abroad. The threat did not get much coverage in the Western press. On April 27 Qaddafi announced to the students at Tripoli's Military College that Libyan emigrés must by June 10 "return to the Jamahiriyah [Congregation] or they are doomed wherever they might be" ([London] *Financial Times*, 2 May). A recent U.S. State Department press office handout prominently displayed a translation of excerpts from the 27 April dispatch from Tripoli: "The commander of the revolution addressed an ultimatum to the remnants of the defunct regime—the regime of exploitation abroad—to ...register their names for their repatriation.... Anyone who returns will be safe, but he who does not return will have only himself to blame."

This warning was front-page news in London because grisly deeds had already underscored the point. On March 21 the body of Libyan businessman Mohammed Salem Riemi was found stuffed in the trunk of an abandoned car in Rome. On April 11 Libyan journalist Mohammed Mustafa Ramadan was killed "while handing out copies of an Arab publication" outside a London mosque. On April 19 another Libyan businessman in Rome, Abdul Geli Aref, was shot to death at a

fashionable cafe. And on April 25 Libyan lawyer Mahmoud Abu Nafa, "probably the most important opponent" of Qaddafi "to have been killed in Western Europe in recent months" was shot to death outside his London office ([London] *Sunday Times*, 27 April).

London press reports also indicate a concerted campaign of terror against the opposition press. According to a story in the London *Guardian*, in early February a bundle of Libyan publications was doused with gasoline and set afire; in April two newspaper stands which sold *Al Sharq al Jadid*, an anti-Qaddafi paper which reported the arrival in London of a Libyan hit squad, were torched (*Guardian*, 12 April).

The *Times* (12 April) quoted "diplomatic sources" as saying that "the campaign to silence Colonel Qaddafi's opponents began last summer in Libya, where the bodies of several political dissidents were found in abandoned cars.... The death teams are said to have moved abroad in February with the assassination of a political exile in Malta." It must be assumed that more political murders of Libyan emigrés have occurred in Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco (where most of the estimated 30,000 Libyans living abroad reside) without reaching the Western press.

The Cairo daily *Al Gumhuria* has published a list of names (including former government figures and diplomats representing Libya at the UN, in Austria and the United Arab Emirates) who are allegedly slated for death at the hands of Qaddafi's henchmen (DPA, 11 May). Qaddafi supporters (termed "revolutionary students") have continued to take over Libyan embassies (which are then renamed "people's bureaus") in "15 European and Asian capitals," according to Libyan "students" at Tripoli's mission in Yugoslavia (UPI, 12 May).

So far, no political assassinations of Libyans in this country have been reported. A former CIA "employee" has been arraigned on charges of illegally exporting weapons and explosives to Libya; another ex-CIA man involved in the case is believed to have fled to Libya to avoid prosecution (*New York Times*, 3 May). So after all those stories about how "Carlos" is behind everything from the "Baader-Meinhof Gang" to the Red Brigades and how the Palestinian PFLP has trained every terrorist group from the IRA to the Basque ETA, it seems that Qaddafi's hit squads have an American connection—equipped by (allegedly former) CIA men.

This vindictive political murder campaign is the clearest possible demonstration that the "Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah" is a brutal capitalist regime run by a madman whose deep affinity for Uganda's Idi Amin is no accident. All of Qaddafi's "socialist," "anti-imperialist" rhetoric cannot conceal the fact that the Libyan "Jamahiriyah" is a regime of capitalist terrorism. Indeed, Qaddafi and his hit squads are eclipsing even the Israelis, whose practices of strafing refugee camps, blowing up blocks of houses in Arab districts and the peremptory expulsion of Arab notables as means of "law enforcement" had previously been perhaps the most shameless example of the exercise of the methods of criminal terrorism backed up by the awesome resources of state power.

As Marxists, working-class revolutionaries engaged in the struggle to make the truth prevail, we believe in consciousness. We detest political assassination, which seeks to wipe out the most conscious political spokesmen of any persuasion who embody the concentrated historical experience of the classes they represent. The "tactic" of assassination is sometimes employed by misguided defenders of the oppressed whose isolated and despairing terrorism only brings forth and legitimatizes the state's vastly more efficient apparatus of repression. And we do not mourn the terminated tsar or duke or sadistic minister. But by rights political assassination belongs to those for whom consciousness is the deadliest enemy, and is the weapon of choice of semi-official rightist terror squads like the Argentine AAA as well as the secret spy agencies. And it is disgusting that the FBI—which physically exterminated the Black Panthers and employed its more subtle "dirty tricks" to drive a Panther sympathizer, expatriate actress Jean Seberg, to suicide—is now made to appear as the champion of Libyan refugees, the defender of their right to life against Qaddafi's vendetta. From the halls of Jimmy Carter to the shores of Tripoli, world socialist revolution must sweep away the madmen for whom human life is worthless and the only ideology is glorification of the ego of the leader.

Round Three: 400,000 Metal Workers Struck

LABOR SHAKES GENERALS' BRAZIL

Parisi/Manchete

Striking metal workers rally at Sao Bernardo church. Even sectors of bourgeoisie sympathized with strikers.

What was potentially the most explosive strike in a decade and a half of military rule in Brazil was broken April 12 as tens of thousands of metal workers in the São Paulo region returned to work. Their leaders are still in jail and 40,000 face loss of their jobs after 41 days on strike against "multinational" giants such as Ford, Chrysler, Volkswagen and Volvo. The battle began April 1 when 400,000 walked out in the most industrialized state in the country demanding a 15 percent wage hike. Seeing the danger to the generals' rule—it was the third round in as many years of mass strikes against the dictatorship—from the beginning the military responded with a heavy hand: helicopters buzzing strike meetings, armored personnel carriers patrolling the streets, strike leaders arrested. And the police repression took its toll: first the outlying sections of the state went back, then one by one the industrial suburbs of São Paulo, finally leaving the metal workers' fortress of São Bernardo isolated.

The threat to the authoritarian regime of João Figueiredo was evident: the fall of Portuguese strongman Caetano in 1975 and the subsequent working-class radicalization in Lisbon are still fresh in everyone's mind. So even before workers downed their tools, divisions arose in the Brazilian ruling class on how to handle this strike. Though metal workers were scheduled to receive only a 1.9 percent increase under government wage policy, the employers offered 5 percent off the bat and a regional labor arbitration board ordered 7 percent. The board also refused to declare the strike illegal. But on April 19 police raided the homes of union leaders and arrested Luis Inacio da Silva, the country's foremost labor leader, as well as 16 others. Two thousand demonstrators gathered to protest the arrest of da Silva, popularly known as "Lula," and were clubbed to the ground by army troops in riot gear.

This brutality did not break the strikers' will—40,000 gathered in the soccer stadium to proclaim that the struggle would go forward: "No one works until Lula is free!" they chanted. On May Day, after a month on strike, thousands of workers defied a government ban to hold a march beginning at São Bernardo's main church. And on May 5, when they again voted to continue the walkout, police violently attacked, leaving 53 strikers wounded. When the stadiums were cordoned off to prevent strike meetings, São Paulo's archbishop Arns announced that the churches would be available for union rallies. Thereupon President Figueiredo charged the *paulista* cardinal with inciting the strike. When the bishops issued a call for a new "social pact," Figueiredo declared the episcopal conference no longer authorized to speak for the Brazilian church. As for business interests, a vice president of Ford Motor Co. told the press that the dispute could be easily settled if the government would only stay out of it.

Gamma

President Joao Figueiredo.

Sympathy for the strike extended far beyond the working class. Brazil's fabled "economic miracle" is clearly over, and the disenchantment has spread to the middle classes and sectors of the bourgeoisie. For more than a decade the military dictatorship maintained itself in power by brutally repressing the workers and guaranteeing superprofits to the capitalists. As economic difficulties deepened, the regime tried to avoid an explosion by a series of political pseudo-reforms and by curbing the feared "*esquadras da muerte*" (death squads). But appeasement hasn't worked. For the last three years the country has erupted again and again in broad strike waves in direct defiance of the government. Brazil's several million-strong proletariat is seething and is likely to produce in the near future a labor revolt of vast proportions which will shake the continent. What it lacks is a revolutionary leadership that can transform the fight to bring down the dictatorship into a struggle against the capitalist order.

"Economic Miracle" Goes Up In Smoke

The present regime originated in the overthrow of President João Goulart on 1 April 1964 and the installation of a U.S.-backed military junta. The "March Revolution" took place with American naval and air force units standing by if needed, and was supported by virtually the entire Brazilian bourgeoisie. It was supposed to save the country from communism, corruption and 81 percent inflation. At first the new regime aimed at dismantling state controls and protectionist legislation inherited from 30 years of populist governments. This was the first application by a Latin American dictatorship of the right-wing economic policies of the "Chicago School" which later became notorious as advisers for Pinochet's program of mass starvation in Chile. Brazilian planning minister Roberto Campos was so pro-American that he was derisively referred to as "Bob Fields." But economic growth in 1964-67 was barely more than in the crisis years under Goulart when businessmen were carrying out an investment boycott.

Then in the next decade Brazil's economy suddenly "took off" at a rate that surpassed that of every other "underdeveloped" capitalist country except those based on oil. From 1968 to 1977 the Brazilian gross national product, adjusted for inflation, grew steadily by 10 percent a year. This was supposed to be the "free world's" sterling success story, confirming imperialist bourgeois economists' theories from CIA Keynesian W.W. Rostow to the generals' monetarist Milton Friedman. But the economics of the Brazil "miracle" were far from untrammeled "free enterprise"—Finance Minister Delfim Neto's policies were more accurately described as military technocratic state control. And the main source of financing for the boom was a massive influx of imperialist investment, increasing by 25 percent *a year* since 1970. Consequently "multinational" corporations not only totally control the auto and pharmaceutical industries but also dominate traditional sectors of Brazilian capital such as textiles, beverages and machinery (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, January 1979).

The fundamental basis of the business boom was superexploitation of a working class prevented from defending itself by the soldiers' bayonets. From 1964 to 1974, real wages fell by 30 percent, a drastic cut in living standards. Today the legal minimum wage purchases only half what it did in 1959; and while the share of income of the poorest 50 percent of the population fell from 18 to 12 percent during 1960-77, the richest 5 percent increased its slice from 28 to 39 percent (*Economist*, 4 August 1979). But the capitalist economy can go only so far through continual immiseration of the working class. The soaring population of the *favelas* (shantytowns) provides a reservoir of cheap labor but not much of an internal market. And even though finance wizard Delfim Neto has now been brought back, inflation in the last 12 months has risen to 83 percent, exceeding the worst year under Goulart. As a result sectors of the Brazilian bourgeoisie are demanding fundamental changes in economic policy, and some would not greatly mind if the metal workers actually win their strike.

Labor Revolt

Driving down real wages after the 1964 coup was accomplished by heavy suppression of the union movement already tied hand-and-foot to the state through the paternalist structure established by Getulio Vargas' *Estado Novo* (New State) in the 1940s. Modeled on Mussolini's "Labor Charter," the vertical syndicates had no right to strike or to collective bargaining; all disputes were submitted to government labor tribunals. As under the similar Peronist regime in Argentina, leftists were ruthlessly purged from the unions and replaced by government henchmen

(*pelegos*). The unions were financed by a compulsory dues checkoff kept in state coffers, and their officers paid directly by the labor ministry; the government had the right to disband any labor organization or remove its leaders without redress. Crowning this corporatist structure was Vargas' Brazilian Labor Party (PTB) to politically tie the workers to the populist regime.

After the initial crackdown following the 1964 coup the military soon had the unions in hand by placing their own *pelegos* in the top spots. The generals also added new legal aids to management, such as the practice of *rotatividade* ("labor turnover") whereby a company could dismiss its entire workforce by pleading economic difficulties and replace it with new labor at lower wages. Leaderless, stripped of all rights and starving, the Brazilian working class managed to survive these early years only by working 60-70 hours a week and sending women and children into the factories. But the rapid industrialization has produced a result that is potentially lethal for the dictatorship: a burgeoning proletariat. And the greatest growth has been in new mass production industries such as auto, where the workforce is not cowed by a long tradition of government tutelage. Thus in the last decade a loose movement has come together known collectively as the *oposição sindical* (OS—trade-union opposition), led by a new layer of militants opposed to the grip of the *pelegos* on the unions.

The OS has been centered on metal workers in the São Paulo regime, particularly the so-called ABC industrial belt (the suburbs of Santo André, São Bernardo and São Caetano), and this combative sector is where the series of powerful strikes has exploded recently. The first wave took place in late 1977, after student protests had broken out in nearly every major Brazilian city earlier in the year (see "Student Struggles Engulf Brazil," *Young Spartacus* No. 56, July/August 1977). The metal workers were demanding a 34 percent wage increase, and by early 1978 tens of thousands were on strike in São Paulo and the ABC, South America's largest industrial center. The government was unable to suppress the auto workers, and as late as August of that year fresh strikes were occurring at a rate of three per day.

Fearing the consequences of a wholesale crackdown against students, strikers and bourgeois liberals, then-president Ernesto Geisel inaugurated a series of paper reforms in his last months in office. But this only whetted the workers' appetites, and when Figueiredo was inaugurated in April 1979 he was immediately faced with a strike by 215,000 metal workers demanding a 70 percent wage increase. The nine-day-old administration called in the police to seize union headquarters so government officials could oust union leaders, particularly Lula, who had gained national prominence as the head of the 1977-78 strikes. However, when the regime reached an "agreement" with its *pelegos*, it was torn up by militant strike leader Bendito Marcílio, president of the Santo André metal workers union. The government did manage to impose a 45-day "cooling-off" period, and on May 12 the government was able to negotiate a "compromise agreement." The metal workers didn't win their wage demands; however, the government announced that Lula and other union leaders were reinstated.

Figueiredo's flunkies crowed that "social peace" had been reestablished in the ABC, but this was only a lull in the biggest strike wave since the 1964 military coup. Two days later 200,000 public employees and teachers in São Paulo state walked off their jobs, and as strikers became increasingly militant, the army and military police retreated to the barracks. In mid-July the government proposed a new wage policy of moderate quarterly wage increases, but the workers didn't buy it. A few days later construction workers in Belo Horizonte voted to strike immediately for a 110 percent wage increase. Under Lula's leadership, the construction workers won a victory August 3 when the labor tribunal doubled the minimum wage even though the strike had been declared illegal. Strikes mushroomed all over Brazil. Truck drivers set up roadblocks in some regions, and on October 16 one hundred people were injured in clashes between security guards and construction workers in the steel center of Volta Redonda.

While the American and European media have played down the recurring strikes in Brazil, the business press is increasingly concerned. *Business Week* (17 March) summarized: "In 1979, Brazilian unions mounted nearly 300 strikes, a fundamental social change in a country where 15 years of government repression of workers and unions had made work stoppages a rarity.... For the first time since the military revolution of 1964, corporations operating in Brazil must learn to live with officially sanctioned collective bargaining—but the resulting strains on Brazil's economy could bring a revival of the repressive measures." And the *Economist* (26 April) asked, "Can They Shut Lula Up?":

> "Power in Brazil still remains firmly centralised in the government's hands. But an attempt to destroy Lula...could backfire. With little or no ideology to back them up, successive army-led governments have relied on economic progress to seduce the middle and working classes. Now, as inflation bites deeper and unemployment grows, a bid to punish a very popular man could work out badly."

"Abertura"—Face-Lift for the Dictatorship

The imperialist press tries to present the unraveling of Brazil's military dictatorship as a plan by the country's rulers to "open" the regime to civilian influence. *Business Week* writes: "In a surprising turnabout, Brazil's leaders are releasing some of the restraints on organized labor as a necessary step in their effort to establish a political democracy [!].... The political liberalization process—called *abertura*—is a concomitant of economic reforms that are being undertaken to make Brazil a modern industrial nation."

Talk of *abertura* by the military dictatorship is nothing but sucker bait for gullible liberals, and hardly qualifies presidents Figueiredo and Geisel as "democracy-leaning officers," as the *Economist* would have it. It has been going on since the late '60s when the government allowed the formation of two "parties," the pro-regime ARENA (National Renovating Alliance) and the kept "opposition" MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement). Meanwhile, under Institutional Act No. 5 decreed in 1968, the president was permitted to suspend Congress at will, issue new laws, dismiss officials and suspend anyone's political rights for ten years. Newspapers were censored and banned; government critics were imprisoned and exiled; leftists were beaten, tortured, murdered. An urban guerrilla movement which arose in the late '60s was broken up by the army using the most brutal terror methods available.

Proposals for extensive "liberalization" really only began with the student and labor agitation of 1977-78. In June 1978 Geisel announced a reform package including abolition of Institutional Act No. 5, of the death penalty, life imprisonment and political banishment. As he was preparing to leave office the next March Geisel declared an end to political imprisonment, torture, censorship and the president's absolute power over Congress and the courts. (Of course, he could still do all of the above by simply declaring a state of emergency.) His successor Figueiredo was the former chief of the secret service who had engineered the notorious death squads. One of Figueiredo's more famous sayings was that "I prefer the smell of horses to the smell of the people." But by Brazilian army standards he qualified as a "dove." In addition to treating the 1979 strike wave gingerly, Figueiredo declared a general amnesty for political exiles (hoping that this might disrupt the loose opposition coalition around the MDB). All but 200 political prisoners were released and 5,000 exiles were expected to return.

The amnesty ploy didn't work. The battle horses of 15 years ago awakened little enthusiasm in the Brazilian masses, and certainly they were of no use in derailing the strike movements. Former PTB leader Leonel Brizola, the millionaire rancher and populist governor of Rio Grande do Sul state who had distributed arms to the population to quell an army uprising against Goulart in 1961, arrived in September virtually unnoticed. While Brizola hinted at conciliation with the government, another populist leader, Miguel Arraes (former governor of Pernambuco), had made a name as a critic of the regime and drew a crowd of 60,000 on his return. However, he called on the opposition to remain united around the MDB at a time when even the middle classes were fed up with phony oppositionists who had played by the junta's rules, doing nothing to threaten the generals' rule even though they had *twice* won its fraudulent elections. There was an aura of expectation around the return of the Communist Party (PCB) leader, 81-year-old Luiz Carlos Prestes, but the Moscow-line PCB called for maintaining the "unity of the MDB"—the regime's safety valve!

Moura/Gamma-Liaison

Strike leader "Lula" calls for "party of the workers."

The Labor Party Movement

Meanwhile, the Communist Party is in the process of splitting. After PCB leaders returned from Europe, a "Eurocommunist" wing led by José Salles (who had been exiled in France) took command and on several occasions publicly disavowed statements to the press by general secretary Prestes, finally declaring he was no longer authorized to speak for the party. Salles gained notoriety by calling for a "constituent assembly with João [Figueiredo]"—going along with the government's plans for yet another phony legislative cover to military rule. But with the Brazilian working class ever more directly challenging the regime, Prestes responded at the beginning of April in a "Letter to the Communists" declaring PCB policy "out of touch with the realities of the workers and people's movement today" (*O Trabalho*, 8-14 April). Prestes denounced the present party leadership as opportunist, careerist and unprincipled.

The present situation in Brazil recalls similar moments in the decomposition phase of bonapartist regimes from Portugal to Peru. The local CP works out a modus vivendi with the dictatorship (as in Batista's Cuba) and as it comes apart the Stalinists find themselves outflanked on the left by sizable sectors of the workers movement. In Peru this led to a split in the party in 1978 as CP labor leaders sought to break from the Morales Bermúdez junta and its increasingly hated austerity policies. In Portugal during the last years of the Caetano/Salazar regime the CP worked only in the vertical syndicates, so that it was bypassed in 1974-75 by the combative "workers commissions" which had sprung up in the Lisbon industrial belt. In Brazil also the PCB has refused to work outside the corporatist unions, and in the mass metal workers strikes they have sided with pro-government *pelegos* against the dominant *oposicão sindical*.

Meanwhile the strike movement has been accompanied by a burgeoning movement to form a labor party, the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) led by Lula and other OS activists. In launching the PT last January, José Ibrahim, leader of the 1978 metal workers strike, said that it would be "a party of the workers, not a party for the workers." With the Stalinists still trying to tie the workers to the carcass of the MDB (now called the "PMDB") and the heirs of the Vargas tradition vainly trying to resuscitate their phony "Brazilian Labor Party," the apparently enthusiastic response to the labor party movement among the combative unions indicates a welcome break from decades of corporatist populism. But what is the political orientation of the new PT? Does it put forward a program capable of mobilizing the working class to successfully wage the revolutionary struggles facing it? What is its policy toward the dictatorship?

The new party's inaugural manifesto talks only of "a more profound democracy," "social and economic equality," and a "free multiparty regime." It doesn't even call for "Down with the dictatorship"! The document concludes, "The PT intends to arrive in the government and at the head of the state in order to carry out a democratic policy" (*Movimento*, 14-20 January). At best this is a right-wing brand of social democracy, a rather insipid brew especially for Brazilian conditions. It expresses the fact that the mass strike movement and the nascent PT are led by a group of syndicalist militants with limited political perspectives. (As recently as last June at a meeting of opposition forces Lula had opposed the formation of a workers party.) Their views approximate the Russian "Economists" at the turn of the century, who only wanted to "lend the economic struggle a political character."

But despite the reformist perspectives of the PT leaders, in the context of the present working-class turmoil in Brazil a broad labor party movement could escape their control and assume explosive proportions. Already, some of the bureaucrats originally associated with the PT project have been pushed out. (On the other hand, a number of former MDB legislators have hitched their carts to the rising PT star.) What, then,

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McBride/Sadlowski:

Rush to Surrender in Steel

CHICAGO—Even as thousands of steel workers across the country were being dumped on the scrap heap by the companies, the leadership of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) rushed to sign a new three-year giveaway agreement with the steel companies via the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) begun in 1974. The servile USWA officials feel helpless in the face of the bosses' offensive, so they try to cling to the ENA straitjacket by giving up even more. And the ranks are supposed to follow silently since, in the highly bureaucratic USWA structure, the membership as a whole does not even get to vote on the contract.

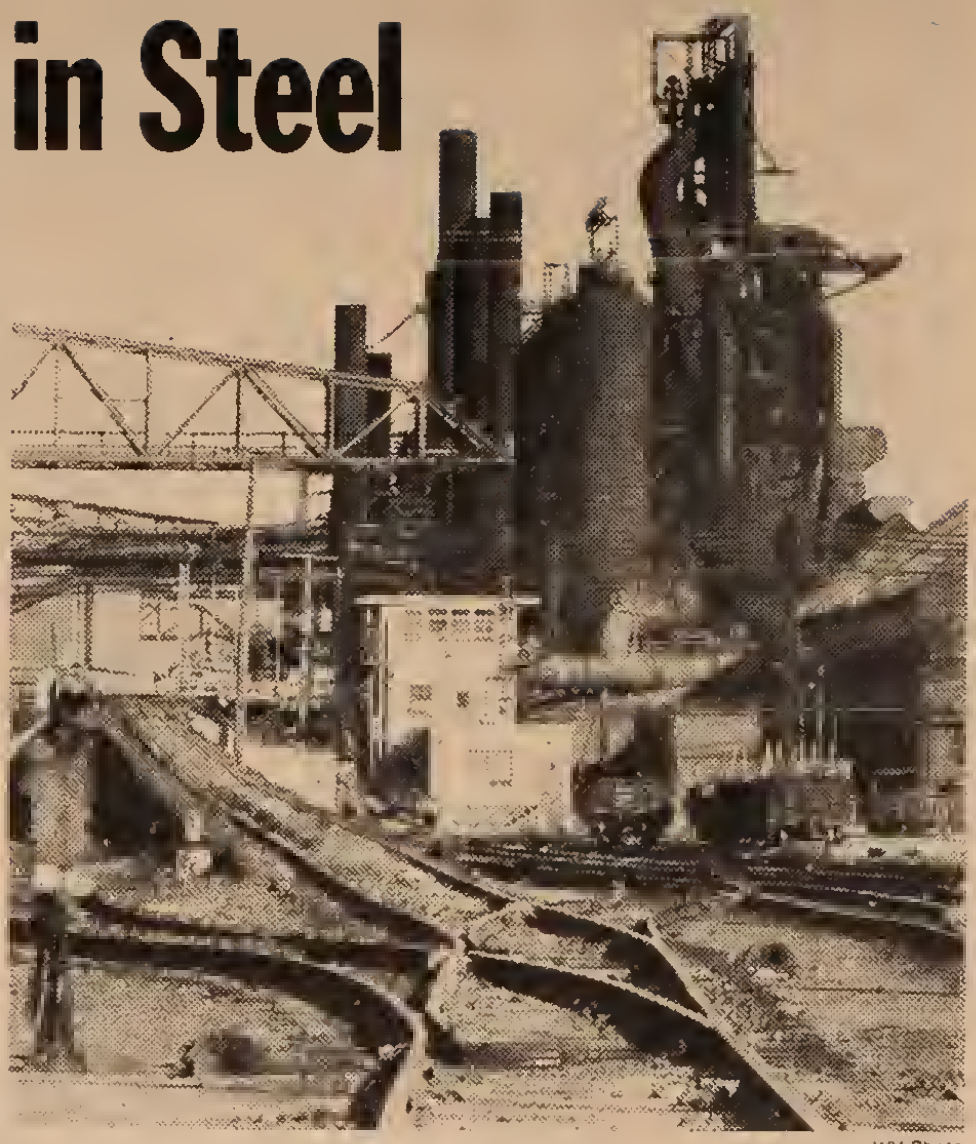
The new pact, which goes into effect August 1 and covers 290,000 workers in the "big nine" companies, is even worse than the two previously negotiated under the ENA. To begin with, USWA leaders accepted an insulting average 2.5 percent annual wage hike, which is *less* than the 3 percent "guaranteed" under the ENA agreement! In a period of double-digit inflation, the union leaders abandoned any attempt to improve the cost-of-living (COLA) formula, though Teamsters and rubber workers managed to win some improvements. And adding insult to injury, the improvement in pensions was paid not by the companies, but by the *workers*, who surrendered their May COLA increase to pay for it!

But the burning issue remains jobs. Skilled journeymen with 20 years seniority are now being laid off, whole cities such as Youngstown are being turned into ghost towns as the steel companies try to prop up their sagging profit margins by closing down or cutting back production at older plants. In Chicago at U.S. Steel's Southworks plant, 1,500 out of a 7,000 workforce are on layoff, while half the workforce at the U.S. Steel Gary works have been axed. Since 1977 at least 50,000 steel jobs have been eliminated through plant closures alone. But outrageously, the union's paper demand for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, to spread the available work, simply disappeared during the negotiations.

Laid-off steel workers have only a few months of pitiful payments from the industry's supplemental unemployment benefits and perhaps from the TRA (Trade Re-adjustment Act) funds—depending on the political whims of Jimmy Carter. But working people do not want to live on subsistence handouts, they want jobs! The steel companies' mad rush for profits—allowing the steel mills to go to rot rather than reinvest in steel—means destroying thousands of workers' lives.

To begin with, steel workers must demand 100 percent unlimited unemployment pay (financed by the company or government) with a full cost-of-living escalator, free job retraining and all expenses paid for relocation. In elementary self-defense, the USWA must prepare for an industry-wide strike to stop the layoffs and smash ENA, demanding 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. And a leadership fighting to win must be prepared to challenge the bosses' sacred property rights in order to defend the workers' livelihoods by occupying steel mills threatened with mass layoffs or closings. Such sit-down strikes would set the stage for a labor offensive to win jobs for all.

This is clearly not the strategy of USWA president Lloyd McBride & Co., who have chained the union to the bosses via the no-strike ENA. Ironically, it is the steel companies who are now balking at renewing the agreement because even the paltry 3 percent is considered too "expensive" (!) in light of the more efficient foreign steel companies who operate with newer plants. Instead of a labor offensive, McBride & Co. repeat the bosses' complaints against foreign imports, a disgusting attempt to pit American steel workers against foreign workers (German, Japanese, etc.). Yet the steel companies' calls for trade war eventually lead to shooting wars in which workers will give their lives to defend the companies' profits.



WV Photo

U.S. Steel Southworks plant in Chicago.

Fake-Dissidents Push McBride Sellout

The so-called "dissident" wing of the USWA bureaucracy, headed by Ed Sadlowski and District 31 director Jim Balanoff, have pretty much settled into the establishment through this contract non-struggle. Whereas in 1977 the Sadlowski/Balanoff forces gave lip service to opposing the deal, this time around Balanoff led the pack in voting for McBride's sellout, resulting in an overwhelming 333-to-42 ratification vote at the Basic Steel Industry Conference. Balanoff even openly praised the pact: "[The pact]...answers our most glaring, immediate needs. It's not a bad contract, better than I anticipated" (*Hammond Times*, 16 April). Try to sell that one down at the unemployment lines in Chicago, Gary or Youngstown, Jim.

One of the two or three local presidents to vote against the recent sellout was Alice Peurala, head of Local 65 in Chicago and a longtime Sadlowski supporter. But two Local 65 militants, Ellen Bulman and Damon Lewis, pointed out in an April 22 leaflet:

> "In the local negotiations she [Peurala] has talked about a strike, but has made it clear that it will *only* be over local issues, *only* with the permission of the International, *only* within the boundaries of the ENA, in other words, *only* to lose."

The leaflet urged an industry-wide steel strike to smash the ENA and reopen the national contract. Nearby at Inland Steel (Local 1010), militants also called for a national strike and denounced the USWA leadership's flag-waving protectionism. They wrote: "For example, our union should have gone all out to support the British steel strike."

But these militants have been the only oppositionists calling for strike action. Where are all the fake-militants in USWA District 31 hiding? The newspapers of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party (CP), while making mild criticisms of the new pact, cannot give an honest account because they are trying to cover for so-called dissidents like Jim Balanoff and Local 1010's Bill Andrews, who voted for the deal. And the CP and SWP supporters inside the union, along with the rest of the fake-left, have been totally silent for the same reason. As the Sadlowski/Balanoff forces have settled into the bureaucracy, their opportunist followers have sunk into silence and paralysis.

But steel workers cannot remain paralyzed. The capitalist program for reviving the American steel industry today means brutal job-slashing and racist violence at home and a virulent anti-Soviet crusade abroad, possibly triggering a nuclear war. These are the policies of the capitalist Democratic Party to which both the McBride and Balanoff/Sadlowski wings of the USWA bureaucracy swear allegiance. The central position of steel workers in an industrial economy gives them the strategic power to challenge the bosses' anti-working class plans. But to do so they need a leadership that is not afraid to lead the necessary militant strike action that can stop the bosses cold. Such leadership will not come from the McBrides and Balanoffs, but only from a class-struggle opposition that fights for a workers party and a workers government. ■

Brazil...

(continued from page 7)

should be the attitude of proletarian revolutionaries toward such a contradictory labor party movement? The Stalinists, of course, from the pro-Moscow PCB to the pro-Albanian PCdoB and various smaller groups, have simply turned a cold shoulder, since their goal is some kind of popular-front alliance with capitalist forces.

Among ostensible Trotskyists, who claim to stand for working-class independence from the bourgeoisie, the response has been varied. The Convergência Socialista, a group associated internationally with Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction, appears more interested in tailing after the populist holdovers. When Miguel Arraes landed in Recife, they were there with a banner reading, "The People Are With Arraes"—this for the man who led the repression against the radical peasant leagues of 1963-64 (remember Julião?)! The Organização Socialista Internacionalista (OSI), tied internationally to Pierre Lambert's French OCI, is promoting a left-social-democratic policy of pressuring the Lula/Ibrahim leadership of the PT. During the metal workers strike they simply called on the PT to "assume its place" in the leadership.

But the core of the OSI's policy is its call for "Down with the dictatorship! For a constituent assembly!" Not once in recent issues of the paper *O Trabalho*, close to the OSI, do they call for a workers and peasants government. Their program is unambiguously stagist: bourgeois democracy now—it's too early for socialism. This places the OSI only marginally to the left of the PT leadership itself and certainly doesn't prepare the militant sectors of the Brazilian working class for the tasks ahead. A genuine Trotskyist leadership would have called from the very beginning of the metal workers' struggle for concretely preparing a general strike; the OSI raised this only after four weeks, and then in the vaguest terms. And while calling for a revolutionary constituent assembly as *part* of their program for sweeping away the murderous dictatorship, Bolsheviks would warn that unless a *workers and peasants government* is established, resting not on bourgeois parliamentarianism but organs of proletarian power, what faces Brazilian workers is the prospect of "democratic counterrevolution."

The cycle of militant strikes and the labor party movement point to an early demise for the generals' rule. Compared to other recent upsurges in marginal sectors of Latin America (Nicaragua, El Salvador), the coming battle in Brazil will be labor-centered—in a country of 120 million, with the largest industrial proletariat in the backward capitalist countries. The revolutionary possibilities are manifest and the need for a Trotskyist party to lead the struggle could not be clearer. This will be built not by watering down the communist program to the syndicalist/social-democratic consciousness of the present leaders, but by fighting for the full Transitional Program and for the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

Ultralefts Attack SL on Iran, Afghanistan

Ever since Iran and Afghanistan moved to the center stage of world politics, two Spartacist slogans have polarized the left: "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs" and "Hail Red Army—Extend Social Gains of October to Afghan Peoples." This should have been ABC for any would-be Marxist—opposing a clerical-reactionary movement whose programmatic document is the *Koran*, and reaffirming the historic gains for the international working class of the Russian Revolution. But most of the left found a way to capitulate to the *popular* Khomeini forces while fudging on the *unpopular* question of unconditional defense of the USSR.

Recently a couple of the minuscule sects in the international left have directed their fire against the Spartacist League on Iran and Afghanistan. One group attacked the SL ostensibly from the left, claiming our opposition to Khomeini was hollow and that we were soft on Soviet "imperialism." This polemic came in a leaflet entitled "Spartacist League on Iran: Permanent Counterrevolution" written by the "International Communist Current." The ICC is a holdover from a New Left strain which used to call itself "council communists." Its heroes are the Dutch ultra-left syndicalists of the 1920s, Pannekoek and Gorter, and it holds that trade unions are "tools of the bourgeoisie." Despite the gulf which separates these dilettantes from Bolshevism, however, the ICC gives the SL high marks for "uncanny foresight" in refusing to support the mullahs:

> "Now that the chickens are coming home to roost for those Trotskyists who supported Khomeini coming to power, the 'pure' Trotskyists of the Spartacist League are running around the leftist chicken coop crowing 'we told you so'."

Still, the ICC claims to have discovered our fatal flaw. The SL exposes its "true counter-revolutionary colours," you see, when it puts forward "The Trotskyist theory and practice of mobilising the working class into a military bloc with a faction of the bourgeoisie ('whilst maintaining its political independence,' mind you)...." Oh, indeed! Here we have a genuinely ultra-left current, for whom it matters little (or not at all) whether U.S. imperialism launches a military attack on Iran, or Khomeini resumes his war against the Kurds. Presumably the U.S., Khomeini and the Kurdish nationalists all represent bourgeois forces, so who cares? To the ICC, the SL's call for the right of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities is simply "a neat attempt to divide up the class into capitalist categories...."

The "International Communist Current" says democratic rights aren't worth defending because they're just a bourgeois trick. On the question of the legal equality of women, for instance, they ask accusingly: "And do the Spartacists, like the other raisers of this kind of demand, have *all* women in mind? Bourgeois as well as proletarian?" For the ICC it is better that the women of the Muslim world should continue to be imprisoned in the veil, bought and sold like draft animals, than that a few bourgeois women should benefit too. Thus, these intransigent "communists" refuse to support fundamental rights that have been an integral part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution since 1789. And these aren't the only gains that they will not defend. For them the collectivized property forms and centralized planned economy established by the October Revolution are irrelevant—according to the ICC, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan shows that the USSR "is *capitalist* and *imperialist* like all the rest" (*Internationalism*, March-April 1980).

Tass

Kabul street scene. "ICC" denies liberation of women is key to socialist revolution in the East.

The ICC polemic concludes by returning to its barnyard imagery: "The little red rooster of the SL can crow all it likes to warn its fellow leftists to wake up and move a bit quicker to head off the class; but when the proletarian dawn breaks, the working class will make a meal of them all." We can only reply that if the leadership of the working class were in the hands of people who believe it doesn't matter whether women are enslaved, whether the U.S. threatens to militarily impose imperialist subjugation on Iran, whether the unions are subjected to control of the capitalist state, and whether the Soviet Union is menaced by a counterrevolutionary holocaust, then there will be no proletarian dawn. As Trotsky wrote:

> "It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones."
>
> —"Letter to the Workers of the USSR," 23 April 1940

Moreover, as against all manner of syndicalism (really a species of economism), we maintain that the goal of the socialist revolution is the *abolition of class society* and with it of *all* forms of social oppression.

Marcyites Disoriented

Just about all the other attacks on the Spartacist League over Iran/Afghanistan come from the right. For the ICC all our talk of proletarian opposition to Khomeini was rendered moot because in February 1979, as the shah's regime was in its death throes, the Spartacist League proclaimed that in an actual civil war, "Marxists would have militarily supported the popular forces rallied by the mullahs against an intact officer caste..." ("Mullahs Win," *WV* No. 225, 16 February). For the Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), on the other hand, this is just about the only thing the SL did right on Iran—and it is vitiated because of our "ineffective" slogan, "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs."

The RCL-I is a Stalinoid group in New Haven which claims to stand for the unadulterated theory of "Global Class War" as first put forward by ex-Trotskyist Sam Marcy. This Cold War impressionist schema—which holds that the class struggle can be summed up by the division of the world into two camps, Soviet and imperialist—has always been an excuse for tailing Kremlin foreign policy. (The RCL-I sometimes gets carried away with the "GCW," and among its "anti-imperialist" slogans calls for U.S. forces "Out of Hawaii! Out of Alaska!" To be turned over to whom, pray tell?)

In a 20 January letter to the SL they refer to us as "one of the more serious nominally Trotskyist tendencies in existence" and note that "While we criticize the S.L., we do so with the hope of resolving the differences between us." Thus five pages of its February 1980 *Internationalist Worker* are devoted to polemicizing with the Spartacist League. In the same issue they protest the attempted murder of one of our German comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands last winter by Afghan rightists and their Maoist cohorts.

The RCL-I also takes pains to give the SL its due. The March 1979 *Internationalist Worker* wrote:

> "To its credit, the Spartacist League did not *ignore* the issue of the clergy's leadership, or give that leadership *support* as did the likes of the [pro-Moscow] CPUSA, the [Peking-loyal] CP(M-L) or [Sam Marcy's] WWP."

The problem was, they say, our slogan was too hard on the mullahs—the masses wouldn't understand. The RCL-I counterposed its slogan, "Down with the Shah! Land to the Peasants—All Factories to the Workers!" But these demands do not confront the central question of the mullahs' leadership: Khomeini & Co. in power cannot and will not give either land to peasants, or factories to workers, or even democratic rights to national minorities and women. The Spartacist League alone pointed out from the very beginning that the ayatollahs' "Islamic Republic" would be a clerical/reactionary dictatorship. It's not just a slogan: while the RCL-I tried to duck the central question of leadership, in fact it supported (critically, mind you) the mullahs' revolution, arguing that "the Shah's downfall greatly weakened (although it did not break) Iran's ties to world imperialism."

On Afghanistan, the RCL-I flinched at "Hail Red Army!" Marxists should *critically* support Soviet intervention, they say. Rather than forthrightly backing the Soviet army against CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries, the RCL-I writes that "regional and global reaction have been *politically* strengthened and *emboldened*, however temporarily, by the Soviet intervention." This indicates considerable disorientation on the part of "global class warriors" whose claim to fame is their support for the Kremlin's brutal crushing of the nascent workers political revolution against Stalinism in Hungary in 1956. (You'd hardly know it from the RCL-I, though, which buries this central position in a footnote.) And this is one of the few instances where the Soviet bureaucracy has actually militarily supported a progressive cause instead of providing arms to phony "anti-imperialist" despots or selling out revolutionary struggles in the name of détente!

Behind the RCL-I's "critical" support for Soviet intervention in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan is a policy of tailing whatever the Stalinist bureaucracies do, with a figleaf of criticism. This is further confirmed in their response to a letter from a self-described Spartacist League supporter where the RCL-I objects to our position on Peking's invasion of Vietnam ("China Get Out!"). To begin with, the Sino-Soviet split simply doesn't fit into their Marcyite "two camps" schema. In particular, they can't explain or even comprehend how the attempt by China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, to "teach a bloody lesson" to Vietnam, another deformed workers state, could be carried out with the complicity of U.S. imperialism.

So while Marxists call for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies, the RCL-I calls on the bureaucracies to get back together: the February 1980 *Internationalist Worker* calls for "Immediate Negotiation of the Political Differences Between the PRC [China] and the USSR." These "anti-revisionist" Marcyites want to wash their hands of all conflicts among the degenerated and deformed workers states. *Except*, of course, when the working class is beginning to stir and demand that the bureaucratic shackles be smashed—in which case the RCL-I supports the Stalinists' bloody repression! Thus, both in their own ways, the ultra-left "council communists" of the ICC and the unreconstructed "global class warriors" of the RCL-I reject the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, the only road to genuine emancipation of the oppressed masses of the East. ■

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Sweden...

(continued from page 3)

and municipal government sector, which employs nearly a quarter of the country's labor force. It started out with a budget deficit of $750 million, but despite the highest tax rates in the world, after three-and-a-half years the deficit was up to $11 billion, financed through heavy borrowing in the international money market. Swedish capitalism was going bankrupt trying to hold up a structure built up under exceptionally favorable international conditions that no longer existed.

When the bourgeois coalition was reelected last fall, it panicked over the condition of the economy. Under the slogan, "Sweden has lived beyond its means," it took an ax to the national budget. The cuts go across the board and deep into all the areas of social-democratic reformism built up over the years—the subsidy for children, day-care centers, sick-leave pay, the cost-of-living adjustment on old-age pensions, etc.

In the 1938 Saltsjöbaden Agreement the social-democratic government set up a system of centralized national bargaining between the Federation of Labor and the Employers Confederation. A single LO-SAF agreement establishes the basic wage and benefit increases for almost all Swedish workers from Kiruna iron miners to Stockholm bricklayers to Göteborg dockers. As a result of this system, long held up as a model for labor peace, official strikes were unheard of and even wildcats were rare.

However, with inflation running over 10 percent for the past three years, the workers were feeling the squeeze. The social-democratic bureaucracy, in shock at being out of government office, didn't do anything because it didn't know what to do. The union chiefs complained bitterly that it was all the fault of the bourgeois government, ignoring that they themselves had signed the contracts which reduced the living standard of Swedish workers by at least 15 percent in the past period. When the workers responded with wildcat strikes concentrated in the government sector, the bureaucrats denounced these as "illegal" and effectively broke most of them.

The national wage contract expired last November. Yet nothing happened for six months. Why? In part because the bosses' position was that there was no room for any wage hikes—period. But mainly because everyone was occupied with the atomic power referendum held March 23. Ecology faddism and anti-nuke hysteria are predictably strong in this country known for its moralizing petty-bourgeois radicals and cult of nature. With the brouhaha over atomic power out of the way, the class struggle heated up in earnest.

Fake-Lefts Tail Social Democracy

A leaflet distributed on May Day by Swedish supporters of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) called for turning the lockout into a general strike and also warned of a sellout by the social-democratic bureaucracy:

> "A general strike is on everyone's lips. To turn the lockout into a general strike and lead it to victory would be an enormous step forward. But the workers movement has enormous obstacles to cross, and not the least is its own social-democratic leaders, who time and again have betrayed and broken strikes in order to eat the crumbs served at the bourgeoisie's table.
>
> "During the 44 years the social democracy was in power, it built up an arsenal of reactionary laws directed at the workers.... And the social democrats are prepared to betray this strike.... Palme has made the offer to be savior of the nation by being willing to take over governmental power together with sections of the bourgeois class. Palme and Nilsson agree with the bourgeoisie that it is the working class who must pay for this crisis. The only difference between the bourgeoisie and the reformists is how much the working class should pay."

But when the arbitration offer was made, there was not even a peep of protest from the so-called far left, never mind an attempt to mobilize the workers against the sellout. In fact, thousands of these fake-lefts were celebrating bicycle day and the yearly kite party!

It is scarcely surprising that the left, including self-styled Trotskyists, was out flying a kite while the social-democratic bureaucracy was selling out the greatest labor struggle in decades. The Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (KAF—Communist Workers Party), Swedish section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, limited its response to the crisis to at best militant trade unionism. At the May Day rally its main slogan was a vague call for a "united strike front against the bosses and the bourgeois government."

The smaller ostensibly Trotskyist groups were agitating for the social democrats to return to power. The former Bolshevik Faction of the KAF, which takes its lead from the Argentine political adventurer Nahuel Moreno, calls for an LO/SAP government, while the *Offensiv* group, inspired by sclerotic British reformist Ted Grant, demands "social democracy to power on a socialist program." In contrast, the Spartacist Stockholm leaflet called, "For a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement. For a workers government that expropriates the capitalist class."

The Swedish lockout/national strike did not take place in splendid national isolation. The fact that the third largest center of Swedish-owned industry—São Paulo, Brazil where Volvo cars, Scania trucks and Ericsson telephones are produced—had been on strike for the past month influenced the consciousness of Swedish workers. Within Sweden, there was the vital role of foreign workers, notably the large number of Finns who are the backbone of a number of key industries and could have been the heavy batallions of a general strike. And the anti-labor, anti-communist climate comes in the context of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet drive, which threatens to trigger off a nuclear World War III over Iran and Afghanistan.

The Swedish social-democratic bureaucracy had acquired an undeserved reputation abroad for "leftism" by Olof Palme's criticism of the U.S. over Vietnam. But its defense of Swedish capitalism was not limited to labor/employer cooperation in the economic field. The SAP has systematically built up one of the most powerful military machines in northern Europe, with its front line a string of fortified islands on the Baltic Coast. Though Sweden is not formally a member of NATO, there's no question where its missiles and fighter planes are pointed—against Russia. And now that the U.S. is calling its allies to order, Swedish social democracy has predictably lined up with the imperialist camp. The SAP executive issued a statement last January to the effect that:

> "The international climate has been further weakened by the Soviet Union's military invasion in Afghanistan. The invasion and involvement in other countries' affairs are to be rejected and condemned."

Likewise, Sweden's significant Eurocommunist Left Party (VPK) declared, on national television to boot, "we think the Soviet troops should be withdrawn." And at the May Day rally the Maoists had as their *main* slogan, "Soviets Out of Afghanistan"!

Limiting themselves to economist demands and/or "social democracy to power," the KAF and other fake-Trotskyists ducked the question of defense of the USSR against imperialism, a question which in Sweden today is neither abstract nor distant. It was left to the supporters of the iSt to address the May Day rallies with the call for "Victory to the Red Army" and for "Extending Social Gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan Peoples."

The understanding pervades all social classes that the old Sweden, the Sweden of the "model" welfare state, of peaceful, institutionalized cooperation between labor and capital, is dead. The monumental betrayal in the national strike/lockout must shake many workers out of their reformist certitudes and produce a bitter distrust of the social-democratic bureaucracy. We are thus moving into more favorable conditions for the development of a revolutionary (Trotskyist) vanguard party.

Any notion of a socialist revolution *limited* to this one part of the Scandinavian peninsula with its eight million people is a utopian pipe dream, and Sweden's politically sophisticated working class knows it. However, with its highly class-conscious and organized proletariat, Sweden could be the spark for socialist revolution in West Germany, the industrial core of imperialist Europe, or even for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet bloc. It is to this perspective which Swedish revolutionaries must dedicate themselves, a perspective made far more tangible by the present outbreak of class war. ■

Steel Letter...

(continued from page 2)

invited to the B.L. [British Leyland] Cowley flying picket during the steel strike because they committed themselves to supporting the victory of our strike. This we would ask of any organisation in the labour movement, we needed all the support possible. Equally many steelworkers, ourselves included, found what they had to say was always something to think about, interesting and we at least benefited by discussing with them.

As far as we can tell, a lot of your arguments centre around the Spartacists attacking people who cross picket lines. As far as we are concerned after our 13 week strike, where a lot of strikebreaking/scabbing took place, like Hadfields.... Sheerness etc., we don't like people who cross picket lines either.

We hope that in future that if you wish to treat yourselves more seriously you should address yourselves to a more truthful account of events.

Waiting for the publication of our letter in the next publication of your paper.

Yours fraternally,
K.J. Hall (Stainless Wks., Sheffield)
M. Hart (Shop Steward T&G Stainless Works)
cc: Spartacist League

Chicago May Day

WV Photo

CHICAGO—"No to Carter's War Drive, Hail Red Army!" read the banner of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent at the Communist Party's May Day demonstration here. In the face of Carter's escalating anti-Soviet war drive and an approaching depression, the CP did its best to "celebrate" this traditionally militant workers holiday with an impotent hat-in-hand stroll for "peace, détente and jobs." The 40-strong Spartacist contingent, in contrast, demanded "Not Détente but Workers Revolution," and also carried signs calling for "Down with Klan Terror!", "No to Layoffs—30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay" and "Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign Workers."

Participating in the march was a large delegation from the Grain Millers Local 6 in Clinton, Iowa where workers on strike for ten months against Clinton Corn Processing, a subsidiary of the giant Standard Brands, have been repeatedly beaten on the picket lines by police and attacked in their homes by night-riding company thugs. The SL's request for a rally speaker was refused and our contingent forced to the end of the march. But, at the day's end, when Spartacist supporters took up "The Internationale," many of the aging CP cadre at first looked on uncomfortably, finally raising their fists in reluctant solidarity.

$$$ For ANCAN

The April 19 Committee Against Nazis worked hard to teach the fascist creeps a lesson they'll never forget. 130,000 leaflets and 5,000 posters were distributed in the trade unions, in poor, Jewish and minority communities, in workplaces, bars, taxicabs, on campuses. Sound equipment, chartered buses and telephone calls cost money, too. ANCAN has bills totaling several thousand dollars—show your support for this powerful anti-Nazi mobilization with donations of $10, $25, $50—whatever you can. Contributors will receive the ANCAN "STOP THE NAZIS!" poster. Send check or money order to: ANCAN, c/o P.O. Box 6571, San Francisco, CA 94101

Zimbabwe-Rhodesia...

(continued from page 12)

Smith's laws that this "radical" appealed to. Mugabe's designated minister of labor, ZANU "left" Kumbirai Kangai, called upon Smith's industrial legislation in an attempt to end the strike wave. "There is a laid down procedure for the airing of workers' grievances," insisted Kangai—the laid-down procedures being that strikes are effectively illegal. Kangai made a tour of strike-hit plants to lecture the workers on the responsibilities of "liberation": "Discipline at work must remain part and parcel of the freedom we have attained" ([London] *Times*, 22 March)! And in case anyone didn't get the message, Mugabe was more blunt—he described the strikes as "nothing short of criminal," adding that "the primary function of any government is to ensure the permanence of peace through the maintenance of law and order" (*Time*, 28 April).

After two weeks the strike wave appeared to have dissipated substantially—in no small part because of ruthless company victimizations encouraged by the incoming government. At Dalny Mines 1,500 workers were threatened with dismissal if they did not return to work immediately; another 900 strikers at the Bata Shoe Company received a similar warning. Within a week more than 750 strikers had been dismissed. But the government's attempts to quell the unrest did not last very long. Recently 4,000 out of 5,700 miners at the largest coal mine in the country have gone out, demanding that the minimum wage be raised from $3 to $24 per day (*New York Times*, 9 May). Unlike the previous strikes, which involved largely secondary industry, these workers have the power to throttle the economy by disruption of coal supplies to rail, electric power and tobacco curing, a major source of foreign exchange.

Beyond the restlessness of the black workers looms the key question of land redistribution. The 6,000 white commercial farmers control 46 percent of the land, leaving the remainder to the 7 *million* blacks. Needless to say the Europeans chose the best land, that most amenable to large-scale cultivation. To the black subsistence farmers, and to the one million rural blacks displaced by the war who have no land at all Mugabe has given his answer: he appointed Denis Norman, president of the (white) Rhodesian Farmers Union, as minister of agriculture, thus putting all on notice that the large white holdings are to be left untouched.

Mugabe lost no time in reassuring domestic (i.e., white) capital and potential foreign investors that his brand of "Marxism" was no threat:

> "We recognize that the economic structure is based on capitalism and that whatever ideas we have we must build on that. We are not going to interfere with private property whether it be the mining sector or the industrial sector. The modifications can only take place in a gradual way."
>
> —*New York Times*, 5 March

Mugabe's determination to protect private property and preserve "law and order" is most graphically shown in his keeping on General Peter Walls, former head of the Rhodesian security forces, to oversee the "integration" of the guerrilla forces into the Rhodesian Army—i.e., their disarmament and dispersal—thus maintaining a central pillar of the white colonial settler order. This is a mortal threat to the thousands of militants who have taken up arms against this regime.

In every respect the "Marxist" Mugabe has demonstrated in no uncertain terms that he is a loyal lackey for imperialism—from his "good neighbor" policy toward South Africa to the recent strikebreaking. With remarkable rapidity, Mugabe has wiped away the veneer of "radicalism" with which petty-bourgeois black nationalists cover their role as representatives of the exploiters of African labor. Diplomatically, he has indicated quite clearly his desire to maintain close relations with the imperialists: East European representatives were not even invited to the independence ceremonies, a sharp rebuff to the Soviet Union (which backed his rival, Nkomo, during the war) and the U.S. was the *first* country to open an embassy after independence.

Yet, despite all of this, Mugabe has not lacked for leftist cheerleaders. The fake-Trotskyist British International Marxist Group (IMG) proclaimed "VICTORY!" (*Socialist Challenge*, 6 March). Next to a centerfold collage of Mugabe quotes was a resumé reminiscent of a high school yearbook—among Mugabe's qualifications is that he likes the music of Pat Boone and Bing Crosby (like "White Christmas"?)! The IMG accepts his two-stage (or rather, three-stage) schema in which dismantling the racialist regime (not to mention "socialism") is postponed for a later time. They sagely counsel: "At some point [!] the sacking of General Walls, a purging of the top civil servants, and the removal of the white capitalist ministers will be necessary" (*Socialist Challenge*, 27 March). Their counterparts in the American SWP were no better, declaring the elections a "Black Victory." But these reformists are only doing what comes naturally—after enthusing over Islamic reaction in Iran, and fresh from acting as fingermen against the left for the petty-bourgeois Nicaraguan FSLN, the fake-Trotskyists' uncritical support to Mugabe is no surprise.

Despite all of Mugabe's attempts to placate the white settler regime, the situation in Zimbabwe is far from settled. The election returns demonstrated a dramatic split along tribal lines, indicating the danger of intertribal bloodletting. Thousands of black guerrillas are not likely to sit idly by as they are "integrated" into or demobilized out of a new (white-controlled) army, and millions of blacks expect some kind of material benefit from their "victory"—specifically land redistribution. Yet any attempts by Mugabe to placate the black masses, either in the question of land or the "Africanization" of the civil service, could easily touch off a bloody attempt by the white settlers to save their privileges. In the event of a white military coup, Marxists would of course militarily support the black nationalists, even under a traitor like Mugabe.

Despite Mugabe's undoubtedly sincere pledges to respect the economic structure of Rhodesia, the ZANU electoral victory could soon lead to the unraveling of white supremacy. But with the economic and military pillars of the white colonial-settler state still intact, the sequel will be far from peaceful. The only hope for the Zimbabwean African masses lies on the road of permanent revolution, through a revolutionary upsurge centered on the 5-million-strong black proletariat of South Africa which would sweep away not only that bastion of apartheid terror but the neo-colonialist remnants of imperialist domination throughout southern Africa. To be sure an isolated workers state in Zimbabwe with an unchallenged apartheid regime next door could not maintain itself for more than the short term. But a black workers revolution which began in Zimbabwe, led by a Trotskyist party, would almost certainly detonate a mass upsurge by the powerful South African proletariat.

Land to the Tillers! Down with General Walls—Smash White Supremacist Rule! For Permanent Revolution in Southern Africa! ■

Greensboro...

(continued from page 12)

the cops were in on it as well. For his part, the district attorney was quoted as saying that although the residents of Greensboro were "embarrassed" over the killings, and "perhaps an even larger part of the community thinks the communists got what one recent letter to the editor called 'about what they deserved'" (*Greensboro Daily News*, 9 December).

"Justice" North Carolina-style has long been synonymous with racist repression. This is the home of "the kissing case," the attacks on black radical Robert F. Williams and more recently the racist frame-ups of the Wilmington Ten and Charlotte Three. This is the "right-to-work" state where only 7 percent of labor is organized, where the union-busting J.P. Stevens textile company flourishes, where just last week in the Republican primary for state attorney general a member of the American Nazi Party took 43 percent of the vote—some 56,000 votes! If the CWP militants are sent to North Carolina's racist jails, they will likely face death at the hands of the guards and racist inmates.

Particularly threatened by the frame-up are blacks living in the South facing a new onslaught of political and economic repression. More and more frequently when blacks begin to organize even for the most minimal democratic rights, they find the streets blocked by white-sheeted thugs armed to kill. But the growing fascist terror is by no means limited to the South. The entire capitalist media led by the influential *New York Times* called the Greensboro massacre a "shootout" between two "equally violent" fringe groups. April 26 in Kokomo, Indiana was just the most recent Northern example of the cops coming out to protect the Nazis and the KKK while beating up and arresting the anti-Klan demonstrators. Indeed, a protected environment for the growth of these fascist groups is being created at the highest levels of government: the alarming growth of the Klan and the Nazis is part of Carter/Brzezinski's jingoistic anti-Soviet war drive.

For Mass Defense of the Greensboro Six

It is the elementary duty not only of socialists, but of all who would take up the fight against fascistic race-terror to come to the defense of the Greensboro Six. Mass demonstrations are needed mobilizing the black population and the labor movement to demand, "Drop the Charges Against the Greensboro Six! Jail the Klan Greensboro Murderers!" All who agree with such slogans should join together in united-front action, each organization flying its own banner.

But against the fascists the CWP tragically continues to oscillate between adventurist substitutionalism and cringing appeals to the bourgeoisie—in both phases with self-defeating sectarianism. Bourgeois repression, whether in white hoods, brown shirts or blue uniforms, will not be stopped by small groups of communists chanting "Death to the Klan," or by relying on capitalist politicians. In San Francisco during the recent struggle to build the April 19 mass anti-Nazi rally, the CWP appealed to Mayor Feinstein to ban the fascists, then went off to hold its own, smaller "non-confrontationist" demonstration. But at the last moment they finally sent Nelson Johnson to speak at the rally.

Mobilize labor, blacks, minorities and all those who hate the Nazis and the KKK: this is the strategy needed to defend the Greensboro Six. This was the model initiated by the Spartacist League and class-struggle union militants in Detroit last December 10—one week after the killings—when 500 people, mainly blacks and auto workers, came out to demand that charges be dropped against the CWP and the murderers jailed. This stopped the fascists from celebrating their hideous Greensboro massacre in the Motor City. Again in San Francisco on April 19, it was the SL and class-struggle unionists who mobilized 1,200 people representing 22 unions who prevented the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday and again demanded the charges against the CWP supporters be dropped.

All who would stop the budding American fascist movement in its tracks must understand the importance of this defense case. Certainly the Nazis do. On April 19, when unionists and the left stopped the Nazis in San Francisco, the Klan and the Nazis met in Benson, North Carolina, not far from Greensboro, to demand the charges against the *murderers* be dropped. The lines are drawn. The stakes are high. For labor/black mobilizations to smash the Nazis and the KKK! Hands off the Greensboro Six! Jail the murdering Klan/Nazis!

The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the Greensboro Justice Fund. *Workers Vanguard* urges others to aid in this struggle. Checks may be sent to Greensboro Justice Fund, P.O. Box 2861, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10017. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Mugabe–Imperialism's New Black Friend

Strikes Hit Zimbabwe-Rhodesia

ADAPTED FROM
SPARTACIST BRITAIN
APRIL 1980

In sweeping Robert Mugabe's ZANU (PF) slate to an unexpected landslide victory, the nearly 3 million blacks who went to the polls in Rhodesia at the end of February demonstrated their hatred for white supremacist rule. When the results were announced, Salisbury factories and offices emptied out as black workers took the day off to celebrate. In the black townships the streets overflowed with exultant spontaneous demonstrations. Young black men and women cheered, danced, flapped elbows for the cock (the ZANU symbol) and gave the clenched-fist salutes. Across the border in South Africa as well there was dancing in the streets of the black townships, an indication of the anti-apartheid conflagration a black uprising in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia could spark.

Campbell/Sygma

Muzorewa/Smith go, but white-officered army remains.

Reininger/Contact

Black masses' new master, Robert Mugabe.

But even before being officially installed as prime minister, Mugabe has moved quickly and dramatically to shatter the misplaced hope that his "new Zimbabwe" will offer the black masses any solace from exploitation and oppression. Less than two weeks after the election, the country was hit by a wave of black workers' strikes—the first significant upsurge of strike action in five years. Within days the walkouts and slowdowns spread to nearly 30 plants and mines in the country's five main centers, involving more than 10,000 workers. The reported demands of the strikers have varied widely—wage increases, refunds of contributions to pension funds which are rumored to be facing "nationalization," shorter working hours and even "removal of certain members of their firms' staff" (*Economist*, 29 March).

The imperialist press fretted about a "crisis of expectations." And whatever the demands and the origins of the particular strikes, it is clear that after decades of brutal colonialist and white-supremacist subjugation, after the charade of "black majority rule" imposed by Ian Smith's black front man, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the black workers and peasants want far more than vague promises for the future. One of the demands raised in the strikes has been for implementation of the minimum wage of R$75 (about US$95) per month mooted by the Muzorewa regime last year—right now the average wage for the black workers in manufacturing industry is R$60 (about US$71) per month, one-tenth that of whites.

Mugabe responded by denouncing the strikes as a "disturbing trend" and "quite unexcusable." As even the *Economist* (29 March) noted, "It could have been Ian Smith talking." Indeed, it was not just Ian Smith's language but Ian

continued on page 11

Klan/Nazi Murderers Walk the Streets

Defend the Greensboro Six!

In one of the most ominous acts of capitalist class "justice" in recent memory, the state of North Carolina is organizing a legal lynching for the anti-Klan demonstrators who managed to survive the KKK/Nazis' bloody massacre at Greensboro last November 3. On May 2, a grand jury indicted six supporters and friends of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) on charges of felony rioting—charging that the CWP is responsible for the murder of its own comrades! Today, the murderers are on the streets planning their next attack while the victims face jail.

This act of official racism is staggering in its implications. Everyone knows who the Greensboro murderers are. Millions witnessed the bloody act on TV as five CWP leaders were systematically gunned down by Klan bullets. This is the way the Klan wanted it—a massacre in broad daylight with plenty of coverage. They wanted to show that they could kill proclaimed communists, blacks and labor organizers who would dare to demonstrate against KKK/Nazi terror—kill them and get away with it. Now with the indictments against the victims, the state of North Carolina has issued a legal license for the fascists' declaration of open season on blacks, leftists and all who take up the fight against the fascist scum.

Scheduled for arraignment on May 19 are CWP leader Nelson Johnson, Rand Mandella, Lacie Russell, Alan Blitz, Dorothy Blitz and Percy Simms, a black community activist. Lesser charges leveled earlier against three of the CWP supporters have now been dropped in favor of the new "felony rioting" charge. This is a DA's delight, as there is no need to show intent but only result, that is, the dead bodies.

With the state's "even-handed justice" for the murderers and their victims, all but one of the 14 KKK assassins initially arrested were freed on bail almost immediately. One of these night-riding terrorists has already been caught burning a cross in Lincolnton, North Carolina. Although the state has dropped the charge of "conspiracy to murder," it was a conspiracy which, according to the CWP, included as many as 34 KKK and Nazis. And evidence continues to pile up indicating

continued on page 11

Greensboro Daily News

Nelson Johnson, right, survived November 3 massacre. Now charged with "felony rioting," held responsible for own comrades' deaths.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 257 30 May 1980

Cops/National Guard Out of the Ghetto!

MIAMI BLACK WRATH

UPI

N Y Post

Black Miami erupted in a fury born of desperation last week. Smoke billowing into the sky signaled to the whole country that ghetto unrest was not some vague memory of the past but a current reality. The more sensationalist media tried to call it a race riot, yet even most of the capitalist press recognized this as an outburst of anger provoked by extreme racist atrocities. It was set off May 17 when an all-white jury in Tampa acquitted four cops of a grotesque bludgeon-murder of black businessman Arthur McDuffie in Miami last year. It was influenced by the current influx of Cuban refugees, threatening further displacement of local blacks. It was fueled by depression-level unemployment and systematic cop terror. And it continued for three days as the National Guard and police sealed off the Liberty City ghetto and rounded up hundreds of blacks into the jails. In the face of this attack it is the duty of black organizations, labor and socialists throughout the country to demand: Cops/National Guard out of the ghetto! Jail the killer cops! Free the victims of the racist dragnet!

Immediately Jimmy Carter had his press secretary Jody Powell go on TV to say that the president "wants his view known that violence can contribute nothing to the resolution of the problems." Violence doesn't get you anywhere? The cops who killed Arthur McDuffie got away with it, and if the ghetto hadn't blown, nothing at all would ever have been done about it. What were Miami blacks supposed to do? Just sit there and take it?

Miami was a stark image of Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" America. While thousands of Cuban reactionary boat people in Carter's massive "Operation Libertad" are kissing the dirt of the promised land, blacks in their outrage are burning down Liberty City in nearby Miami. Andrew Young, formerly U.S. imperialism's black front man at the UN, was dispatched to relive the role he played so often in the '60s. He tried to cool out the ghetto but the crowd shouted him down. The SCLC's Joseph Lowery was closer to the mood of the black masses in criticizing Carter: "I think the crisis is in America, not in Afghanistan." This reflects the fact that racist atrocities at home are the domestic counterpart to the anti-Soviet war drive.

Lowery and the other black misleaders who flocked to Miami for the media exposure (Jesse Jackson, Benjamin Hooks, Herbert Daughtry) were mainly concerned to keep black protests within limits. (Although Daughtry threatened at the UN to bring Miami to New York, the bourgeoisie won't be impressed by the threats of the '60s without the mobilizations of the '60s.) But most noticeable was the lack of *any* mass protest mounted by black leaders anywhere in the country against the racist atrocity and ghetto occupation in Miami. Nor did the labor movement lift a finger to respond, any more than it did when five socialist union organizers and civil rights activists were cut down last fall in Greensboro by fascist bullets. In fact, union and black leaders did the opposite—they accepted the bourgeoisie's equation of the victims of Klan killers with the murderers.

Fed up, driven beyond reason, Miami blacks lashed out in a misdirected violence ranging from sniper attacks against the cops to looting of the stores to attacks on random whites who ventured into the ghetto. Such wanton crimes as pulling individual whites out of cars and beating them to death must not be condoned. Blacks in America certainly have more than enough historical reason to seek to redress the enormous social crimes committed against them. But injustice is not redressed by taking it out randomly on powerless individuals.

What happened in Miami was not a social fight, just a violent reaction. Marxists seek to transcend such elemental outbursts by providing a program and leadership for drawing the ghetto masses behind the power of the black and white workers against the murderous, oppressive capitalist system. All labor must stand for the defense of the black population against police terror. But we insist, as we did throughout the 1960s, that the ghetto explosions do not lead anywhere but to the killing of more blacks and the devastation of their neighborhoods. The Jewish shopkeepers who were burned out of the inner cities more than a decade ago have not come back. And this time around there won't be any government programs even pretending to rebuild the burnt-out ghettos—just cold repression.

The 1960s was a decade of mass black struggle that was defeated. It was defeated because it was locked in the ghettos of a racist society. To change the conditions of life for the ghetto masses, what was required was militant class struggle. This the union bureaucracy feared above all else. The labor bureaucrats' criminal "business as usual" complacency in the face of the black masses' demands for liberation kept the black movement isolated from the white working class. With the help of Meany & Co., the American ruling class, from racist demagogues like Wallace and Agnew to liberals like the Kennedys, succeeded in putting over the line that black gains had to come at the expense of the white population. And the black leaders, both civil rights "moderates" such as King/Wilkins and the nationalists, refused to pose the black struggle in *class* terms through a

continued on page 8

Jail the Killer Cops!
Free Victims of Racist Dragnet!

Letter

Islamic Reaction and Bhutto's Execution

Comrade Editors,
Workers Vanguard
New York

The brief reference to [former Pakistani president] Bhutto in *WV* No. 250 is open to misinterpretations. First, Bhutto was often denounced as drunkard in Pakistan but that had nothing to do with his trial and execution. He was tried not for drinking but murder and circumstances suggest that he *was* morally responsible and actually involved in it though legal technicalities might have spared his life in a British or American court.

Secondly, Trotskyists do not mourn the death of reactionaries like Bhutto but one could misinterpret that way. Unlike Maoists and bourgeois opponents of Zia, we do not forget the crimes committed by Bhutto which include bringing back martial law and military rule to Pakistan, atrocities against the Bengalis and various national minorities and anti-Ahmadiya riots. The crime mentioned last was totally ignored and condoned by the left-talking press in United States and around the world. Such riots had occurred earlier in 1950s but the then reactionary rulers of Pakistan condemned them and punished the culprits. Bhutto the "progressive" on the other hand punished not the criminals but their victims, the Ahmadiyas. They were deprived of their rights of citizenship as they became non-Muslims under the rule of Bhutto. Even in his last will, the book *If I Am Assassinated*, his sectarian hostility toward the Ahmadiyas is obvious to anyone who reads it.

(The Ahmadiyas are followers of Gulam Ahmad Qadiyani a Muslim divine born in Punjab who claimed to be Mahdi, the Promised One. His claim was not accepted by others and therefore the Ahmadiyas are regarded as heretics by the rest of the Muslims. But the original idea of Pakistan left room for the Ahmadiyas in it and many Ahmadiyas supported the Muslim League demand for Pakistan and held high offices in the new state when it was created.)

Thus, Bhutto was not a moderniser or liberal as his apologists claim but a real Sunni fanatic despite his "decadent Western vices as drinking" and Zia is simply implementing his ideas of Islamic Republic with more zeal.

Umesh Sharma
India

WV replies: As the comrade correctly points out, Zulfikar Bhutto was guilty of acts of terror against the working masses and national minorities. However, Bhutto was neither overthrown nor tried and executed for his crimes against bourgeois-democratic legality. Within the context of Pakistani bourgeois politics, he was a modernizing nationalist. Like all such (e.g., Nasser, Sukarno), he also upheld reactionary institutions (Islam) and carried out reactionary, repressive measures. Nonetheless, he was overthrown from the right by the top echelon of the officer caste in league with the Islamic fundamentalist opposition, the Jamaat-i-Islami. The anti-Bhutto agitation, both before and after he was overthrown, predominantly involved attacks on his drinking liquor and otherwise indulging in profane Western ways. The anti-Bhutto campaign and Zia/Jamaat-i-Islami regime is thus part of the Islamic fundamentalist revival in the East, of which Khomeini's revolution is the most striking manifestation.

Islamic "justice" in Pakistan. AP

It is far from clear that Bhutto was guilty as charged. In any case, these particular charges were but a *pretext* for the juridical murder of Bhutto, who retained a popular following, by his political enemies. The London *Economist* (10 February 1979) quotes a senior Pakistani military man to the effect that "not hanging Bhutto will be a disaster." Had Bhutto been overthrown by a proletarian revolution (and not by Islamic reactionaries), a popular tribunal might have judged his crimes merited the death penalty. On the other hand, the Marxist program is *not* for the execution of all bourgeois heads of state. ■

Blood Line in the USec

Execution of Iranian Socialist Reported

We bring to the urgent attention of readers of *Workers Vanguard* a report which appeared in the 22 May edition of *Socialist Challenge*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group (IMG) in Britain. The "stop press" bulletin states:

> "Ahmed Moazen, a member of the HKS (Socialist Workers Party, Iranian section of the Fourth International), has been shot.
> "He was executed by Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards after being arrested on 22 April when fighting broke out in Ahwaz University between left-wing students and Khomeini supporters. Universities in Teheran, Gilan, Sistan and Baluchistan had also been the scene of similar riots....
> "The university had been the only place where the left was not being harassed by Khomeini supporters.
> "Five students were killed on the spot [in Ahwaz] according to *Bamdad*, Khomeini's official paper, which also reported that thousands of students were arrested and that many of them were left unconscious from beatings and stabbings.
> "Nine hundred students were imprisoned and 250 are still in prison awaiting trial. On 13 May some of the families went to protest outside the revolutionary court at the continuing imprisonment of their sons and daughters and in retaliation students were shot by the Revolutionary Guards."

The article points out that these attacks originated in Ayatollah Khomeini's call to spread Koranic "cultural revolution" to the universities to clear out left-wingers. The IMG's fraternal organization in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), instead greeted the "Islamification" in which dozens of leftists were murdered and hundreds injured. At the height of these massacres, the HKE (Iranian cohorts of the SWP) issued a statement denouncing leftists for attempting to defend their organizations and their very lives!

At the same time the SWP hailed the release of the last two of 16 HKE members originally arrested in Ahwaz last June. This, said the *Militant* (9 May), was proof that: "In Iran deepening revolutionary ferment has created an atmosphere open to debate of different viewpoints." This criminal opportunism was denounced in a leaflet by the New York Spartacist League, "SWP/HKE: The Blood Is on Your Hands" (see *WV* No. 256, 16 May). We wrote: "With the full approval of the SWP, the HKE has offered up the lives of Iranian leftists to Islamic reaction to save their own skins."

If the report printed in *Socialist Challenge* is true, this statement has been tragically confirmed.

The IMG and HKS are followers of Ernest Mandel, leader of the United Secretariat (USec), the same "international" to which the SWP and HKE are also connected. When the mullahs took power in February 1979, all wings of the USec hailed this as a "victory." Only the international Spartacist tendency said, "Down with the shah, Down with Khomeini!"

For a time Mandelites and SWP supporters cohabited uncomfortably in the HKS. But as clerical-reactionary repression against the Iranian left and workers mounted, and the SWP supporters' groveling before Khomeini reached new depths, the group split. The 16 members imprisoned in Ahwaz then joined the pro-SWP HKE.

Now the HKE hails their own former jailers, while the blood of their fellow "comrades" from Ahwaz may be on their hands. But those who bow to their executioners are not spared the sword.

Anti-Nazi Fund Raiser in NYC

It takes $$$ to fight the fascists. This was the message of a fund-raising meeting for the Spartacist League (SL) held in New York City May 9. The meeting, attended by a wide spectrum of left and labor activists, featured a videotape showing of the labor rally held in San Francisco on April 19 to stop the Nazis. Along with several militant union officials, the SL was an initiator of this successful action which drew over 1,200.

"This was a victory," said Spartacist spokesman Reuban Samuels, referring to the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) rally. "But the Nazis are watching us to see if we mean business or if this was just a one-shot thing." Samuels noted that in the anti-Nazi action in San Francisco (as well as in a stop-the-Klan rally in Detroit last November) the SL has been forced to play a role "that is far out of proportion to our real size and weight in this country as a small propaganda group." And he appealed to the audience of friends, supporters and endorsers of this demonstration to "show your solidarity with this action by lending us your financial support" to continue the fight against the race-hate terrorists.

Guest speakers at the meeting praised the exemplary united-front action initiated by the SL and urged financial support to fight the growing fascist danger. Dennis Serrette, National Organizer of the National Black Communications Workers Coalition and an ANCAN endorser, emphasized that the tempo of the '80s was going to be a lot different from the '60s: "We are in an age now where we gotta stop singing and start swinging, as Malcolm always said.... the average person now is not *fooled* by that red-baiting line that moved down. We've seen Malcolm go down, we've seen King go down, we've seen the whole peaceful demonstrations of the '60s go down.... Anybody who goes into thinking that it's going to be peaceful this and peaceful that is kidding themselves. Because the right wing is playing for keeps." Serrette concluded by noting that the ruling class has plenty of black spokesmen in place now, and this means that in any fundamental upheaval, "it is going to come down to a real class type of situation."

Wanda Rutland of the Militant Action Caucus in CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco) highlighted the significance of the ANCAN demonstration: "...we can bring the labor movement out in solidarity with socialists, with the oppressed. And we can reverse the rising trend of right-wing terror and reaction.... People in San Francisco knew that it was a fact, that we stopped the Nazis. It was not some technicality about a permit." Gene Herson, a leader of the Militant Solidarity Caucus in the NMU, stressed that Hitler was able to take power in Germany because the mass parties of the working class, the social democrats and Stalinists, refused to mobilize in united action in the streets to smash the fascist threat.

WV Photo

Conrad Lynn

Conrad Lynn, noted civil rights activist/lawyer and author of *There is a Fountain*, drew attention to the recent ominous vote for the Nazis in North Carolina and described his defense efforts in the infamous "kissing case" in that state in 1958:

> "Last night at 4 o'clock in the morning I turned on the radio and heard the news from North Carolina about the Republican primary there for attorney general. The candidate of the Nazis, who was endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina, received 43 percent of the vote in the Republican primary—56,000 votes. Don't talk about the Nazis being a little, tiny, lunatic fringe. Let's wake up this time....
> "Now, I found out in 1958, when I went down to North Carolina to defend two little black children—one was seven and one was *nine*—this is North Carolina. And this nine-year-old boy was accused of kissing a white girl on the cheek.... That was the 'kissing case.' That was North Carolina in 1958. And that's North Carolina in 1980."

Calling on "all people who are for the kind of organization shown in that picture" (of the April 19 anti-Nazi demo in SF), Lynn concluded: "We are leading the great masses of American people who will *destroy* the last opportunity for capitalist imperialism to save itself. Because that's the last stand. We're dealing with people near the edge of insanity."

The meeting ended with the singing of "the Internationale, after which members of the audience made contributions to the Spartacist League. We urge our readers to aid SL efforts to mobilize united labor/black action to stop the Nazis and the Klan by sending money/checks payable to:

Spartacist League
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116

Wave of Firings by Ma Bell

Bay Area Phone Workers Say: Hands Off Our Stewards!

After months of Pacific Telephone harassment and numerous firings of union officials in San Francisco, Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) sponsored a demonstration May 21 outside Bell Telephone's Sloat Directory Assistance offices in San Francisco. More than 50 angry phone workers showed up to protest the firings of a mounting number of operators and other workers.

The phone company's campaign to discipline phone workers before the upcoming union contract negotiations has included "final warnings," suspensions and firings of militant CWA members throughout the system. In the Bay Area the company has gone after members of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) with a special zeal.

Militant Action Caucus photos

Bobbi Sinnott, left, addressed phone workers' protest May 21.

Jane Margolis, a MAC spokesman, member of the 9410 executive board and shop steward, told *WV* that she was suspended from her job for five days and put on "final warning" for allegedly having stopped momentarily to talk to a fellow worker while on company time. Kathy Ikegami, another MAC supporter and a steward, was put on disciplinary warning, Margolis reported, for supposedly having "misused" company time in another incident involving herself and Margolis, who were together processing a grievance against the company over yet a third incident.

The May 21 demonstration was focused on the recent firings of two shop stewards at the Sloat location, Mark Rexroad and MAC member Bobbi Sinnott. Sinnott, who was fired for allegedly having used profanity while answering a telephone company customer's directory assistance request, was a featured speaker at the demonstration.

In an interview with *WV*, Sinnott said that over her three years with the phone company her work record showed a steady increase in disciplinary harassment—first after becoming a CWA steward, and a further increase since joining MAC a year ago. This, while receiving over 20 commendations from Bell customers for her courteous and helpful response to information requests.

Two months ago, a Sloat supervisor, known for harassing operators by requiring them to "sign out" in order to go to the bathroom, warned Sinnott for allegedly "disrupting the work" by talking to her fellow workers. When Sinnott told him that she intended to "grieve his ass" over the incident, the foreman then suspended her for two weeks for using profanity to a manager.

Several weeks later, the same manager decided to eavesdrop on Sinnott's calls, claiming that she shut her equipment down too often in order to blow her nose! Having eavesdropped on ten of her calls, Sinnott said, the foreman arranged to have her framed up and fired for allegedly being discourteous and using profanity with a Bell customer.

Sinnott, a recent MAC candidate for CWA convention delegate, denied the charge and demanded proof of the supposed incident. She was told that the company was relying on the manager's word and that telephone company management personnel were "trained not to fabricate stories"—whereas the workers, presumably, lie all the time. (This supervisor is also known for baiting homosexuals in an industry where many gays work as telephone operators.) Sinnott says she and the MAC will fight until she gets her job back.

According to Margolis, the Local 9410 officialdom under the leadership of Local president Jim Imerzel and vice

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Stalinists Follow Lead of Militant Caucus

Oppose Anti-Soviet Drive in West Coast Longshore

Under the leadership of Jimmy Herman, elected to the International presidency in 1977, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has made a sharp turn to the right. Breaking with the pro-Soviet policies of the Communist Party-influenced Harry Bridges regime, whose hallmarks were calls for "détente" and free trade with the USSR and East Europe, at the 1979 International convention Herman & Co. threw themselves foursquare behind spending for the U.S. military. The only voice raised against them was fraternal delegate Howard Keylor, co-editor of the "Longshore Militant." The Stalinist delegates voted with the leadership, to the disgust of retired union founder Bridges, who came up and demonstratively shook Keylor's hand, congratulating him on his speech in defense of the Soviet Union.

When the hostages were taken in Iran, Jimmy Herman, outdoing Carter himself, slapped a *total* embargo on Iranian shipping. But in January membership meetings in the Bay Area, one-third of the longshoremen and warehousemen voted against Herman's pro-imperialist policy. Leading the fight against the boycott were Militant Caucus supporters who warned that these economic sanctions were a prelude to lining the union up behind Carter's anti-Soviet war drive in the Near East. Although the Stalinists also opposed the boycott, they supported the clerical-reactionary Khomeini regime in Iran while expressing a flag-waving "concern for the hostages," and remained silent on the urgent need to defend the USSR.

Now, it seems, the CP supporters have decided it's OK to come out on the side of the Soviet Union. When Herman and International secretary-treasurer Curtis McClain authored a policy statement sharply condemning the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Bridges responded with a letter to the union newspaper, *The Dispatcher* (2 May). The letter defended the Soviet action as a necessary response to CIA-backed counterrevolution. Citing the basic reforms begun by the 1978 Taraki government—such as "the elimination of illiteracy and an educational campaign freeing women from the bonds of what was virtually religious slavery"—Bridges ended with a not very subtle slap at the Herman/McClain leadership:

> "Our position on developments in Afghanistan casts a blot on the long-standing record of our union, which has always supported the working class and trade union struggles against repressive regimes in any country in the world. It is regrettable that we take the side of the forces that seek to overthrow a people's revolution in Afghanistan and to return its people to virtual slavery."

In Local 6 the Stalinists jumped into the fray. At the Local convention April 12, CP supporters unequivocally endorsed the Militant Caucus motion supporting the Soviet intervention and even threw in a motion of their own. The Stalinists thus found themselves in the awkward position of having to bloc with militants they usually denounce as "Trotskyites," in order to defend the Soviet Union. The motions defending the USSR lost, but despite fierce red-baiting one-third of the delegates voted against the International's anti-Soviet position.

Then, at the May 15 Oakland membership meeting of Local 6, one CP supporter, borrowing Trotsky's line defending the Soviet Union in the 1939-40 war with "poor little Finland," came out for Soviet troops in "poor little Afghanistan"! (Apparently the Stalinists are reading *Workers Vanguard* pretty closely these days.) This time the leadership's position was defeated, 32 to 25. Thus an important united blow was struck against Carter's new Cold War drive, as CP supporters once more joined with the Militant Caucus. Glad to see you on the right side of the barricades, brothers and sisters. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 257 **30 May 1980**

End of Black American Liberia?

Shortly after midnight on April 12 machine-gun fire was heard crackling around the executive mansion in the capital of a small West African country. The next morning on national radio an army sergeant accused the old government of "rampant corruption" and declared himself the new president, the former president having been killed in the coup. So what? Military coups occur in Africa every other Thursday. What's special about this one?

Liberia *is* different. That's why there's all the horrific publicity in the U.S. bourgeois press about Sergeant Samuel K. Doe's takeover. Both *Time* and *Newsweek* ran photos of 13 members of the old regime tied to stakes on a beach and executed by a firing squad of poor marksmen. It's not just that Liberia was the oldest, most stable American neo-colony in Africa. It's not just that the country is practically a plantation of Firestone Rubber. It's that the fallen Liberian leaders were in a sense fellow Americans overthrown and killed by embittered native Africans.

Renaudeau/Sipa

"Country people" soldiers execute True Whig leaders.

Black American Colonial-Settler State

In 1816 the then white liberal establishment in the United States, which included James Monroe and Andrew Jackson, set up the American Colonization Society, whose goal was to send most, if not all, American blacks to Africa. However, in the next few decades the Society only succeeded in resettling some 10,000 freedmen and manumitted slaves (whose freedom was bought by the Colonization Society) on a small coastal area in West Africa christened Liberia. In 1847 the Americo-Liberians (as they came to be known) declared their independence, but they retained friendly relations with the American Colonization Society as well as other sections of the U.S. ruling class.

The Americo-Liberian colonists gradually extended their territorial control into the hinterland, conquering and subjugating the native African population in a series of one-sided wars that lasted until the 1930s. As products of an advanced capitalist society, although members of its lowest class, the black Americans and their descendants were able to subdue, rule and exploit a backward population vastly greater than their own. The tribal warrior's knife and spear was no match for the Americo-Liberian soldier's rifle and cannon.

The black American colonists in Liberia were no less concerned about preserving their ethnic purity than the Dutch Afrikaners in South Africa. Today their descendants constitute a distinct ruling caste making up only 3 percent of Liberia's population of 1.8 million, the other 97 percent referred to as "the country people." This 3 percent owns over 60 percent of the national wealth. Politically organized through the True Whig Party (!), the Americo-Liberians ran a one-party state from the 1870s until last April 12.

And what a state! All the atrocities which shocked liberal world opinion in the Belgian Congo and white South Africa were played out on the smaller stage of black American Liberia. Rebellious tribes were massacred or driven into remote, inhospitable regions. Native women were routinely raped by Americo-Liberian soldiery, often in the presence of their husbands. And we are not talking about ancient history!

Forced labor tantamount to slavery was practiced on a massive scale until at least the 1940s. In 1931 a League of Nations commission reported that contract labor was recruited by "criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave raiding and slave trading" (quoted in *New York Times*, 11 January 1931). President Charles King reportedly got $45 a head for every "boy recruited" for the labor in the Spanish plantation slave island of Fernando Po. In general the League report described "the native village classes" as having "been intimidated and terrorized by a display of force, cruelty and suppression." Needless to say, the League of Nations' moralizing protests had no effect on Liberian society.

Liberia has been a black American colonial-settler state in another sense as well. The descendants of the black Americans retained a close political and economic dependence on the mother country. While the Americo-Liberians usually didn't need Uncle Sam's direct intervention in holding down "the country people," the support was there if needed. In 1915 Washington supplied arms and military advisers to the True Whig regime in suppressing an especially stubborn native uprising. In the late 1940s a student of the subject wrote:

> "Today, the Americo-Liberian governing class, living in a string of coastal towns, would certainly be in a constant state of insecurity except for the overshadowing arm of the United States."
>
> —Raymond Leslie Buell, *Liberia: A Century of Survival 1847-1947*

Today U.S. corporations have $340 million invested in Liberia, an enormous sum for a very backward country of less than 2 million people. While many American companies are present in Liberia, one is supra-dominant. In the 1920s Firestone Rubber effectively bought the country—1 million acres with a 99-year lease.

The U.S. ruling class naturally maintains a diplomatic silence over the social reality of its staunchest friend in black Africa, a piece of "the free world" in the Third World. This diplomatic silence was accidentally broken in 1976 when a live microphone picked up a conversation on Liberia between Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and House speaker Carl Albert just before Liberian president William Tolbert addressed a joint session of Congress:

> "Albert: Are there many Liberians that are mulattoes?
>
> "Rockefeller: Most are strictly blacks. ...the blacks that went back took on all the characteristics of Southern whites....
>
> "Albert: They never let the local blacks get in on anything?
>
> "Rockefeller: Oh, no.... [black senator] Ed Brooke is a one-man receiving committee [for Tolbert].
>
> "Albert: Yeah, he'd be a slave if he were over there. (laughter)"
>
> —*New York Times*, 24 September 1976

While the U.S. bourgeois press is now playing up the execution of the True Whig leaders as one of the big atrocity stories of the year, there was hardly a word in this country when last April Tolbert ordered police and soldiers to fire into a demonstration protesting an increase in the price of rice. At least 74 people were killed and hundreds wounded.

Pan-Africanism in Practice

There is a long history of pan-Africanist sects in the United States, most notably the mass, though ephemeral, "back to Africa" movement of Marcus Garvey in the 1920s. Today black nationalism in the U.S., which flourished in manifold forms in the mid-late 1960s, is reduced to a few inactive sects. However, separatist and nationalist ideologies will have some appeal for American blacks as long as they suffer racial oppression, especially in the absence of a politically class-conscious, integrated workers movement.

Of course "back to Africa" nationalist rhetoric is just so much escapist fantasizing. But there is one historic reality of a "back to Africa" movement—and that is Liberia. Had larger numbers of American blacks resettled in Africa, this would only have produced more and bigger Liberias. A hundred years before the survivors of Hitler's Holocaust took over Palestine, American blacks, many of them former slaves, showed that the victims of racist oppression do not make humane, democratic colonizers.

The crimes of the Israeli Zionists against the Palestinians and of the Americo-Liberians against "the country people" are not just a matter of bad policies which could have been different with a more enlightened leadership. A people which seeks to colonize a settled region, however impelling its motives, must clash with the indigenous population. And if that people has a higher cultural level, there will be a tendency to drive out or subjugate the indigenous population.

Black nationalists preach the natural, trans-class unity of all African-derived people against the white imperialist master. For example, African People's Socialist Party, abusing the classic Marxist slogan, calls for: "Africans of the World Unite to Destroy Imperialism!" We Marxists have a simple reply to pan-Africanist ideologues: look at Liberia, the reuniting of American blacks with the African motherland.

UPI

Sgt. Samuel Doe

And what of Liberia now that "the country people" in the person of Sergeant Doe and his fellow soldiers have overthrown the True Whig regime? One of the soldiers on executioners' beach told reporters that the grandfathers of the men just shot had "suffered us terribly." He went on: "We shall be killing them every day. Even their children will not live" (*Economist*, 26 April).

These shouldn't be dismissed as idle threats. The hatred of "the country people" for the Americo-Liberian elite runs deep. While Sergeant Doe has made some conciliatory noises toward the Americo-Liberian leaders and their Washington protectors, the 45,000 members of this ruling caste could be terrorized and driven out of Liberia. This too would be a crime. The descendants of the American blacks have no right to oppress and exploit the mass of the people, but they do have a right to live. Moreover, a socialist revolution would seek to use the education and skills of the members of this former elite group in the service of economic progress in a workers state. But this understanding and perspective demand a repugnance toward all forms of nationalism and its ethos that "tomorrow is my people's turn to be the oppressor."■

Reply to Intercontinental Press

A Sparkling Polemic

"Schaefer's opus has very much a "God that Failed" quality and one is reminded a bit of Angelica Balabanov. Formerly Mussolini's mistress, Balabanov later became disillusioned with Lenin, too. It was not "god" that failed, though, but Balabanov."

From "Libby On the Road to Canossa" in Spartacist Canada.
Order yours now!

Single copies $.25, order from:
Spartacist Canada, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Ford Mahwah Workers Say:

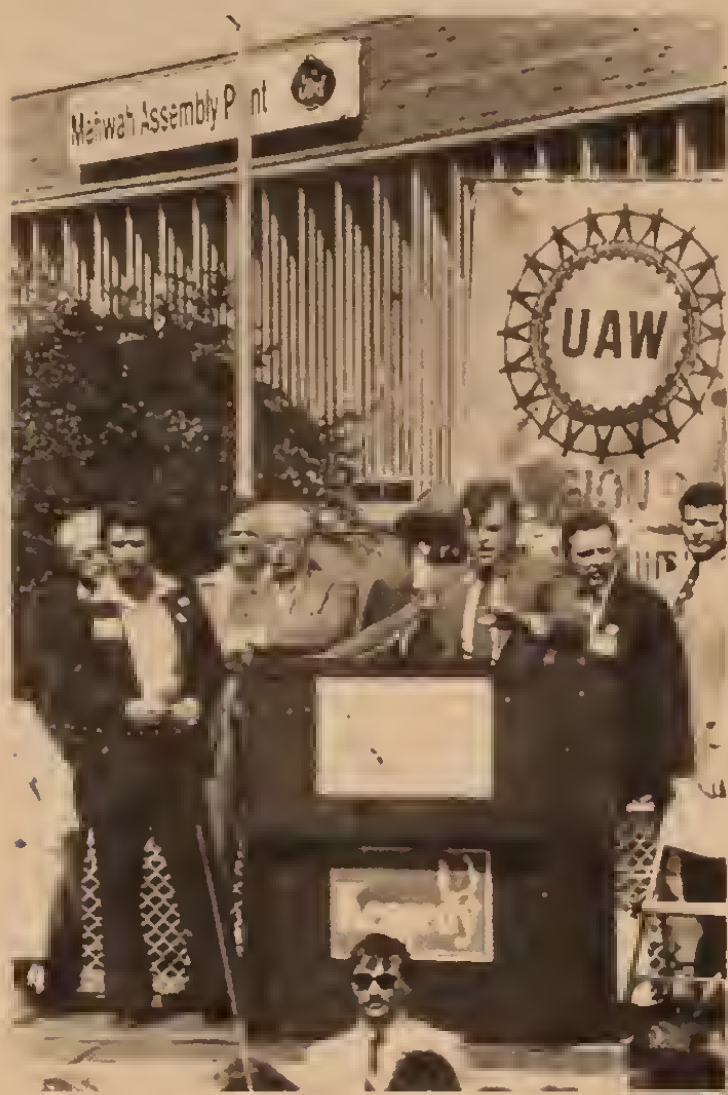
UAW Must Strike to Save Our Jobs!

The following leaflet, dated May 15, was initiated by members of the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 and signed by more than 20 workers at Ford's Mahwah, New Jersey assembly plant.

The next few weeks may be the last we will work at Mahwah. Or it could be the beginning of a fight—alongside over 278,000 UAW members out on the streets—to defend our jobs.

The auto barons are on the offensive—gearing up for a depression by shifting the burden of hardship onto our tired backs. Ford has closed plants in Pico Rivera, California; Windsor, Ontario and now Mahwah. The failing Chrysler has closed several plants and GM has shut down its Southgate, Ca. facility. *All* the companies are laying off—the Motor City looks like the '30s depression. And those who work in plants still operating can expect the flip side of the layoff coin—speedup.

Ford claims that it's closing Mahwah because of poor quality and absenteeism. Sixty-two cars per hour in this sweat hole, lots of overtime and continual harassment is no recipe for quality. Ford's greed for profits has led them to bleed the plants dry rather than invest to produce a competitive fuel-efficient car. And now they expect *us* to pay for *their* greed! We say MAKE THE COMPANIES PAY!



Mahwah, NJ May 5: Ted "wage freeze" Kennedy and Victor "CIA" Reuther (to his right) address crowd of soon-to-be-laid-off auto workers.

WV Photo

Many of us have families; mortgages; bills to pay. The TRA [Trade Readjustment Act] and SUB [Supplemental Unemployment Benefits] fund will not solve our problems. There is $1 billion in the TRA budget and 500,000 workers will be laid off by July. What kind of skill can a worker get at age 44? A training program for what? There are no jobs. The last week of April 575,000 workers applied for unemployment. The unemployment rate among Detroit's 800,000 production workers is 25 percent—almost four times the national average (*Wall Street Journal*, 8 May). And the SUB is running out. Chrysler SUB is already exhausted for those with under 10 years seniority—ours will run out soon. We have no choice but to fight.

WE ARE NOT HELPLESS—THE UAW HAS THE POWER TO SAVE OUR JOBS! The International should immediately prepare to mobilize the membership—coordinate industry-wide strikes with plant occupations in those plants slated for closure—to win: A shorter workweek at no loss in pay—spread the available work around—create jobs for all! 100 percent COLA to cover the galloping inflation; full unlimited unemployment benefits; unlimited SUB; paid job training under union control.

Plant occupations—sitdown strikes—are from the arsenal of the UAW's own militant traditions. Remember Flint in '37. The sitdown is effective against closures because it challenges the bosses' "right" to throw us out of work. We hold their machinery ransom for jobs.

What We Can Do at Mahwah

Local 906 must call a meeting to organize a one-day sitdown demonstration inside the plant of the whole membership to protest the plant closing. Such a dramatic action would serve as a beacon, attracting national attention—the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* have been covering the Mahwah closing. Of course this isolated action is not enough but it could spark union-wide actions to save our jobs. A fight for job security by the most powerful industrial union in North America can win!

The time to act is now, before the plant closes. Ever since management

Richie Bradley WV Photo

announced the June 20 closing of Mahwah, our union leadership has not held a membership meeting to organize a strategy to save our jobs. The only "effort" has been a rally, *supposedly* to protest the closing and loss of jobs, but *actually* a campaign rally for Teddy Kennedy—a proponent of wage-freezing.

Forge a Militant Fighting Leadership

The UAW speaks of dignity for the membership. There is no dignity in waiting in unemployment lines or having your house or car repossessed. There is no dignity in grinding overtime and killing working conditions. And what dignity is there for a 20-25-year man out of work?

Instead of laying out a strategy to fight, the local leadership and the International told Mahwah workers to write their congressmen and to rely on the strikebreaking Democratic Party which used Taft-Hartley against the miners. The leadership wants us to beg. When this union was organized in the '30s the UAW did not say, "GM won't recognize our union, so we must write our congressman." NO! UAW militants—against the policy of their reactionary AFL leaders—mobilized the union's most powerful weapon—the sit-down strike—and brought GM and Chrysler to their knees. We must remember the lessons of our union's

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THE TIMES HERALD RECORD Monday, May 19, 1980 3

Group urges sitdown strike at Mahwah

By WAYNE A. HALL
Monroe Bureau Chief

MAHWAH, N.J. — A small group of workers at the Ford Motor Co. plant at Mahwah who describe themselves as militants are trying to foment a sitdown strike at the plant to keep the company from shutting it down June 20.

About 3,700 workers are to be idled by the closing.

Members of the group, the Militant Solidarity Caucus, called on their fellow workers last week to seize the plant and for other auto workers across the country to do the same to make the strike effective.

"We can't just sit around and wait until Ford sells the plant," said Richard Bradley, a caucus spokesman with 10 years on the chassis line. "We can hold it for ransom — there's a lot of valuable equipment."

"You have to challenge the property rights of the bosses," added Craig M. Thurtell, a 31-year-old spot welder who was laid off last August, when Ford stopped truck production at Mahwah.

The group is calling for a union meeting to organize a one-day sit-in to "spark unionwide actions to save our jobs."

In a leaflet, the caucus sharply criticized the leadership of Local 906 of the United Auto Workers, their union, during the present efforts to keep the 12-mile-long assembly line going.

"The leadership wants us to beg," the leaflet said.

"The UAW has made a right turn," said Thurtell, one of four caucus members at the plant advocating a workers party as an alternative to the UAW's support for the Democrats.

Bradley said there was some support for the caucus proposal. "Guys came up to me and said this is the way the union should be," he said. A similar request by the caucus last year when Ford stopped truck production at the plant was greeted by boos and catcalls.

"Their immaturity doesn't suprise me," said Local 906 president Joseph P. O'Hara Sunday. "A sitdown strike would play into Ford's hands. Instead of shutting down June 20, they would shut down in May."

Radicalism among the plant's assembly line workers was mentioned by Ford in the reasons it gave the union for the closing, O'Hara said. An earlier shutdown might jeopardize the four- to eight-week period the union needs to make sure all the workers get their benefits and counseling, he said.

"What we're trying to achieve could be wiped out" by a strike, said the local's president. "This is no longer a contractural fight. (President) Carter must take it up."

A quality control inspector at the plant said the caucus had little support from the rank and file.

"The guys don't want to hear about a strike. That would just raise hell with any reopening," he said.

The caucus takes a longer view. "The fundamental problem is that the UAW is tied to the Democratic Party and, as long as that's the case, the workers' rights are going to be eroded," Thurtell said. The union is backing Sen. Edward M. Kennedy in the June 3 New Jersey primary. Kennedy stumped the plant two weeks ago and laid the blame for its shutdown on President Carter.

"Crazy Carter or wage-freezing Kennedy: There's no difference," said the caucus. "... labor needs its own political arm... a workers party ... based on the recognition that labor and management have no common interests." The caucus disavowed any connection with the American Communist Party, although Bradley said Sunday that it was supported by the Sparticist League, a group espousing the theories of Leon Trotsky, a revolutionary who broke with Lenin.

"We're prepared for a long struggle, not instant success," Thurtell insisted. He added the caucus' numbers were reduced at the plant when Ford "weeded them out" and the union failed to defend them.

"That had a quieting effect, but the workers will recover," Thurtell said.

Union leaders denied Sunday that the UAW had failed to fight for employees threatened with dismissal for belonging to the caucus.

Fascist Thugs Rampage in Hebron

ZIONIST REIGN OF TERROR ON WEST BANK

Arab Red Cross and Red Crescent

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's recent escalation of Zionist expansionism exploded in an outburst of Arab resistance early this month when six so-called "Jewish students" were killed May 2 in the Israeli-occupied West Bank city of Hebron. The army and extreme Zionist armed gangs responded with a wave of terror that extended throughout the area and focused on the Arab community of Hebron, a historic center of Arab nationalism now under the gun of an escalated Zionist "settlements" policy. The "religious students" bemoaned in the bourgeois press were really right-wing armed thugs seeking to drive out all Arabs from this city of 60,000. Even Yasser Arafat, who has been seeking bourgeois respectability by denying responsibility for terrorist acts, gladly claimed PLO responsibility for this one and boasted that it was accomplished by local Arab residents rather than "outside" infiltrators.

The West Bank Zionist outposts have been providing the shock troops for Begin's new West Bank policy, announced by the Israeli cabinet in February, of settling Jews in occupied Arab population centers like Hebron, instead of in sparsely populated rural land. (Last year, an Israeli cabinet committee authorized the building of 10,000-15,000 housing units for Jewish settlers *each year* in the West Bank.) The first concrete step in this new policy was a cabinet decision March 23 to open a "religious school" and a "field school" in Hebron. The studies would include formal military training and the "students," who carry automatic weapons, would come from the nearby settlement of Kiryat Arba, a stronghold of the ultra-Zionist combat groups. Clearly this was the first step in an eventual Zionist "resettlement" of Hebron. Thus, unlike indefensible acts of random nationalist terror (such as the Lod Airport massacre), the response of the Arab population in Hebron was an act of legitimate self-defense.

Ever since the West Bank was seized by Israel in the 1967 war, the Gush Emunim (Faith Bloc) has aimed to occupy "Jewish" houses in Hebron which were abandoned after a 1929 Arab riot. In the last year Zionist thugs, in the notorious tradition of Deir Yassin, have repeatedly attempted to terrorize the Arab population into fleeing. After the March 23 announcement about the two "schools," Hebron mayor Fahd Kawasmeh (one of three later deported) called for an Arab general strike. Rock-throwing incidents and skirmishes between Palestinian youths and the army heated up after an April 7 PLO raid from Lebanon, and then an unarmed Arab boy was killed by two Israeli officers.

While the "excesses" of Begin's fanatical followers sometimes get him in hot water with his U.S. patrons, he has made it clear that the paramilitary Gush Emunim and Meir Kahane's Kach gang will have all the military backing which Israeli state power can provide. Following the May 2 shooting Hebron was placed under 24-hour curfew (i.e., the whole city was subjected to house arrest!). The next day two buildings, the roofs of which were allegedly used to launch the Palestinian guerrilla attack, were blown up by the army. (Ironically, one of them was owned by an Arab whose grandfather sheltered more than 20 Jewish families during the 1929 riot.) Also on May 3 the government announced it was preparing to expropriate 30,000 more acres of Arab land. (Begin believes that "Judea and Samaria," i.e., the West Bank, are Jewish by biblical right.) But this was only the beginning of Zionist retribution.

An example of the ferocity of the current Zionist reign of terror in the West Bank is what happened when, on May 13, Israeli troops in the occupied West Bank caught a 17-year-old Arab youth, Tarik Shumali, whom they suspected of tossing stones at their truck. First, of course, the soldiers beat young Shumali to within an inch of his life, putting him in the hospital with multiple injuries. Then his sister and parents were fired from their teaching positions. *Then* Israeli border cops invaded the Shumalis' village near Bethlehem, cut the phone lines to their house and loaded their belongings on a truck. The house door was welded shut and the family was dumped in an unheated, unelectrified mud hut in an abandoned 1948 refugee camp some twenty miles away!

More publicized was the peremptory and, even by Zionist law, illegal deportation of three West Bank Palestinian spokesmen to Lebanon. (These were Hebron mayor Fahd Kawasmeh, Hebron's Muslim religious leader Sheik Raja Tamimi and Halhoul mayor Muhammed Milhem.) On top of this the government issued South African-style "banning" orders against several others. Nablus mayor Bassam Shaka, for example, is forbidden to talk with the press, speak in public, attend meetings or even leave his city for any reason. Meanwhile Zionist hoodlums with Uzi submachine guns and Israeli soldiers rampage through the streets of Hebron breaking windows, shooting and generally terrorizing the Arab population. Thus no one doubted Jewish Defense League founder Meir Kahane when he warned that "there will be Jews who will do terrorist acts.... There will be bombs against Arabs" (*New York Times*, 7 May).

The noted Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak observes that "The oppression of the Palestinians living in the West Bank has very much increased during the first months of 1980." He cites intensified land confiscations and seizures from the Jewish Quarter of old Jerusalem, the poisoning of Arab crops and the construction (with U.S. money and Arab labor) of new military bases in the West Bank. These by-now standard tactics have been supplemented by Nazi-style "collective punishment" and collective humiliation of Palestinian villagers. Shahak reports that in order to punish stone-throwing children whole villages have been rousted from their beds and made to stand outside (often in the rain or even snow) while brutal searches are carried out. Curfew violators have been forced to dig ditches or move stones for Israeli troops or given public beatings.

The Hebron shooting and the provocation of the Zionist fanatics have exacerbated differences within the Israeli ruling class. The six Hebron dead were eulogized by the Zionist "hawks," but the "doves" were embarrassed. Even the *Jerusalem Post* noted that one of the dead, U.S. emigrant Eli Hazeev (see accompanying article), had been convicted for breaking into Arab homes, and counseled "cooler thought" than "a settlement policy which directs itself at the heart of the Arab population." Both the Zionist right represented by the governing Likud-dominated coalition and the Labor Party "moderates" are committed to the military occupation of Arab lands by the Jewish theocratic state. Begin, the butcher of Deir Yassin, and other "hardliners" such as agriculture minister Sharon seek to expand Israel by emptying the West Bank of Arabs; others in the cabinet, such as now-departed war minister Weizman occasionally object to a Gush Emunim provocation, while ordering vicious repression of the Arab masses. But Begin's "Labor" Party opponents shy away from the economic and political costs of such an openly genocidal policy. Instead they seek to maintain the West Bank as a conquered province, a source of cheap Arab labor for the Israeli economy.

Carter is angry at Begin for pushing the settlement issue just as the May 26 deadline approaches for an empty "autonomy" arrangement under the Camp David agreements. But the Zionists' problems with the West Bank settlements go deeper than the growing rift with their U.S. sponsors. Many Israeli capitalists know that pushing the Palestinians out would deny them a reserve army of labor. This reserve army is particularly useful to the capitalists in light of the unprecedented wave of economic strikes breaking out now in Israel in the wake of massive inflation. On the other hand, the existence of a base for popular Arab nationalism within the Israeli-occupied territory is an expensive military problem for the government. It is this conflict of capitalist interests which is the basis of the tactical split between the Begin "hawks" and the Labor Party "doves."

The class conflict in Israel, which today is narrowly economic, can cut across the murderous nationalist rivalries in the Near East only when it is linked by a proletarian vanguard party to the Palestinian Arab struggle for national justice. This is key to the revolutionary perspective of joint Arab/Hebrew class struggle against the Zionist and Arab rulers. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Not Jew against Arab, but class against class! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

AP

Hebron 1980: Zionist attack razes Arab buildings on site where Eli Hazeev got his.

From My Lai to the West Bank: All-Purpose Fascist Killer

Eli the Wolf Gets His

Eli Hazeev, a/k/a James Mahon: ex-FBI informer turned Zionist killer.

Haolam Hazeh

When six Israeli ultras were shot down in the West Bank Arab city of Hebron by Palestinian commandos on May 2, the Zionist terrorists had their symbol. His name was Eli Hazeev, or so he had named himself, for "Hazeev" is the Hebrew word for the wolf. He was a man who had come to Israel to kill Arabs. (Paraphrasing the genocidal cliché from his own native America, he said that "the only good Arab is a dead Arab.") This was the crazed fascistic killer chosen from the six to be mourned as a martyr of Zionism. In his name a wave of terror would be spread through the Palestinian towns, both by uniformed Israeli police and soldiers and by machine gun toting thugs in civilian dress whose motto is, "Whenever an Arab sticks his head up, cut it off."

The burial of "Eli the Wolf" brought thousands of armed paramilitary "settlers" to Hebron May 5 in a display of force aimed at intimidating the Arab population. The funeral procession was closely guarded by the Israeli occupation army, whose sharpshooters took up positions on roof tops and stone walls overlooking the eerie, empty streets. Marchers expressed Hazeev's spirit by hurling rocks through windows of Arab homes along the route. At the grave site soldiers shot volleys into the air amid shouts of "revenge, revenge." Army chief of staff Rafael Eytan was there along with Israel's chief rabbis. One of them later proclaimed the dead man holy, saying that "without doubt his name will be remembered among the heroes of Israel."

The name Eli Hazeev may indeed be remembered as a symbol of the Zionist occupation of Hebron, not only by the pogromists trying to drive Arab residents from their homes but also by those who defend the oppressed Palestinian population and even by liberals who find Begin's biblically ordained "settlement" policy tactically unwise. That the U.S. is more than a little peeved at the provocations by the Gush Emunim and other military-religious Zionist sects is reflected in the way leading American papers latched onto the Hazeev case. His biography was front-page news in lengthy articles in the *New York Times* (12 May) and *Washington Post* (7 May), but it was not the usual glorification of Exodus "freedom fighters" and Massada warriors. Simply sketching the story of this new young hero of Zionism is to damn him, even in death. For the exposés reveal that Eli the Wolf was an all-purpose reactionary killer made of the same stuff as Klan murderers in Greensboro or Nazi SS sadists.

Blood, Bibles and Anti-Communism

The man shot down in Hebron called himself Hazeev and claimed he was always Jewish. While he was alive and roamed the streets of West Bank towns in full battle regalia with an M-16 slung across his chest no one challenged his claim. But the truth is that Eli Hazeev was born James Mahon 33 years ago at Mitchell Field on Long Island. He was a "base brat," raised in U.S. military installations from the Philippines and West Germany to Alexandria, Virginia. He was carefully taught a brand of Cold War Protestantism by his father, an Air Force colonel, church deacon and "Russian specialist" trained at Columbia University. James Mahon was nursed on the fight against "godless Communism" by this "Christian nation" and came to believe that indeed god was on America's side.

In military family tradition he signed up for Vietnam combat a year early, at 17, with his father's waiver. He served two tours with a sniper unit of the 101st Airborne Division, later boasting that he would act as "point man" on squads which went into the underground tunnels to search and destroy the Viet Cong. Twice wounded by the Vietnamese and given a chestful of medals by the imperialist army, he later said soldiers on the battlefield called him "wolf." In truth, they called him "killer." One neighbor put Mahon's credo and passion for military violence simply: "He wanted to kill all the Communists he could." But he felt betrayed by America's losing war in Indochina. Brought up to be a hero in a "holy war," he thought the dark forces of defeatism wouldn't let him win.

So after leaving the military, he turned his killer instincts against the antiwar movement, becoming an agent provocateur in 1969. He infiltrated and informed and connived to set up antiwar activists. He tossed firecrackers at the police, no doubt to make a trigger-happy cop shoot into the crowd. He was arrested many times in his FBI role and had the charges dropped. Known as "Crazy Jim," his activities in this period culminated in the shotgunning to death of a fellow member of a Washington-area motorcycle gang, "The Vipers." Again he got off free. Although the FBI denies responsibility for Mahon's killer antics after September 1969, his father claims he did it all on Hoover's payroll. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese had defeated the U.S. Army on the battlefield. No matter how dirty the imperialists fought, they couldn't win. For this macho killer, America had grown weak and flabby; for the internalizing Protestant it was moral weakness, which turned into self-hate.

With the 1973 Israel-Arab war James Mahon thought he had at last found his holy war with all the stops pulled out. No more washed-out American Protestantism, he had found the matrix of religion and murder that suited his tastes. Mahon tried to join the Israeli army that year but was turned down as a foreigner. He converted to Judaism. "Crazy Jim" became "Eli Hazeev" in 1974 and again tried to get into the Israel "Defense" Force. When they wouldn't take him, he joined JDL leader Meir Kahane's Kach group of Zionist terrorists on the West Bank. Where else could he ride his Norton Commando 850 and shoot off his M-16 acting as god's flailing hand while backed up by the armed might of capitalist state power? If his love of blood had been fixed more on greed than on religion, he could just as easily have been a "soldier of fortune" for the CIA in Africa.

Hooked up with Kahane's fascistic gang on the West Bank, Hazeev's brand of messianic terror was at times even a thorn in the side of the Israeli Zionist state authorities. A year ago he was arrested in Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion Airport, accused of hatching a plot to assassinate a PLO official touring the U.S. Kahane claimed his hit man was after a Nazi, but they found an Arab headdress and disguise in Hazeev's suitcase. For this he got a slap on the hand—a month in jail. Mostly he operated out of the "settlement" (armed Zionist outpost) of Kiryat Arba on the outskirts of Hebron. Here Eli the Wolf was always in the forefront of the gangs of thugs who broke into Arab homes to smash furniture, break windows, beat up youths and terrorize innocent families. Hazeev made a reputation for himself among his Palestinian victims, and finally they got him.

Kahane bemoaned the death of Hazeev/Mahon: "He was a very special person, an absolutely fearless person, a magnificent sharpshooter." A friend put it a little differently: "The guy is, was, a psycho, and he hung out with a bunch of psychos." But it is not just Eli Hazeev, or "the Kahane people," who are murderous nuts. Kiryat Arba, founded by Gush Emunim leader Rabbi Levinger, and the other West Bank "settlements" are filled with such terrorists, ultra-Zionist combat soldiers. Although formally illegal under Israeli law, these settlements are protected by troops and receive millions of dollars in government services. Today Kiryat Arba has some 600 families in this armed camp surrounded by security fence and military watchtowers. It is home for Kahane and Levinger and it was the lair of Eli the Wolf.

Significantly, when "Crazy Jim" Mahon decided to become a Zionist terrorist and joined up with Kahane, he did not remain in the U.S.-based Jewish Defense League. In America, where Jews are a target for homegrown Nazi nuts, Hazeev could find no outlet for his storm-trooper fantasies. In fact, this anti-Communist fanatic might well have found himself pitted against swastika-waving anti-Communists. And throw-

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Israel Shahak on Begin and Hebron

WV Photo

We print below an excerpt from an interview with Israel Shahak regarding Begin's genocidal settlement policy in the West Bank and its implications for the future of the Likud-dominated government. Israel Shahak is a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen Nazi concentration camp and a professor of organic chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. As chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, Dr. Shahak is an outspoken critic of Zionism and a highly respected defender of the victims of Israel's racialist policies.

Begin and all the parties of his government are in a weak position with the public. If there are early elections they will all be smashed. Other parties maybe more than Likud. Because of this, they are all afraid of early elections. But there is one group within this setting—those are the real supporters of the settlers, part of the National Religious Party and part of the Likud, who are like the Prohibition Party in the U.S. 60 years ago. As we say in Israel now, give them a settlement every week and they will agree to anything else. They will not mind the inflation—they will not mind anything except about the settlements. But if you will not give them a settlement then they will, because they are complete fanatics. They are capable of toppling Begin because without them he will not have a majority. It means that he has for strictly political reasons to appease them before anyone else. Only in this way can he keep his majority—this is the whole secret.

I would also say that in the next election (even if it is kept as scheduled) Begin will for sure be reduced to less than half the seats he has now and the Labor Party will have another victory. I have a very strong feeling that something is going to happen before the next election. The situation is such that I do not know what it will be. It can be a preventive Israeli war against Syria/Lebanon and also an attempt to grab oil at the same time—or to threaten the oil states. This is one possibility. It can be either a military coup d'état as I indicated or an attempt to set up a strong state, although his government is so weak that it cannot be done by the government. And it can be to obtain a billion or two from Carter to carry on for another year. I'm speaking now just as representing ordinary Israeli Jews who think they cannot continue on like now for very long. ■

Miami Black Wrath...

(continued from page 1)

program in the interests of all the oppressed and exploited, uniting black workers with their class brothers. In this way the basis was laid for the decade of "white backlash" that was the 1970s.

In the absence of significant social struggle it is difficult to predict what Miami will mean for the future. Certainly the bourgeoisie will seek to direct minorities' anger into self-defeating race confrontations. But deepening capitalist depression faces both black and white workers with prospects of economic disaster (albeit not equally). There is a road forward out of the smoldering Miami ghetto. It is neither the road of civil rights liberalism nor of black separatism—both of which have proved their bankruptcy—but of *revolutionary integrationism*. It is the fight for assimilating oppressed minority populations in an egalitarian socialist society. This is the road of class struggle—the necessary linking of the struggle for black freedom with the fight for proletarian revolution. In the other direction lies a never-ending cycle of oppression, rebellion and suppression. Race war or class war—that is the future for American blacks.

"His Skull Cracked Like an Egg"

Arthur McDuffie, a 33-year-old former Marine and black insurance executive, was riding home on a friend's motorcycle in the early hours of the morning last December 17. According to police accounts, he was spotted for speeding and led the cops on a 100 mph chase. Whether or not the cop story is true, McDuffie evidently stopped on the ramp to Florida 112. The *Washington Post* (21 May) recounted what happened next in horrifying detail:

> "Meier [a police officer] testified last month that he heard McDuffie shout, 'I give up' before anyone touched him. He said he had drawn his service revolver on McDuffie and told him, 'Freeze.'
>
> "Suddenly, another officer pulled the black man off his motorcycle and yanked McDuffie's helmet off. Within seconds, others rushed up and 'started striking him with Kel-Lites [long, heavy metal flashlights] and nightsticks,' Meier said....
>
> "'I got splattered with the blood,' Vereka remembered. He said he recalled Marrero [the only Cuban defendant and the only cop to be charged with murder] had said, 'Easy, one at a time' before stepping up and raising his hands above his head to deliver the sledge-hammer blows. 'I turned my back and walked to the car,' Vereka said."

The autopsy report said "McDuffie's death was caused by blows to the head which were wielded with 90 times the force of gravity, cracking his skull cleanly between his eyes and in the back of the head. Probable weapon was a heavy-duty police Kel-Lite flashlight, swung two-handed, like an ax."

The cops reported McDuffie as an "accident victim" who had crashed his motorcycle. But there were too many witnesses, and even some of the cops accustomed to routine police brutality couldn't stomach it. But it was not until four days after the Miami newspapers broke the story and a week and a half after the killing that Florida state attorney Janet Reno's office announced McDuffie had been murdered. Metropolitan policemen Ira Diggs, Michael Watts, William Hannon, Alex Marrero and Herbert Evans were indicted. They were an unsavory bunch: a year previously Marrero had set off a mini-riot all by himself in a brutal arrest of a drug suspect. Michael Watts had a string of brutality charges and once beat up a drunken-driving suspect so badly that the man needed two brain operations and has never returned to work. Last week Watts tried to commit suicide by turning on his motorcycle in his apartment. Unfortunately, he was rescued by his ex-wife.

UPI

Miami 1980: Cops/National Guard out of the Ghetto! Free the victims of the racist dragnet!

Already, Miami-area blacks were angered by four blatant cases of racial injustice and discrimination by state attorney Reno, a "liberal" Harvard Law graduate who boasts of her membership in the NAACP. In February 1979, five white Metro cops on a drug raid "mistakenly" kicked in the door of 48-year-old black school teacher Nathaniel LaFleur, broke his ribs and beat up his 20-year-old son. In nearby Hialeah, a 22-year-old black youth was shot and killed while urinating against a factory wall; the off-duty cop said he thought the youth might be a burglary suspect. Most infuriating was the case of the white highway patrolman who admittedly raped an 11-year-old black girl and got off with probation. But while taking no action against beating, murdering, raping police, Reno went after the area's highest black official, county school superintendent Johnny Jones, with a vengeance. It was a typical Adam Clayton Powell case—Jones was charged with conspiring to use $9,000 in public funds to buy gold-plated plumbing for his bathroom. He was convicted even though the fixtures never even left the store.

Meanwhile, social conditions were explosive. While Miami has a large northern-derived population, much of it Jewish, and is by now over one-third Cuban, Florida is still the deep South—the home of anti-homosexual bigot Anita Bryant, the state where Delbert Tibbs was framed. And blacks have been massively thrown out of their previous jobs in hotels and related service industries, so that today there is reported 17 percent unemployment for blacks compared to 8 percent for whites and Hispanics. And while the government was welcoming tens of thousands more Cubans over the last month, Haitians arriving in their rickety wooden boats were turned away or crammed into the shacks of the Liberty City ghetto.

The Time Bomb Goes Off

Miami rulers knew what to expect. Circuit court judge Lenore Nesbitt ordered the trial moved from Dade County to Tampa. "The word 'McDuffie'," she said, "has become a byword, a symbol of police terror," and the case "a time bomb I don't want to go off in my courtroom or this community." The trial should have been an open and shut case: if ever it was possible in racist/capitalist America to convict a cop of killing a black man, this was it. The cops admitted they did it ("in the line of duty"). But the state attorney let the defense get away with murder, knocking 19 blacks off the prospective jurors list so that in the end there were none left. And at 2:30 p.m. Saturday afternoon, May 17, the lily-white jury acquitted the killer cops. The time bomb went off.

By early evening blacks were roaming the streets of Liberty City shouting "McDuffie!" while rocks and bottles began to fly. Around 8 p.m. some 5,000-8,000 people massed outside Metro police headquarters in response to a call by the NAACP. Placards read: "Where is Justice for the Black Man in America?" When the crowd broke down the doors of the police station, cops moved in with tear gas and attack dogs to break it up. Early on there were vicious attacks on whites driving through the ghetto: three young men returning from a fishing trip were pulled out of their car and beaten to death with boards and rocks; another trio (including a young woman) barely escaped with their lives after being shot, stabbed and one of their number repeatedly run over by a car. The bodies of two Hispanic men were found burned and mutilated. Meanwhile, the looting and fires (more than 200) began in earnest, the cops moved in in force and 4,300 National Guardsmen were deployed in and around the ghetto.

When it was over there were 15 dead, more than 300 injured and 1,000 arrested, mostly for curfew violations and looting. After the first night all of the dead were blacks shot by police or by roving gangs of white and Cuban vigilantes who cruised the ghetto streets picking off blacks for the kill. This was something that didn't happen in the northern ghetto upheavals of the '60s. It was not all race hate, though. There were a number of reported instances of blacks aiding whites to safety. Press agencies widely distributed a photo of whites standing guard with pistols and shotguns in front of the Palm Lake trailer court, an enclave in the middle of the ghetto. But they told a TV reporter, "The terrible thing about it is, we sympathize with them. We feel that what was done in Tampa two days ago was absolutely a travesty of justice" (CBS News, 19 May).

The cops, however, went on a murderous rampage once Liberty City had been "secured" by the army of occupation. On Sunday night, residents near a Zayre shopping plaza awoke to the sound of breaking glass in the parking lot. They watched as city cops using rifle butts, billy clubs and lengths of pipe smashed up more than a dozen automobiles, slashing the tires and spray-painting "looter" all over them. When Mayor Maurice Ferre later called the rampaging cops "bums" and had five of them suspended, it provoked an ominous demonstration of police bonapartism May 23 and threats to "strike" unless the suspensions were revoked. Immediately the five were reinstated and assigned to "stress training" instead of their regular duties.

"Long, Hot Summers"

The comparison to what the media calls the "long, hot summers" of the 1960s was inescapable. Physically it looked like the '60s: the smoke was as thick as in 1967; the death toll read like 1965. The mass arrests, sniping, looting, rock and bottle throwing recalled scenes from Watts to Detroit. "Miami! It Has Started" blared the front page of America's oldest and in some ways most conservative black newspaper, the New York *Amsterdam News*. But what was *it* that had "started," and had anything started at all?

There were plenty of real similarities with the '60s. The social and economic misery of the Miami ghetto is equaled or exceeded in almost every other major U.S. city. Everywhere there are notorious cases of killer cops executing innocent blacks on the street: in New York, black businessman Arthur Miller;

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in Houston, Chicano war veteran Joe Torres; in Los Angeles, Eulia Love, mother of eight. Routinely the police are let off or put under "observation." And behind the cop terror are economic conditions which are far worse than in the mid-1960s. The current reported rate of black unemployment (12.6 percent) is more than double that in 1966. (Massive layoffs in 1974-76 hit blacks hardest, and while whites were later called back, most blacks—"last hired, first fired"—were not.) While black incomes relative to whites' had improved slightly from the mid-'60s until 1971, they have fallen steadily since. The ghettos are already long since in a depression, and the depression nationally is just beginning.

Yet as the real situation of American black people has worsened, the visibility of "successful" blacks has dramatically increased. Almost every news station now has its black "anchor person." Most prominent of all is the new layer of black elected officials ("BEOs")—the Coleman Youngs, Kenneth Gibsons, etc.—with Carter's former black front man at the UN, Andrew Young, the prime example of "making it." These capitalist politicians are the bourgeoisie's main vehicle for selling the Democratic Party to the ghetto masses. And if they should fail (as Andy Young certainly did in Miami), there is one other area of American society where black faces are more prominent: the armed fist of the state, where since the 60s there has been a big push for more black cops, black soldiers and the black National Guardsmen who were so prominent in Miami.

But it is the differences between the black explosions of the '60s and Miami 1980 that are most important. Not all "ghetto riots" are the same. Between the mass rip-off during the 1977 New York City blackout and the 1964 Harlem battle between black demonstrators and rioting cops there is a world of difference. Most importantly the upheavals of the mid-1960s were in a context of mass black struggle. While Miami erupted over accumulated local grievances and was triggered by an unusually outrageous atrocity, the '60s saw ghetto uprisings as a nationwide phenomenon. It was the failure of the liberal-pacifist civil rights movement to meet the demands and expectations of urban blacks that gave rise to this mass social eruption. The later ghetto upheavals were also conditioned by the growing unpopularity of the dirty colonial war in Vietnam.

The leadership of the civil rights movement had a program not for black liberation, but for the reform of Jim Crow laws. For the South the bourgeoisie was prepared to grant grudgingly some formal equality under the law. Northern ghetto blacks had had "equality under the law" for years. They needed jobs, housing, education. And while the recognized leaders continued to talk about "non-violence" and brotherly love, frustrations mounted in the pressure cooker of the ghetto slums, exploding most often at the flash point of police repression. So in many ways the "riots" marked the end of the civil rights movement; symbolically the last major one was the nationwide outburst following the assassination of King in 1968. It was the fury and frustration of the masses when they saw that a decade of struggle would not affect the steaming ghettos of despair.

Above all there is an all-important difference between a spontaneous outburst, no matter how justified, in response to the criminal assaults of the capitalist state, and a positive political struggle. As we wrote in our major programmatic document on the black struggles of the '60s, "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," adopted at the founding conference of the Spartacist League in 1966:

> "For the last three summers ghettoes across the country have been rocked by elemental, spontaneous, non-political upheavals against the prevailing property relations and against the forces of the state which protect these relations. In no case have they been genuine race riots. The risings have usually been provoked by the police, in the course of 'normal' brutalities (Watts 1965) or in an effort to crush a movement which is exceeding the bounds set for it by bourgeois society (Harlem 1964). As the struggle against the police expands, the black street-fighters turn on the merchants and shopkeepers, the visible representatives of the oppressive class society, and smash whatever cannot be carried off. Yet despite the vast energies expended and the casualties suffered, these outbreaks have changed nothing. This is a reflection of the urgent need for organizations of real struggle, which can organize and direct these energies toward conscious political objectives. It is the duty of a revolutionary organization to intervene where possible to give these outbursts political direction."
>
> —reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

And we did intervene—in Harlem 1964, in Chicago 1965, Newark 1967, when King was assassinated in 1968. As against both the civil rights preachers' pacifism and the nationalists' glorification of spontaneous violence, we called for organized, armed self-defense. Centrally we put forward a program of anti-capitalist economic demands aimed at linking up with the organized labor movement to form the basis for a Freedom-Labor Party.

Newark Shows Need:

ORGANIZE BLACK POWER!

Big, violent, elemental outbursts against brutal police and cheating merchants show that talk of improved conditions for Black people is a lie. Things are getting worse despite what preachers and politicians say.

A turn must be made. Sure, it feels good to break loose against oppression. And Gov. Hughes shows himself an enemy of Negroes when he says he is most disturbed by the "holiday atmosphere" in the exploding Black Ghetto. But when it's all over, only some piddling junk has been taken home from crummy stores. And many have been hurt and killed and all the old ways go on.

Meanwhile the cops got their kicks: they like smashing Black heads and gunning down Negroes. Hughes combined a race slur with a lie when he said, "The line between the jungle and the law might as well be drawn [in Newark]." The law of white racist, capitalist America is the law of the jungle; the cops and troops are the predatory enforcers and the workers, especially Negroes, are the victims. A turn must be made.

Where to Start

1. Stop voting in fake "liberals" like Gov. Hughes, Mayor Addonizio and their "Democratic" party of the racist ruling class. No support to Black Republicans or Democrats either.

2. Build Independent Black Political Power--begin revolutionary change; start taking over control in the Ghettoes. Lay the basis for a Freedom Labor Party.

3. Defend the Black Ghettoes--every serious and responsible workingman should exercise his right to own a gun.

This leaflet gives views of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, a multi-racial revolutionary socialist organization named after Spartacus, the leader of the great Roman slave revolt. For more information write: Box 1377 G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001 or call 212/WA 5-2426.

Read "BLACK AND RED: Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom", special SPARTACIST supplement, 10¢ (order from above address)

This leaflet was distributed in Newark immediately after the July 1967 ghetto conflagration. It put forward a revolutionary perspective to militant blacks bitterly and violently reacting against the failure of the liberal civil rights movement. In this context we raised the slogan of a Freedom-Labor Party as a *transitional* demand to link the mass black upsurge with the organized workers movement. This demand was first developed by the Spartacist tendency in the early '60s when it was directed at the movement for black democratic rights in the largely non-union South. With the evaporation of a mass black movement in the late 1960s, this particular transitional demand came to be inappropriate.

Racist Backlash Can Be Defeated

When blacks in the 1960s faced a racist backlash in the absence of a militant, integrated labor movement and a strong communist party, the rejection of civil rights liberalism gave rise to a mood of black separatism. Thus the slogan of "black power," which earlier expressed in a contradictory way radical opposition to the liberal/pacifist leadership of the civil rights movement, had by the late '60s become the slogan of utopian separatist illusions.

The ghetto eruptions of 1964-68 were a bridge of violence between the earlier civil rights movement and the subsequent black nationalist mood. There was such a link because a mass black movement did in fact exist, with leaders (or misleaders), and with struggle. And some politicized blacks learned from the "riots." They learned that the ghetto had little or no political power on its own. In Detroit, no one can fail to notice that 12th Street was never rebuilt. And very few cities had more than one such explosion. Significantly, in Detroit after the 1967 eruption many of the most radicalized blacks turned to the strategic auto workers through the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Although nationalist and racially exclusionist, for a time the League represented a serious challenge to the UAW bureaucracy and an important opportunity for Marxists to intersect and win over radicalized black labor.

But the bourgeoisie also learned from the "riots." In Detroit they formed the STRESS paramilitary police squads and decreed a "free-fire zone" for cops in the ghetto. Most importantly, through the ethnic politics machinery of the Democratic Party, they bought off a layer of black "leaders" to control their own community. This has become the work of the Andrew Youngs, Ken Cockrels and all the strikebreaking black mayors. Tragically and barbarically, those who couldn't be bought off and absorbed into the Democratic Party were gunned down, as happened to many militants in the Black Panther Party.

Once the struggle for black equality came north it had to unite with a mobilization of organized labor. Instead, with the aid of Democratic Party liberals and their labor lieutenants, the white racists had their way—beginning with Cicero, Illinois where they savagely attacked a courageous band of civil rights marchers. White backlash fought the black movement, and the backlash won. The 1970s saw racist mobs defeat school integration in the streets of Boston and Louisville, with the aid of Congress and the courts.

After a decade of white backlash, 1980 finds black people with no organizations of struggle, no leaders striving even for reforms. Only the treacherous "BEOs" of the party of Jimmy Carter and the Dixiecrats. And what have white workers gained from the '70s? Unprecedented inflation, falling living standards, mass layoffs, perhaps the start of a major depression and the danger of imperialist war.

But the 1980s need not repeat either the racial polarization of the 1960s or the triumphant racist backlash of the '70s. Today the percentage of black workers in auto, steel and industry in general has increased since the ghetto explosions of the '60s. It is in the factories that major social battles will be fought and blacks will be in the forefront of those fights. They will also be hit hardest and first by the depression. They are also driven to act by the immediate threat of growing race-hate terror groups like the KKK and Nazis, gangs which thrive in the political climate of Carter's anti-Communist war drive.

Black workers must take the lead to mobilize the labor movement in defense of the beleaguered ghettos—to stop cop terror, to smash the Klan/Nazis, for militant self-defense, to break with the Democratic Party and fight for a workers party, based on the unions and fighting for the ghetto poor, and a workers government. The successful Detroit anti-Klan rally in November and San Francisco anti-Nazi rally last month—in which the Spartacist League played a leading role—point the way toward militant struggle against racist attacks. There will be no black liberation short of socialist revolution. Only a workers government and nothing else can stamp out race-hate terrorists like the Klan and Nazis, replace the cops with a militia of the working people, free the blacks from the ghetto hellholes and effect the massive redistribution of wealth needed to make the equality of blacks with whites a reality. ■

Black Women and Revolution

The Spartacist League is sponsoring a *Women and Revolution* class series. A six-part series every Friday night at 7:30 p.m. at the Student Center building room 583, Wayne State University, Detroit. The classes will focus on the oppression of women and blacks and how to fight it.

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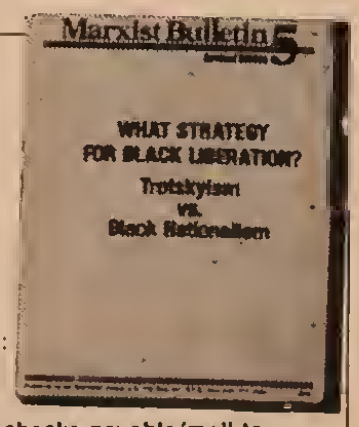

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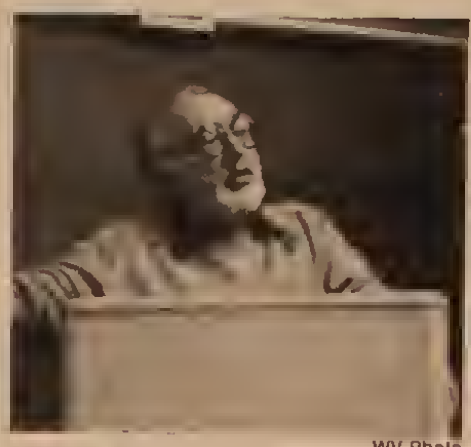
Healey/Silber Debate Raises the Spectre of Trotskyism

LOS ANGELES—The American "critical Maoist" milieu has been thrown into turmoil by the sight of soldiers of the Soviet Union fighting against CIA-backed reactionaries in Afghanistan. At least some of them have been forced in the process to begin to confront the "Russian Question." On April 5 a debate on Afghanistan was held here between Irwin Silber, professional fellow traveller and ex-editor of the Maoid *Guardian*, and Dorothy Healy, ex-head of the California Communist Party. Ironically, Silber, who spent the last 15 years condemning everything the "revisionist" USSR did, supported the Russian intervention—while Healey, who for decades supported everything the Soviet bureaucracy did, opposed it.

What was particularly significant, though, was Healey's charge of "Trotskyism" against Silber, holding up the Spartacist League as a horrible example, while Silber himself was quite aware that some of his more risqué formulations would sound perilously close to "the Trots." For two such seasoned Stalinist politicos, this "we're-all-adults-here-so-let's-talk-about-Trotskyism" attitude was simply a little harmless fireworks display. But those who play with fire often get burnt, and it is no accident that the spectre of Trotskyism increasingly haunts the critical Maoists these days. China in overt reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism, Russia engaging in some "armed struggle" in Afghanistan—only Trotskyism can provide a coherent analysis of these events which have turned the Maoist worldview upside down.

"The time is long past in our movement when you could discredit a theory or argument merely by labeling it as 'Trotskyist'," Healey said, while doing precisely that to scare Silber's supporters. Currently associated with the helter-skelter social-democratic New American Movement (NAM), Healey opposed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as a violation of its "national sovereignty" and "independence." Healey, a "Eurocommunist" whose appetites toward unity with the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie lead inexorably toward strengthening NATO against the Soviet "menace," baited Silber as being simultaneously a crypto-Trotskyist *and* a defender of the worst brutalities of Stalin.

Healey began her presentation saying that the Communist Party (CP), Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Spartacist League (SL) and Silber (S) were all essentially on the same side of the fence in Afghanistan. Correctly noting that the SL position was most unequivocal in



WV Photo

Irwin Silber

favor of the Soviet intervention, she quoted a *Workers Vanguard* article pointing out that due to the great backwardness of Afghanistan, social progress would have to be brought from outside—i.e., "exporting the revolution." In reality, Healey admitted, Silber's position was closer to that of the SWP, which makes much of the "Afghan revolution" in order to downplay the uncomfortable question of defense of (and the class character of) the Soviet Union.

Silber got back at Healey by noting that for Marxists self-determination is not a sacred first principle, and often must be subordinated to overriding considerations of class struggle. On Afghanistan Silber at least empirically is taking the working-class side as against open counterrevolution. But ever since breaking with the *Guardian* early in 1979 over China's overt collusion with U.S. imperialism in the punitive invasion of Vietnam, Silber has been a Stalinoid dilettante, a "socialism in one country" man without a country. He and his critical Maoist friends have laboriously produced a sea of literary sludge for four years now about who the really *main* "main enemy of the world's peoples" is—all of which is just so much murky cover for Silber's slow shift of allegiance from Peking to Moscow. Thus Silber welcomes Afghanistan as proof of the "progressive" nature of the Soviet bureaucracy, rendering his tortuous transition from critical Maoist to critical Brezhnevite easier.

Silber's more "daring" formulations were merely eclectic and superficial pickings from the Trotskyist arsenal. Recalling the hoary Stalinist "two-stage revolution" theory—"still applicable" of course—Silber provided the audience a slight *frisson* by saying that due to the threat of imperialism, "liberation forces" in colonial countries might well be forced to move immediately from the "democratic stage" into the socialist

WV Photo

Dorothy Healey

one, as in Cuba and Vietnam. That may have sounded like the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution to some of the more primitive Maoists. But don't fall off your chairs, supporters of "The Trend." There is no Afghan "national bourgeoisie" to ally with or Silber would trot out the old formulas for "progressive unity in the democratic struggle." Trotskyists stand for the *class independent* proletariat to lead the socialist revolution (and in the deformed workers states, the political revolution against the parasitic bureaucracies).

During the discussion a supporter of the SL challenged Silber to explain how Stalin's policies were any different from the "revisionism" of the Kremlin today. Silber's defense of Stalin was quickly blasted by Healey, however, who jumped in to say that Stalin's policies were no better than Khrushchev's (that's putting it mildly!). "What do you mean—I was there!" she said, devastatingly citing the American CP's betrayals during World War II: support to the internment of Japanese-Americans, the no-strike pledge, denunciation of the struggle for black equality as "divisive."

So Healey and Silber managed to score a few debater's points against each other. But Healey's appetite toward the liberal bourgeoisie, Silber's toward the Soviet bureaucracy, are both bankrupt. Neither has any interest in building a revolutionary working-class party. The Silberites in fact *refused* to have anything to do with the April 19 Committee Against Nazis mass labor mobilization in San Francisco. The rally drew 1,200 protesters from 22 unions, but this bunch stayed away, castigating it as a "Trot" rally. To the extent they do anything, it is the most wretched reformism—the Silberites' "Anti-Klan Network" for example limits itself to lobbying for the Congressional Black Caucus to "investigate" the Klan and for the Los Angeles Board of Education to outlaw Klan organizing in the schools.

The way out of the "critical Maoist" impasse can be found only through confronting the revolutionary program and practice of Trotskyism, exemplified today by the Spartacist League. As we wrote in analyzing the break of "critical Maoists" with China over Angola (*WV* No. 95, 6 February 1976):

> "It is not enough to dissent from the outright counterrevolutionary acts of Chinese foreign policy. It is not enough to support whatever forces appear to be battling imperialism or domestic reaction at any given moment. The counterrevolutionary policies emanating from Peking and Moscow must be destroyed at their root. And that root is the rule of a privileged bureaucracy which 'defends' collectivized (proletarian) property relations by intriguing with imperialism—in a word, Stalinism. It is the historic task of Trotskyism, and no other tendency, to lead the working class to the overthrow of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and place the enormous resources of the Sino-Soviet states totally in the service of world revolution." ■

Scab "Socialist" Pulley Would Pay Off Exxon

Few occasions bring out the social-democratic politics of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as clearly as when its reformist electoral campaigns get a little limelight. An example was an interview SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley got in the University of Washington student newspaper after he gave a speech there on March 31.

WV thanks the Seattle-area reader who sent us the article (*University of Washington Daily*, 1 April 1980) reporting on the Pulley speech and interview in which, after calling for nationalization of "all the basic industries":

> "Pulley said that, for practical reasons, the owners of nationalized industries would be compensated for their loss, although he added, 'I don't think we owe them anything'."

Trotsky's 1938 Transitional Program, of course, counterposes to just such a "muddleheaded reformist slogan of 'nationalization'" the transitional demand of *expropriation*. Among the key differences between the reformist and the transitional slogan, it notes that "we reject indemnification" and "we link up the question of expropriation with that of seizure of power by the workers and farmers." But all this is just so much fuddy-duddy orthodoxy to the "practical" party that in the last presidential elections presented a "Bill of Rights for Working People" projecting a road to socialism through Constitutional amendment.

The interview also accurately caught the SWP's position of neutralism between U.S. imperialism and the Russian deformed workers state. In order to tacitly abandon a key programmatic element of Trotskyism—unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist restoration—and to slip in instead a version of "peaceful coexistence," the SWP invokes the popular "no-nukes" spirit of utopian anti-technology:

> "'The idea that you can have nuclear superiority is completely irrational, insane, and obscene,' Pulley said. 'In a nuclear war, there will be no victors. The only way to escape this threat, which is an ever-present one, is to disarm'."

For Trotskyists it is not the existence of weapons that threatens to unleash global nuclear holocaust but the irrational imperialist bourgeoisie, which is deterred only by Soviet weaponry (if at all) from destroying the world to save its decadent capitalist system.

Press coverage that the SWP didn't relish was *WV*'s exposure of how Pulley in September 1978 crossed a picket line put up by Brotherhood of Railwaymen and Airlines Clerks unionists striking U.S. Steel in Gary, Indiana. What is perhaps most galling about the SWP election campaign is not its tired old reformist politics but its parading of scab Pulley as a socialist steel worker speaking for the interests of the working people.

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Cuba...

(continued from page 12)

Stalinist discriminatory treatment of homosexuals as social parasites. Perhaps some of the homosexuals who are leaving Cuba are in fact "social scum," but not for the reason of their homosexuality. And their lot will not be better in capitalist America, where anti-homosexual bigotry is intrinsic to the bourgeois social order. In the federal prison in Talladega, Alabama, where some hundreds of the Cuban exiles are being held as "undesirable aliens," many are imprisoned only because they are homosexuals.

Cuba Sí, Yanqui No

As Castro pointed out in 1965, if the U.S. promised unlimited immigration to the people of any other Latin American country, they would pack up overnight. It is certainly evident that the higher standard of living in the United States exerts a powerful attraction. However, no one is starving in Cuba, which is a lot more than one can say about any other Latin American country—or the ghetto poor in the U.S. And one of the main reasons the Cuban masses must suffer privation is the trade blockade by the U.S.! Nevertheless, even today the majority of Cubans have contempt for those who deserted the revolution for a little more comfort. On the anniversary of the Cuban victory in the Bay of Pigs invasion, April 19, over a million people demonstrated their opposition to the "scum, parasites, shirkers, counterrevolutionary gusanos" and others who have lent themselves to the imperialist attack on Cuba. And on May Day far more than a million crowded into Revolution Square in Havana in one of the biggest rallies on the island since the revolutionary victory.

The fact that revolutionary enthusiasm has not died out in Cuba is heartening. Partly it is due to the fact that 20 years of imperialist economic strangulation, military attacks and counterrevolutionary subversion have forced a garrison mentality on Castro's Cuba. This is Stalinism under the gun. Aid to struggles against imperialist forces elsewhere, as in Angola during 1975-76, certainly has contributed—though this is the exception rather than the rule. Settling down to build "socialism in one island," Castro long ago shut off the pipeline to Latin American guerrillas (except where they are allied with bourgeois patrons, as was the case of the Nicaraguan Sandinistas).

As Trotskyists we uncompromisingly defend the social conquests of the Cuban revolution, while at the same time denouncing the burcaucratically deformed nature of the Cuban workers state. With power concentrated in the hands of a small bonapartist caste, there is no soviet democracy for the working people. Only through a *political revolution* can the Cuban masses take the reins. A healthy workers state would not rely on ephemeral good relations with Latin American capitalist regimes or the pipedream of a deal with rapacious Yankee imperialism but would seek to extend proletarian revolution throughout the Americas and the world.

On the U.S. left the pro-Moscow Communist Party predictably parrots the line from Havana. With its Stalinist blinders the CP can neither explain why tens of thousands might seek to leave a supposed socialist paradise nor offer revolutionary leadership to Cuban and American workers. Their only answer is the chimera of "détente." Even more enthusiastic in its *fidelista* passions is the ex-Trotskyist, now-reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which tries to tail simultaneously after Castro and the liberal American bourgeoisie. The SWP is so caught up in the contradictions of its position that the current issue of its *Militant* (23 May) on one page lauds Castro's May Day speech saying good riddance to the "corrupt elements, delinquents and lumpen" and on the facing page attacks Carter as a "racist" for describing the Cuban refugees in similar terms.

For almost two decades the Spartacist tendency was unique in analyzing Castro's Cuba as a *deformed workers state*. Recently some who call themselves Trotskyists—notably the French OCI of Pierre Lambert and its followers—have formally adopted this characterization. This is only a mask for their social-democratic Stalinophobia—and the furor over the Cuban "boat people" dramatically proves it. A Brazilian paper which follows the Lambertist line, *O Trabalho* (15-21 April), headlines: "Flight from Cuba—Castro's Fault." This is a grotesque capitulation to the imperialist onslaught. While not bending their political opposition to the Castroite regime, genuine Trotskyists must denounce Carter's anti-communist "Human Rights" crusade and defend Cuba from the attacks.

Life is hard in Cuba. It is simply not possible to achieve a socialist society of abundance and equality in the confines of this small island—much less so than for Stalin's Russia. But the Cuban working people have won historic gains through overthrowing the Batista tyranny and expropriating the capitalists, both foreign and domestic. The Cuban masses want to defend these gains. We can well understand why they want to be rid of the "parasitic scum" who have prostituted themselves to the imperialist blackmail. So do we, Dr. Castro, but it will take socialist revolution to do the job. ■

Eli the Wolf...

(continued from page 7)

ing chicken blood at some Soviet diplomat or bombing Aeroflot offices would hardly satisfy his appetite for militarist strutting and terrorist killing. It is only in Israel where the Zionists hold state power—and particularly on the West Bank where paramilitary shock troops are needed to supplement the regular occupation army—that Kahane's group can engage in fascist actions.

Hazeev is by no means the only terrorist ultra who "adopted" his cause, changing his identity in a process of self-loathing. There is a bunch of such macho-crazies around who attach themselves to everything from the star of David to the crescent and star; unfortunately, some of them occasionally even claim the hammer and sickle. These political/ethnic "transsexuals," who don't feel right about their own identities, have the urge to kill; they know they are extreme for something, but never quite sure for what. Eli Hazeev is one example, but the case of New York KKK Grand Dragon and King Kleagle Daniel Burros shows it can go the other way. When he was exposed as a Jew he thumped his head and said, "You know, I'm going to have to put a hole through it"—and he did, carrying out his genocidal program against himself (*New York Times Book Review*, 1 October 1967).

Other examples: the man who shot American Nazi *führer* Lincoln Rockwell, one John Patler (changed from Patsalos), was a former Rockwell storm trooper of swarthy complexion who had been purged by those he called "blue-eyed devils." Recently there is the case of Chicago Nazi leader Frank Collin, arrested last January on charges of child molesting after being expelled by rivals in his group (who turned him in to the police). Collin was another one-time Rockwell follower, booted out because his father was Jewish (and a Dachau survivor). Even Rabbi Meir Kahane has a bizarre schizoid personal history worthy of followers like "Crazy Jim" Mahon, a/k/a Eli Hazeev.

Born into the home of a Talmudic scholar in Brooklyn, in the mid-60s Kahane started using the name Michael King. According to a *New York Times* (24 January 1971) investigation, for several years the future JDL leader posed as an Upper East Side swinger who made the rounds of the party circuit claiming to be a Presbyterian. Meanwhile "King" was working for Consultants Research, one of those right-wing "information gathering" outfits that had all the earmarks of a CIA operation. One of his failed projects was to publish a weekly on embassy night life in Washington as a cover for developing intelligence sources. He also tried to organize an abortive "July Fourth Movement" to support U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Indochina. But with the decline of the antiwar movement, Kahane rediscovered his "Jewish roots" and became the most notorious advocate/practitioner of ultra-Zionist violence. In the U.S. his creed assuaged Jewish guilt over not resisting the Nazi holocaust, by attacking black militants and Soviet diplomats. In Israel it was picked up by the Eli Hazeevs as the ideology for shock troops of fascist terrorism.

These are the small-fry terrorists of capitalism/imperialism, terrified of their own weakness, who want to be "strong" by becoming trigger men for the powerful. (The big-timers, of course, order their killings by the millions from the genteel Oval Office and computerized War Room.) But not all terrorism is morally equal: there are also those overwhelmed by the misery of the oppressed, who strike out in fury at the murderous oppressor. They hope by their individual act and sacrifice to do what can be accomplished only by mass social revolution. Marxists point out that this individual terrorism is a program of despair, the triumph of extreme subjectivity over rational political action. The individuals who are driven to it, however, are often personally courageous and can even be won to proletarian communism.

As for the Arab commando who gave the anti-Communist Zionist terrorist Eli the Wolf what he had coming, we might well want to sit down with him or her, have a beer and talk things over. ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Friday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd floor
(near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 427-0003

CWA...

(continued from page 3)

president Marie Malliett, while voting for Margolis' proposal for a demonstration at Sloat, have fought tooth and nail against members' calls for strike action against the company's offensive. Starting in March, when Rexroad and another steward were fired and Margolis was given a final warning notice, 300 members of Local 9410 signed petitions for a union meeting to take a vote to strike. Yet Imerzel supporters on the Local executive board violated the Local's bylaws and voted down a motion by Margolis that a strike vote be taken.

Margolis pointed out, "If the union tops won't protect their own officers, E-board members and stewards, how can they be counted on to defend its members? Strike action would have put a halt to the company's escalation of attacks on the union's militants and would have been a strike to defend the whole union."

Local secretary Joe McKenna was quoted in a recent MAC leaflet as saying that "there are people who have been dismissed (by the company) that I wouldn't hire to clean my back yard." He was joined by Imerzel, whose comment was that there "were no concrete issues" that merited a strike. This gave the company the green light to go ahead and victimize the best elements in the union just before a contract period.

Margolis noted that a mere 2 percent of the union's budget was allocated to strike preparations. At an executive board meeting, she proposed that funds previously allocated to support strike-breaking anti-labor politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties be allocated to a "real strike fund, to prosecute a real strike to beat back the union-busting attacks" by Ma Bell. Imerzel ruled the motion out of order, she says.

When a Local 9410 meeting was finally held on March 18 and was about 10 members short of a quorum, Imerzel spit in the face of 300 phone workers by refusing to consider a strike.

An indication of the utter cynicism and contempt for the union membership by the Local leadership was provided by an incident during this meeting when, according to MAC members, Imerzel supporters disconnected the union's telephones in order to prevent MAC stewards from calling additional union members to the meeting.

In a recent leaflet the Militant Action Caucus noted that Imerzel & Co. had agreed with a suggestion for members to start home gardens and home canning of vegetables as a way to deal with inflation and company attacks. MAC proposed instead that members "can Imerzel" and his whole rotten machine and build for a real strike when the contract expires in August. ■

Mahwah...

(continued from page 5)

history and break with the do-nothing policies of Fraser & Co. The bureaucracy's official program is lousy, stinking, racist protectionism. We are an *International* union. We reject schemes that lead to trade wars—then shooting wars—with our union brothers. Divided is defeated—we must strike as one.

For a Party of Our Own

Kennedy is being pushed by the local and International as the political answer to layoffs and inflation. (Remember how they said Jimmy Carter was the answer in '76?) Crazy Carter or wage-freezing Kennedy: there is no difference. Relying on the Democrats is like entering a fight with our hands and feet tied—labor needs its own political arm. A workers party, based in the unions which would intransigently fight in the interests of working people. A party based on the recognition that labor and management have no common interests. Fraser off Chrysler's board of directors! A party dedicated to the establishment of a workers government—planned economy based on use rather than profit. Only then will we be assured of a decent standard of living.

WE HAVE NOTHING LEFT TO LOSE! Brothers and sisters: This strategy is the only way to save our jobs. The upcoming June convention must deal with this urgent situation and Mahwah delegates must fight for this strategy. WE HAVE NOTHING LEFT TO LOSE—WE MUST FIGHT NOW! WE DON'T HAVE TO BEG—WE HAVE THE POWER TO WIN! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

"Freedom Flotilla" Backfires—U.S. Trips on Big Stick

Cuba Turns Tables on Carter

The exodus of thousands of Cubans to the shores of Florida has turned into one more embarrassment for Jimmy Carter as he bungles through this election year. It started out as a broad-scale campaign to disrupt and intimidate the Castro regime and reinforce U.S. imperialist domination of the region. The weapons included a propaganda blitz against "Communist tyranny," economic/political pressure on Caribbean governments friendly to Havana and provocative military maneuvers openly aimed at Cuba. But now Carter is desperately trying to cut off the flow of "boat people" to Key West. And while black residents of nearby Miami set the "Liberty City" ghetto aflame in anger over racist injustices, thousands of Cubans riot in the "Camp Libertad" refugee center, trying to escape the barbed-wire enclosures where they have been penned up since arriving in the "land of the free."

When 10,000 people crowded into the Peruvian embassy in early April to demand "asylum," Carter promised that the United States would welcome the anti-Castro Cubans with "an open heart and open arms." But Carter's plans backfired when Castro took him at his word. Everyone in the Peruvian embassy was granted an exit permit and anyone else who wanted to leave was granted permission to do so as well. The Cuban government made its position clear:

> "If the Peruvian government wants to receive all the anti-social and lumpen elements in Cuba, we will gladly let them go, along with all those who are ideologically opposed to the Revolution and socialism. The dividing line between common criminals and counterrevolutionaries is becoming less and less clear."
>
> —"Cuba's Position," *Granma*, 7 April

When an airlift to Costa Rica was suspended by Castro on April 18, friends and relatives from Florida sent boats to evacuate the "refugees" by sea. Anyone who could pay the charge of $1,000 could ride the "freedom flotilla" of small fishing boats and pleasure craft to Florida.

This was more than Carter had bargained for. When the Cubans actually started arriving in large numbers (close to 65,000 have entered the U.S. in the last few weeks) the "land of opportunity" was not standing with outstretched arms. Particularly when it became clear that a large proportion of the "tired and poor" were common criminals and other social "undesirables" Carter did a quick about-face: "We will not permit our country to be used as a dumping ground for criminals who represent a danger to our society, and we will begin exclusion proceedings against these people at once" (*New York Times*, 15 May 1980). The "freedom flotilla" was declared "disorderly" and every craft found bringing people from Cuba was seized.

In an absurd attempt to disguise the cutoff, Carter proposed an airlift and sealift for only the "screened and qualified" to come to the U.S. He actually proposed to *send the U.S. Navy to Cuba* to make sure that no "degenerates" boarded the boats! While the U.S. president made his "offer" in all seriousness, no one waited with bated breath for Castro to accept. And the Cubans have continued to come. Carter's latest attempt to save face has been to rule that those arriving from Cuba would not be treated as political refugees but as applicants for asylum. This maneuver in effect removes legal restrictions on the number of Cubans who can be admitted to the U.S.

Big Stick and Racism

Carter's pressure against Cuba has not been confined to a press smear campaign. Along with the two-decades-old economic embargo and preservation of a naval base on Cuban soil at Guantánamo Bay, American policy in the Caribbean is returning to the days of "dollar diplomacy" and "the big stick." Thus the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund recently cut off the pro-Cuban Manley government in Jamaica, starving it of import credits in a blatant attempt to bring it down in upcoming elections. Carter/Brzezinski are reportedly talking of blockading the tourist and nutmeg island of Grenada, the latest "revolutionary" regime in this American lake. And in the former banana republic of Nicaragua, pro-U.S. capitalist representatives walked off the figurehead junta in early May as a clear warning to the Sandinista rulers.

Wide World Photos

"Operation Libertad"—Imperialist attack on Cuba, and it's not just propaganda. What's that battleship (background) doing in Key West?

Toward Cuba itself Washington policy has been old-fashioned gunboat diplomacy, even before Carter seized upon Afghanistan as a pretext for his anti-Soviet Cold War offensive. Last summer there were the fireworks over Russian troops who had been on the island for 15 years or more. This was used as the excuse to set up a new U.S. naval command in Key West, "less than 90 miles from Cuba." Earlier this month Bahamian gunboats seized two Cuban fishing vessels 20 miles off Cuba (supposedly inside Bahama's territorial waters since it claims the 200-mile limit!). Cuban fighter planes sank the patrol boats first and Havana apologized later. Simultaneously the Pentagon has launched a major Caribbean military exercise amid a total media blackout in the U.S. "Operation Solid Shield," scheduled for May 8-20, involves 42 warships, 20,000 troops and 350 fighter planes in maneuvers near Cuba. Plans include landing 2,000 Marines at Guantánamo and practice for B-52 bombers in mining Caribbean waters from the air.

In its anti-Castro campaign the U.S. has portrayed the fleeing Cubans as victims of political persecution. Therefore it is all right to let them in while the Haitians, for example, must be kept out because they are allegedly only *economic* refugees looking for a better way of life. The Carter administration has neatly reversed the facts to fit its own propaganda needs. The Haitians are trying to escape the violence of the bloody, U.S.-backed Duvalier dictatorship: their motive is simple—they want to stay alive. The real reason for the government's closed door policy here is racism toward the black Haitians and the anti-communist instinct to stand by your despot. Like Chileans seeking to escape the butcher Pinochet and refugees from other right-wing dictatorships, they are turned away because, as one lawyer put it, "If they can stay, the whole hemisphere is eligible" (*New York Times*, 27 May). As a result, more than 600 have been sent back to face imprisonment, torture and frequently death at the hands of "Baby Doc" Duvalier's killers, the Tontons Macoutes.

None of the Cubans, however, have even claimed to fear for their lives, in a country where there has not been a single execution since Batista's most sadistic murderers were shot in 1959. Many do admit that they have been in jail, claiming that they were imprisoned for political reasons so they won't be shipped back for being the common criminals that they no doubt are. Most are simply looking for a better standard of living in the land of supposed capitalist riches. It should be clear, however, that once ensconced among the gusano-led Cuban exile communities, some of them (especially when they discover that Miami streets are not paved with gold) will be recruited into the network of clandestine reactionary murder gangs such as the notorious Omega 7.

Along with the criminals, degenerates and deserters, Castro includes homosexuals in the category of "social scum." "Cuba's Position," reprinted from the official organ of the Cuban Communist Party, states: "Even though in our country homosexuals are not persecuted or harassed, there are quite a few of them in the Peruvian embassy, aside from all those involved in gambling and drugs who find it difficult to satisfy their vices here." What we have here is an expression of the Cuban regime's

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AP

Cuban working masses demand "Down with the Blockade", "Yankees out of Guantánamo."

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 258 13 June 1980

Carter, Reagan—Bad News for Workers, Blacks

WV Photo

Unemployment lines in Detroit last week as black jobless rate hits 26 percent in the city: The last hired, first fired, blacks are the first casualties of the 1980 depression. Auto and steel layoffs strike at the heart of the black proletariat. Black workers must take the lead in militant united class struggle to turn back the bosses' attacks on the unions and the ghetto.

Build a Workers Party!

So the lines are shaping up for the "choice" the American people will be given in November, and it's looking like Crazy Carter vs. Reactionary Reagan. As the last round of primaries concluded, European governments were increasingly worried that "you Americans may trade a bunch of incompetents for a bunch of nuts" (*Wall Street Journal*, 3 June). And for American workers, poor, blacks and other minorities, the Tweedledum/Tweedledee politicians of the twin capitalist parties promise rip-roaring economic depression as god's punishment for wasteful living, more bang for more bucks military spending and a foreign policy veering from one provocation to the next in a frenzied anti-Soviet Cold War drive.

Even before last week's voting, Ronald Reagan's nomination as the Republican candidate was already assured, and he stacked up nine more state victories for good measure. On the Democratic side, the June 3 primaries put Jimmy Carter some 300 delegate votes over the top in his fight to reclaim the nomination. Still, there was plenty of nervousness in the Democratic camp: the incumbent president had lost five of the last eight primaries and the popular vote as well to Teddy Kennedy, two-thirds of whose supporters said they would vote for Reagan or John Anderson in November rather than for Carter. As columnist Tom Wicker wrote in the *New York Times* (6 June):

> "Mr. Carter came out looking like a basket case and Mr. Kennedy like a welfare case—the one a President rated only 'fair to poor' by 80 percent of the Democrats who voted in three major states; the other a beneficiary of protest votes rather than a real choice in his own right."

To top it off, on June 4 Congress again shot down Carter's gasoline import bill (imposing a surtax which would raise the price at the pump by 10 cents a gallon) in a staggering 335-to-34 veto override in the House of Representatives. This was the first time since 1952 that a president's veto had been repudiated by a Congress dominated by his own party. The bill was a key element of the administration's energy policy, introduced three years ago as the Moral Equivalent of War (MEOW). But now Carter has gone on from moral to military rearmament of imperialism. The only issue in the Congressional wrangling over the Pentagon budget last week was whether the war machine should get $13 or $16 billions more this year.

Spurred by the capitalist politicians' slanging match over who is "soft on communism," the domestic social/political climate is moving increasingly to the right. Last week a well-known race hatemonger of the terrorist Ku Klux Klan won the Democratic nomination for Congress from San Diego. And only days before there was the assassination attempt against Vernon Jordan, head of the Urban League, the most conservative of the major black organizations, which ever since its inception has been little more than a capitalist front. If you can't be Vernon Jordan in this country without getting shot, what black person *is* safe on the streets of racist/capitalist America?! Meanwhile, Carter's "Operation Libertad" provocation against Cuba is in trouble. As new arrivals are jailed or turned away, their predecessors are chafing behind the barbed wire of the "processing" camps. On June 1, three hundred of them rioted at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas. Apparently they couldn't stand all that "freedom."

Whether under Reagan or Carter, the theme of U.S. foreign policy will continue to be "Hate Russia." A look at their top advisers tells the story. On Carter's side, gone are the Andrew Youngs and Cyrus Vances who talked deceptively of "détente" with the Soviet Union and "majority rule" in southern Africa. What's left is the wild-eyed Polish revanchist Zbigniew Brzezinski. The GOP candidate's advisers are an all-star line-up of reactionary braintrusters, from Milton Friedman, economic guru for Chilean dictator Pinochet's starvation regime, to Richard Pipes, head of the Pentagon's "Team B" advisory council which called for the U.S. to drop détente and achieve nuclear "first-strike" capacity. However, already under Brzezinski, the U.S. has officially adopted a first-strike strategy—and gone on to implement it by moving to station Pershing rockets in Europe and developing the MX missile. With maniacs like this in the White House basement, who needs a General Curtis ("Bomb 'em Back to the Stone Age") LeMay.

Meanwhile, the economy is going to hell in a basket. *Business Week* (16 June) described it as "free falling," with "no bottom in sight." The *Economist* (7 June) quoted a weekly report by Manufacturers Hanover investment bank saying:

> "...housing starts recently fell by more in one month than in any month in 20 years; auto sales are running at their lowest rate in 22 years, while total retail unit sales are falling at their fastest clip in 29 years. April's rise in unemployment among adult men was the most for any month in 30 years, while consumer attitudes...are the dreariest in 34 years."

Summing it all up, the government's "index of leading indicators" plunged 4.8 percent in April, far and away the worst drop since they began keeping score (the previous record was 3.0). And when May figures came in, the two-month increase in unemployment also turned out to be the largest since the Labor Department started counting it. The *New York Times* (5 June) reported that Treasury secretary Miller was piqued at the "alarm" over the economic statistics, declaring that fighting inflation remains the "No. 1 priority"—the American people will just have to swallow their "bitter medicine." And Jimmy Carter says, "We have turned the corner on the economy." Sure, and all the country needs is a good 5-cent cigar.

Kennedy No Alternative for Workers

Probably the most notable aspect of the campaign so far is why Kennedy, as one newspaper described it, took "the fastest political nosedive in history." A year ago in the midst of the "hot summer madness" over gas prices, gas lines and the president's disastrous "let 'em walk, let 'em pray" July 15 energy speech, it looked like it was curtains for Carter. His ratings had sunk even lower than Nixon's just before he resigned. We ran the headline "Carter Totaled?" (*WV* No. 237, 3 August 1979). Well, not quite.

The major turn in Carter's fortunes was the November 4 seizure of American hostages in Teheran. This triggered the "nuke the ayatollah" super-patriotism which he capitalized on and directed in a more explicitly anti-Soviet direction using the pretext of Afghanistan. But Kennedy not only didn't carry the primaries—he barely got off the ground until the very end, when people began to shudder at the thought of a Carter-Reagan contest. Although he kept demanding to debate Carter on the economic issues, he never got to first

continued on page 6

Miami Report

We print below excerpts from a reader's letter:

May 19, 1980

Dear *Workers Vanguard*:

I was in Miami when the news first broke of the beating death of Arthur McDuffie by four to six police officers. It must be emphasized that it was only after persistent inquiries by McDuffie's family and small protests that the story broke a week after the beating on December 17. It was only after the *Miami Herald* broke the story that the Dade County Public Safety director, the Miami Police Department and the state attorney launched an investigation....

At this point the *Herald* did an in-depth report of police brutality in Miami. Surprise of surprises, the liberals found out that cops systematically beat people up. What was sickening is that they kept score. Apparently a group of cops had a pool in which they rated beatings on a scale from one to ten, ten being death. This was a regular game. I knew that the racists in blue enjoyed beating people up, but I had no idea that they played Jimmy the Greek with people's skulls.

I was at one of the first large demonstrations against McDuffie's beating. Contrary to popular opinion that Miami is populated by Northern liberals, it is a part of the Deep South. The peculiar positions of Miami as a tourist town and its Jewish population has given Miami a liberal veneer. But Miami is a bastion of Deep South racism. In 1968 when I was living in Miami Jim

UPI

Police terror in Liberty City.

Crow was still strutting around Miracle Mile. It wasn't until after the '68 Miami rebellions that Jim Crow really went lame. The memory of the '68 turmoil, the summer of '67, the Civil Rights Movement, and of Jim Crow, is still alive among the blacks in Miami. The demonstration reminded me of all these things. It was a militant demonstration and I overheard one black say, "Sometimes I think we need guns to protect ourselves from the cops."

...Most importantly there is a large Latino community dominated by Cubans and led by an anti-communist, extremely right-wing Cuban middle class. This last fact cannot be overemphasized. The communal divisions and competition between the Cubans and the blacks are fierce. This is compounded by the fact that a substantial number of low-wage employers are Cubans who employ blacks. Plus the poor Latinos and blacks both compete for the same low-paying service jobs in the tourist industry. The Cuban middle class has a lot of political clout in the Miami government. The blacks hardly even have a token representation in the city, thus the black misleaders can sometimes put on a face of militancy....

Some random observations: before the National Guard moved in, gangs of blacks roamed through the streets armed, driving the cops out—first out of Liberty City (the center of the '68 rebellion) and then out of the rest of the ghetto. Reportedly these people weren't kids but adults.

In Florida practically everybody has a gun, usually a shotgun. Black, Latino and white are all armed.

Reportedly groups of Cubans have been riding through the streets in pick-ups shooting blacks. We must find a way to cut through the communal tensions of blacks and Latinos.... The riot itself is a product of frustration and outrage without organized political content.

Communist greetings,
Jerry M.

For Political Debate on the Left!

May 14, 1980

New York Marxist School
151 W. 19th Street
New York, NY

Dear Friends,

The New York branch of the Spartacist League would like to schedule an evening to present our views as part of your lecture series *Parties and Tendencies of the U.S. Left*. In addition we are willing to speak on a panel with or otherwise debate any of the other participants with the courage to do so. In fact, debate is generally the best method to achieve your stated purpose of achieving "a sharp and clarifying dialogue."

The announcement of the series in your Spring-Summer calendar clearly states that you are willing to broaden the discussion beyond the presently publicized participants. And no wonder! The CP, SWP and DSOC are among the most reformist organizations in the workers movement. DSOC blatantly calls for a vote to Teddy Kennedy, who they freely admit isn't even a lesser evil to Carter. The SWP and CP candidates vie with each other to prove they could, if elected, make capitalism work best for the "little people" with "tax the rich," "butter not guns" schemes. We wouldn't expect much "sharp debate" from those types.

Still, for most Americans, the CP signifies "Russian Revolution" and the SWP still pretends to be Trotskyist, and Harrington with his "born yesterday populism" may well find followers among naive draft-threatened youth. Historically, it has been the reformists who gain first from any mass radicalization, especially when allowed to go unchallenged. Therefore, your facilitation of a *real* open debate would indeed be a service to the revolutionary cause.

Such clarification *can* lead to the united action so desperately needed today. Recent events in Iran and Afghanistan have catapulted Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign into a mass jingoist hysteria, which has emboldened the far right. The results range from the Olympic boycott to cross burnings from Queens, New York to the Los Angeles suburbs and six communist-labor organizers dead at Greensboro.

The SL mobilized a rally of hundreds of auto workers and blacks, in Detroit, which scared off the announced KKK rally in that city following the Greensboro murders. When the Nazis threatened to celebrate Hitler's birthday in San Francisco, the SL along with union leaders initiated a broadly based united front (April 19 Committee Against Nazis) which stopped them, a victory celebrated with a demonstration that topped 1,200. But we have no illusions about the permanence of these victories. The left is divided, small and isolated. The fascists were still able to "celebrate" genocide in Chattanooga, with a racist nightriding shooting spree.

Both the CP and the SWP refused to endorse the important anti-fascist actions initiated by the SL. The truth is they would rather see brownshirts and white hoods marching down the street recruiting for genocide than risk contact with revolutionary Trotskyists. This criminally sectarian behavior can take place only in the absence of public political debate and clarification of the political differences which divide us. Workers democracy is not a luxury but a revolutionary necessity.

You write with nostalgia of the "sharp and clarifying dialogue generated a couple of years ago by the [Parties & Tendencies of the Left] series." Well, we remember that the fight for political clarification was rewarded with a cowardly political exclusion of the SL. As militant defenders of workers democracy, attempts at exclusion from public meetings is not something we take lightly, or forget easily.

But with a couple more years (and a couple more splits) you must be feeling your isolation. Maybe you learned something from your sectarian exclusionism. Time will tell, as for now we must take you at your word and assume that your enthusiasm for "sharp clarification" is sincere.

We look forward to your early response.

For Leninist clarity,
Janis Gerrard
for the NY Spartacist League

Editor's Note: In response to the above letter, on June 7 New York Marxist School education director Juliet Ucelli informed *WV* that the SL would be included in the *Parties and Tendencies of the Left* series this summer.

Victimized Radical Ex-Marine Says:

"I Welcomed 'Hail Red Army'"

We print below a letter from Frank Huff, a former Marine lance corporal who in the mid-1970s was victimized by the Navy in its attempt to suppress dissent among the soldier-sailor ranks of the American war machine. While stationed in Japan, Huff was court-martialed, busted down to private, sentenced to 45 days in the brig and fined $400 for circulating a petition to Congress (protesting U.S. support for the Park dictatorship in Korea) and distributing the Declaration of Independence! This "crime" was committed off-base, out of uniform and off duty.

Huff subsequently filed a court suit which became a key test case of democratic rights for soldiers. Five years later, as reported on the front page of the *New York Times* (22 January), the Supreme Court upheld the U.S. military's gag rule requiring prior approval by the base commander for distribution of *all* unofficial written matter within the armed forces. In the context of Carter's anti-Soviet war drive, the court's decision is a clear attempt to head off the deep unrest which was rife among U.S. soldiers during the Vietnam War. As Huff wrote in a comment on the *New York Times* article:

> "The military wants to prevent political involvement among its ranks, and for good reason. 'Today's Army' is comprised mainly of working class youth whose best interest is not to defend the capitalist economic system (which could at best ensure them a life of wage-slavery in a deeply troubled economy), but to join with the working class in its historic mission to defeat capitalism and replace it with a workers government which is the only road forward for humanity."

* * * * *

Los Angeles, California
11 March 1980

Workers Vanguard
New York, New York

Comrades,

Mike Brandow's letter appearing in your February 8th issue canceling his subscription on the grounds that "your headline, 'Hail Red Army' was too much for me, as a socialist, to take" went without reply. I would like to respond because, quite frankly, Mike Brandow's reasoning is too much for *me*, as a socialist, to take.

Some time ago, I carelessly let my sub expire and when the current wave of events broke (hostages in Iran, Red Army in Afghanistan, etc.) I was caught with my ideological pants down, so to speak. I was confused. Besides being hit with some semi-difficult programmatic questions, I was not unaffected by pressures of bourgeois "public" opinion. When I at last got my eager hands on a *WV*, there on the front page was a most welcome headline: "Hail Red Army."

A Marxist cannot maintain a working class perspective on his/her own without a communist press. It is all too easy to succumb to bourgeois ideology. There are, however, many who only pretend to represent the views of Marxism. It is precisely during historically critical periods of class struggle that these fakes expose themselves. Fortunately, the continuity of Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism can still be found in your press. There is but one voice of revolutionary communism in the world today. That is the voice of the iSt.

Frank L. Huff

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution

Black Upsurge in South Africa

In the last two months, South African workers and students, both black and "coloured" (mixed race), have joined together in struggle against the white supremacist regime. Vicious police repression and phony promises of apartheid reform have not been enough to put down the struggle for freedom which gave rise to the 1973 Durban strike wave and the 1976 Soweto student revolt.

The simultaneous bombing of three South African synthetic oil facilities on June 1 by African National Congress guerrillas got front-page headlines and frightened the Afrikaner racists. But the joint worker-student struggle now underway has a far more explosive potential. The black proletariat, key to the South African revolution, is taking the lead in the anti-apartheid fight of the black and coloured masses.

This time a massive school boycott protesting discriminatory education coincided with a strike wave in the Cape province and in the same Durban textile factories where the 1973 strikes broke out. "Significantly, there is growing co-operation between the striking workers and the protesting students," wrote the *Economist* (31 May). Three thousand Capetown packinghouse workers on strike have been backed up by an effective meat boycott in the area's black and coloured communities. On May 24 students supported the strike by invading white suburban supermarkets, overturning display counters and jamming checkout lines with grocery carts.

The current eruptions began in mid-April when coloured students in the Cape province—home to one-third of South Africa's 2.4 million "coloured" population—called for a nationwide school boycott after months of protests against low funding, double sessions and inadequate facilities and teachers. According to figures cited by the London *Economist*, the South African government allots about $285 per year for the education of each coloured student, compared to $812 for each white student and $90 for each black student. Many teachers supported the boycott and teachers associations in the Cape and Transvaal provinces declared their sympathy with the student activists. As the boycott spread throughout the country black students joined the fight, including in Soweto. Police attacked student demonstrators with clubs, using the pretext that all outdoor meetings and marches are illegal under Pretoria's "Riotous Assemblies Act." More than 1,200 students, teachers and community leaders were rounded up and jailed. Among them were 53 black and white churchmen, including two bishops.

Financial Mail

Black Ford workers in Port Elizabeth strike to reinstate militant fired for political activity.

On May 25 Police Minister Louis le Grange warned that protesters would "get what they are looking for." He threatened, "We are not going to play around with these people anymore" (*Newsweek*, 9 June). Three days later le Grange got what he was looking for when plainclothes cops in a coloured suburb of Capetown shot down two youths in cold blood. As a group of students tossed rocks at whites' cars the police jumped out of a van and without warning opened fire with shotguns. Fifteen-year-old Bernard Fortuin, an innocent bystander, died on the pavement as cops beat his mother away from her son's body with clubs. A government apology was not enough to keep the school boycott from gaining momentum after this atrocity. Police reinforcements couldn't stop furious coloured and Indian youths from burning at least 70 cars and 10 buses, sacking schools and torching a furniture factory.

Black Workers Strike Wave

The stage was set for the current round of black walkouts with the victory of striking auto workers at Port Elizabeth's Ford plant last January. Ford bosses in the Eastern Cape city known as South Africa's "Little Detroit" surrendered to the strikers' demands to reinstate hundreds of workers fired in November for walking out over discrimination and victimization of militant workers. When the recognized union leaders agreed to a sellout settlement on Ford's terms the workers, led by Thozamile Botha, turned to the more militant Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO). PEBCO mobilized the weight of the black city population behind the strikers and inspired other strikes at a local paper plant and the Port Elizabeth General Tire and Rubber factory.

The coloured and black student boycott encouraged Durban textile workers at the Frametex mills to walk out demanding higher wages. The bosses' response was the traditional South African answer to black worker militancy: they just fired all 6,000 workers and prepared to hire a new workforce off the bantustan "homelands." But that tactic may not work this time. Massive black demonstrations in Durban have forced local authorities to call for police reinforcements. Meanwhile, clothing workers in Capetown have also gone on strike 3,000 strong. The government's director-general of manpower utilization has threatened to ban the striking unions.

The most significant aspect of black and coloured struggles in South Africa this year has been the degree to which the oppressed non-white majority has looked to the black working class to lead the fight. This is crucial because it is precisely the black proletariat that has the power and the social weight to crack the apartheid system wide open. South Africa is not Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, where a thin stratum of privileged white farmers could be broken by a combination of desultory guerrilla warfare and the preference of the imperialists for a black strikebreaking regime. South Africa's entrenched and well-armed white racist regime must be overthrown by the black workers, leading the oppressed black, coloured and Indian masses in a revolutionary socialist movement which would also seek to appeal to white working people. But for that victory all of South Africa's oppressed and exploited need a revolutionary leadership, a Trotskyist party. For a black-centered workers and peasants government in South Africa! ■

Grisly Zionist Bombing

At 7:30 in the morning on June 3, as a group of Arabs in the Israeli-occupied West Bank city of Hebron gathered near an elementary school, someone threw a grenade into the crowd. Seven people were injured, including a 70-year-old man. This atrocity was the prelude to a gruesome morning of Zionist terror in the West Bank. Minutes later Karim Khalef, the nationalist Palestinian mayor of Ramallah, got into his car and stepped on the clutch. A booby-trap bomb blew off most of his left foot and injured his right leg. As relatives and friends rushed to drag Khalef from his car before the gas tank exploded, Mayor Bassam al-Shaka was getting into his car in Nablus. Another bomb rigged to the car by Zionist terrorists blew off both his legs above the knee. A third West Bank mayor, Ibrahim Tawil of Bireh, escaped injury or death only by luck. Instead, an Israeli explosives expert was blinded by the bomb meant to kill Tawil.

The Zionist "settlers" in their fortified encampments try to portray the June 3 assassination attempts as the self-defense actions of the embattled victims of Arab terror. "If the Arabs think they can hit us and be safe," one Israeli rightist said, "they are wrong. They cannot go to sleep early without any worry. Just as we have to put guards on our houses, so they will have to put guards on their houses" (*New York Times*, 3 June). This is a lie: the iron heel of terror on the West Bank is not Arab but Israeli. Ali Keishe, Mayor Tawil's city council secretary, exposed this lying attempt to represent the oppressor as the oppressed by observing that "We are unarmed. We are the people who need security because every Israeli has a gun" (*New York Times*, 3 June).

Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin sanctimoniously denounced the bomb attacks as "crimes of the gravest type" and promised "the most intensive investigation" (*New York Times*, 3 June). Yet the immediate concern of the former butcher of Deir Yassin was not to catch the murderous culprits but to squash Arab resistance to Zionist terror on the West Bank. The army tried to break a shopkeepers' strike by kidnapping the shop owners and forcing them to open up in the morning.

Meanwhile, police speculated that "rival Palestinian groups" might have been responsible! And when the finger of suspicion was pointed at the terrorist Kach group headed by Jewish Defense League leader Meir Kahane, Begin cautioned against assigning blame. Kahane's gang was certainly willing: they had threatened retaliation for the shooting of six Zionist ultras (including Kach member "Eli the Wolf") in Hebron last month, and Kahane had already been jailed for plotting to blow up Jerusalem's Al Aksa mosque, the third holiest site in Islam, during Friday prayers! But the elaborate June 3 bombings suggest government connections and military capability that are likely beyond the reach of Kahane's tiny personality cult. Well-known Palestinian spokesmen like Shaka and Khalef are under constant Israeli military surveillance. The bombs (and perhaps the plans) were Israeli army issue.

A more likely suspect is the Gush Emunim (Faith Bloc), the political/religious fanatics who dominate the West Bank settlements with the approval of Begin's cabinet. The *Economist* (7 June) reports that a council of Gush Emunim leaders "has won the Israeli

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 258 13 June 1980

Scotland Yard Knows Who Killed Blair Peach

London Cops Get Away with Murder

The killers' names are known. But "British justice" has let the "guardians of order" get away with murder. For the past two months, the "Blair Peach affair" has been prominent in the British bourgeois and left press with sordid revelations of brutal police terror. When last year a Special Patrol Group (SPG) police unit left Blair Peach, a school teacher and member of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), to die as a result of their brutal beating, they were confident the murderer in their midst would be protected. It now seems they have been proved right.

Sensational revelations in the press this March exposed the identities of the killer elite, one of whom slaughtered Peach during a bloody cop riot against anti-Nazi protesters in the London's Southall section on 23 April 1979. But the Public Prosecutor refused even to charge the SPG men despite a secret Scotland Yard report, in his possession since *last October*, clearly pointing to their guilt. As a final legal resort, Peach lawyers were forced into a juried inquest, which was not allowed to see the incriminating evidence. The inquest concluded May 27 with a verdict of "death by misadventure"—that is, Peach was just an "unfortunate victim" of a "reasonable" police action.

Who killed Blair Peach? "SPG KILLERS MURRAY, WHITE, LAKE, FREESTONE, SCOTTOW, RICHARDSON: ONE IS A MURDERER—THE OTHERS KNOW WHICH ONE." The Anti-Nazi League (ANL) said in it in huge posters, while 3,000 demonstrators before the inquest opening April 27 shouted the names loudly in response to the chant "Who Killed Blair Peach?" "Wanted For Murder" posters with the six SPG men's names were plastered over police stations around London.

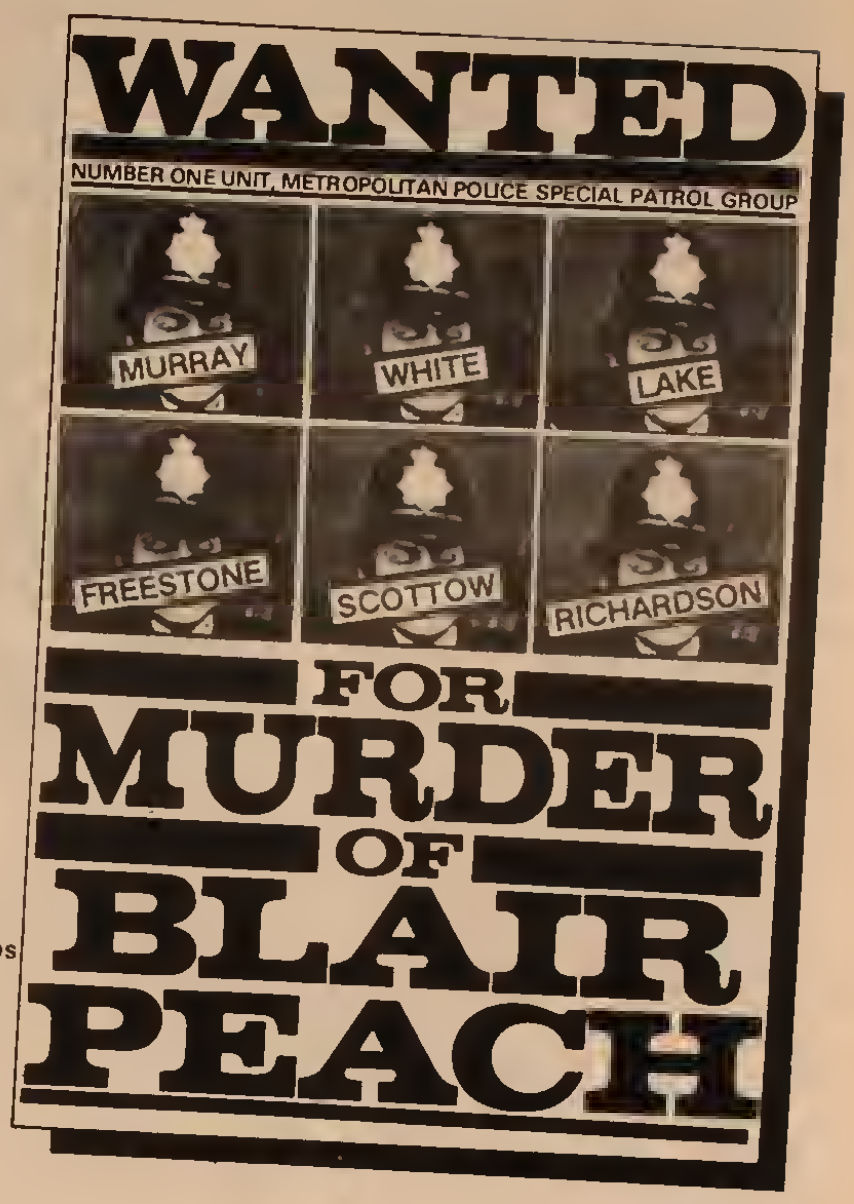
Now the sorry end of the inquest is one more disappointment to those thousands of protesters who had pinned their hopes on the courts. And the ANL itself is under attack from the vindictive cops who, armed with deeply repressive criminal libel laws, could exact hairraising penalties for merely naming the cops involved. The British ruling class has closed ranks to protect its own.

The true story was made public by the London *Sunday Times* (March 10), which had discovered the secret Scotland Yard investigation. "Blair Peach was killed by one of a six-man team from Number One Unit of the Special Patrol Group. That was the conclusion of Scotland Yard officers.... They were certain that the fatal blow *was* struck by a member of the team led by Inspector Alan Murray, and consisting of five constables named White, Freestone, Lake, Richardson and Scottow," began the "Insight-Exclusive" story. According to the story, the secret CIB 2 investigation also contained:

> "Evidence that lies had been told to the investigators; that crucial questions had been met with refusals to answer; and that charges of obstruction of justice could therefore be laid.
> "Evidence that senior uniformed officers in the Metropolitan Police had tried to thwart the inquiry."

Of course the cops tried to cover their bloody tracks—mere description of *what* they did, by scores of witnesses, was horrible enough. On 23 April 1979, thousands of police charged into 3,000 largely Asian anti-Nazi protesters in Southall, driving vans into trapped crowds, beating unconscious anyone they could catch, and arresting over 300 (see *Spartacist Britain*, May 1979). Meanwhile the SPG group headed by Murray found its own victim: SWPer Blair Peach, who had been active in many anti-fascist protests. While helpless demonstrators looked on, they closed in on him. The day after the cop riot Parminder Atwal, one of the last to see Peach alive, told reporters what happened:

> "I saw this man being hit by the police with truncheons.... Then the police came along and ordered him to move. He was badly hurt but he managed to get up and try to cross the road. He was shivering.... He couldn't move his hands. His tongue was stuck to his upper jaw and the upper part of his head was all red as if he was bleeding inside.... I put some more water in his mouth but he couldn't take it. Somebody else called for an ambulance and I cradled him in my arms until it came."
> —*Evening News* (London), 24 April 1979



This is the poster the British cops tried to suppress.

The doctor who finally saw Peach said it was the worst skull injury he had ever seen, the bone split completely apart so the top and bottom of the skull moved separately. Peach died a few hours later.

The SPG got off, free to continue its terror. Most bourgeois press reports have been rather uneasy about the obvious, demonstrated brutality of the SPG, yet they *do* understand that this corps of professional street thugs has its

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Where Is Tim Wohlforth?

Readers of *WV* may recall the long and ignominious political career of Tim Wohlforth, self-styled "Trotskyist leader" and full-time cynic. For a dozen years Wohlforth was the American gauleiter of Gerry Healy (who claimed to embody "anti-revisionist Trotskyism" before selling out lock, stock and barrel to the "Arab Revolution" as represented by Libya's fanatical anti-communist dictator, Muammar Qaddafi). Wohlforth's most notable achievement was to split the anti-Pabloist left opposition within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1962 and finger to the SWP leadership the majority of the Revolutionary Tendency, which went on to found the Spartacist League.

After leaving the SWP in 1965, Wohlforth was the tinpot despot of the Workers League, Healy's American "section," where he combined the most contemptible petty opportunism with the organizational methods of a two-bit Stalin, complete with gangsterism and slander against leftist opponents and vicious mistreatment of his own members. But in 1974 Wohlforth was unceremoniously dumped by Healy (see "Wohlforth Terminated," *WV* No. 61, 31 January 1975) under cover of a "security" scare against Wohlforth's companion, Nancy Fields, whom Healy

WV Photo

Militant

Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields: Where are they now?

accused of being a CIA agent (this paranoid "method" was to flower into the full-fledged psychotic slander campaign against the late Joseph Hansen, then the SWP's leading ideologue, and subsequently against the SWP's "Carlton College network" of alleged CIA spies).

Wohlforth and Fields, with (in)appropriate fanfare, soon found their way back into the SWP, where Wohlforth occupied the unenviable position of a kept oppositionist in the bureaucratic SWP.

But Tim Wohlforth seems to have disappeared. Where is he? Is he still in the SWP? Is he still in the United States?

Some rumors suggest Wohlforth is on his way to Latin America to seek a deal with Nahuel Moreno, the Latin American political adventurer who last summer split from the SWP's international bloc partners. Other sightings place him briefly in London. There are stories that he's looking for a teaching job in Mexico. Or perhaps he has secretly joined Joe Hansen.

What really happened to Wohlforth in the northern California SWP? Did they really make poor Tim play the arch-cliquist Abern in a skit about the 1940 faction fight? Was he ever really a member of the SWP National Committee?

And what about Nancy Fields? Is Healy still insisting that her blood ties to her CIA uncle make her an agent? Has Healy turned her over to the tender mercies of his mentor, Colonel Qaddafi?

And why isn't Healy worrying out loud about Wohlforth's disappearance? Isn't this another dastardly threat to "Security and the Fourth International"? Does Healy have information that Wohlforth isn't really missing? How does the killing of Tom Henehan fit in? Is Joe Hansen really dead?

Tongue-in-cheek innuendo aside, Wohlforth's present political whereabouts are of interest since the SWP made much of his return to the fold and since his political biography has been a living example that opportunistic crime does not pay. Can any reader help us? ■

Demand Militant Strike Action to Stop Mass Layoffs!

UAW's Fraser: Prophet of Defeat

LOS ANGELES—Fear of unemployment is gripping the country as the auto industry falls into a bottomless pit and Chrysler teeters on the brink of bankruptcy even despite a government bailout. Plants are closing, hundreds of thousands of workers have been dumped onto the streets in a few weeks in scenes reminiscent of the 1930s.

Yet the United Auto Workers (UAW) held its 26th constitutional convention in Anaheim June 1 through 6 and *absolutely nothing* was proposed by the International leadership under president Doug Fraser to fight back. Even the usually staid *New York Times* (6 June) felt compelled to report, "Hopelessness and Fear Pervade Once-Strong Union." The UAW has 1.5 million members, millions of dollars and a history of militant struggle, so it is in a position to launch a counterattack. Yet all that came from Fraser and his cohorts at the convention were suggestions to lay down and die, along with racist slogans like "Unemployment—Made in Japan" and "Hungry?—Eat a Toyota."

In an effort to waste time and avoid the real issues, the International allowed a display of the UAW retirees' disco dancing skills. One delegate from Region 4 walked off the convention floor in disgust, muttering loudly as he passed the press table, "350,000 auto workers are on layoff, and the International has people dancing on the stage." And Genora Dollinger, one of the leaders of the historic Flint sit-down strike of 1937, was outrageously denied a floor pass because the UAW has disapproved of her film, "Babies and Banners." In her opinion, she told *WV*, all that UAW members got at this convention was "bread and circuses."

In his keynote address, Fraser tried to paralyze the membership with gloom: "I wish I could come here with some optimistic news. If you see a light at the end of the tunnel, it is probably an oncoming freight train." In keeping with the gallows humor that has now become the Fraser regime's only defense before the ranks, the local at the now-closed Dodge Main plant showed up with a banner: "With a book full of memories and a heavy heart, Dodge Local 3 says Good-bye UAW." The militant sit-down strikers who founded the UAW would have spit at such a banner, and Fraser is directly responsible for this defeatist attitude. The Spartacist League and militant auto workers in Detroit agitated for a plant occupation when the Dodge Main closing was proposed, but this kind of fight was quashed by Fraser and his fake-left friends.

At the convention *no strategy* was put forward to prevent plant closures. Only one delegate (from Local 544 in Pittsburgh) even mentioned the sit-down strike and other militant tactics which gave birth to the UAW in the 1930s. The only "opposition" came from a motley collection of in- and out-bureaucrats and the Maoist-backed California Network, who on the second day paraded around demanding two years advance notice (!) of plant closings and the divisive and defeatist program of "voluntary inverse seniority" to counter racial and sexual discrimination.

The only strategy to effectively fight layoffs and plant closings was put forward in a leaflet given out at the convention by a member of the Rouge Militant Caucus, Frank Hicks, who expressed outrage over the proceedings to *WV*:

> "It was disgusting. With 300,000 brothers and sisters out on the streets, all we heard about was stopping imports and supporting Democrats and not one word about fighting the Big Three. Anaheim should have been the place to launch a unionwide campaign of strikes and sitdowns to stop the layoffs and plant closings and spark the fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. If anything proves the need for a new leadership, this convention certainly did."

Because of a recent court ruling, the bureaucracy, which consolidated itself in the late 1940s through a red-baiting campaign, proposed to delete the constitutional clause which prohibits communists from holding union office. But faced with anti-communist sentiment among the lower-level bureaucrats, Fraser & Co. just dropped the matter. One delegate with some courage, Mike Messina of Local 893 in Marshalltown, Iowa, made the appropriate comment in the debate: "McCarthy is dead, dead, dead—and I say good riddance to the S.O.B. If it had not been for the left-wingers and progressives, we would not be here today."

The main "solution" to auto workers' problems pushed by Fraser was chauvinist protectionism, pitting American workers against Japanese workers, rather than pitting the UAW against the Big Three auto makers in the U.S. The convention hall was plastered with signs like "Buy an Import, Lose a Job" and "Imports Equal Unemployment."

The social-patriotic theme was not complete, of course, without an appearance by the chairman of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), Michael Harrington, who said that the "program Fraser put forward is the best program I can see for this country." Even house oppositionist Al Gardner from Local 600 and the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) chimed in with a call on American imperialism to stop the export of capital and to "build American." In their efforts not to be "isolated" these fake "dissidents" will soon be beating the drums for Carter's Third World War.

In a presidential election year, it was unusual that neither candidate addressed the convention. The only reason that Fraser did not invite his friend Kennedy was that he had bombed out and the UAW chief is now trying to beat a hasty retreat into the Carter camp. Fraser boasted that now he's going to "testify" at the Democratic platform committee because "the platform of 1976 was a good one." Good for Exxon perhaps, but not for hundreds of thousands of auto workers thrown into the streets. If the black masses' anger at their oppression and impoverishment is misdirected into "a nationwide Miami," as one ex-Dodge Main worker predicted at the convention, the blame can be laid at the feet of Doug Fraser, who blocks working-class struggle against the Carter depression. Only bone-headed reformists can deny the fact that Fraser & Co. must be dumped if the working class is to move forward. ■

Protectionism Hurts the Workers

As layoffs soar in the auto industry and hundreds of auto workers leave assembly lines for unemployment lines, one Chevy dealer in the Detroit suburb of Macomb, Michigan has come up with a "bright" idea. He offered every customer who took a test drive in one of his "made in USA" automobiles a free swing with a sledgehammer at a Datsun. Hundreds, including many laid-off auto workers, lined up to "take a swing for America," battering the sacrificial Japanese compact into a pile of imported junk. The call to "protect" American jobs from foreign workers is being heard around the country. But we say, don't be a sucker! Protectionism means inflation, unemployment and war.

Crachiola/Macomb Daily

A Detroit Chevrolet dealer encourages customers to smash a Japanese car for Uncle Sam. The bullets next time?

If many American workers are hoodwinked into blaming the depression on foreigners "stealing" their jobs, the fault is not entirely with the big business propagandists. United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser and the rest of the UAW bureaucrats have also gone on the warpath for this poisonous line and are busy lobbying for limits on imports. Instead of mobilizing the union to fight layoffs and factory closings, Fraser & Co. turned the recent UAW convention in Anaheim, California into a disgusting rally for protectionism. The *Wall Street Journal* was struck by how UAW officialdom had made a "reversal of its traditional free-trade stance when it comes to imported autos" and marveled at how the union tops were hobnobbing with company executives on the protectionist bandwagon.

Fraser and the other sellout union tops find it a lot easier to blame Japanese and German workers for layoffs than to fight for jobs against the giant capitalist firms that are the real enemies. The auto bosses used to justify taking "runaway shops" to low-wage countries by blaming the UAW for "artificially" raising labor costs. But now that story won't wash. In many cases European and Japanese auto workers' wages and benefits are *higher* than those of American auto workers. Now it's Volkswagen that runs away—to Pennsylvania!

If U.S. auto makers can't compete it's because the capitalists over the years have pocketed their profits instead of investing in the modern plant and equipment being used by overseas producers. What's more, the shift to imported fuel-efficient cars happened only because the giant oil companies and their friends the sheiks have jacked up the price of oil to more than four and a half times its 1973 level. As gas prices took off, U.S. companies were too shortsighted and profit-greedy to retool for the smaller, high mileage cars that American consumers are demanding. If they can't sell the models they've been making they have no one to blame but themselves.

Now that their greed and stupidity, combined with one of the periodic crises (depressions) inevitable under the unplanned capitalist economic system, have cost hundreds of thousands of workers their jobs, the bosses and their labor lieutenants are offering a "solution," protectionism, that will only hit U.S. workers harder.

• *Protectionism means inflation.* Higher tariffs and import limits on foreign goods mean higher prices, both on those goods themselves and on the U.S. products that no longer have to meet competitors' prices. In 1977 the U.S. International Trade Commission figured out that on average it would cost consumers $20,000 in higher prices to "save" a $15,000 job through import controls. And who buys all those imported compacts anyway? It's not the bosses and union fakers in their limousines. It's the American workers who can barely afford to run *any* car these days, much less the turkeys Detroit has been hatching lately.

• *Protectionism means unemployment.* Hundreds of thousands of American jobs depend on access to foreign markets. If the U.S. limits imports and raises tariffs, other countries will do the same, launching a trade war that will cost American and foreign workers their jobs. For example, 15,000 of the UAW's 40,000 members at the Caterpillar Tractor Co. work to build products sold overseas. If those markets disappear, so will their jobs. One quarter of U.S.-made aircraft are sold abroad. What will happen to UAW aircraft workers if import controls in

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Depression USA *(continued from page 1)*

base with what in the past had been "natural" Kennedy territory: organized labor. The reason is clear—workers didn't view his economic program as any better for them than the disastrous Carter or the reactionary Reagan. And they were right. Kennedy's program against inflation was compulsory wage-price controls. This was Nixon's program, too, and after the experience of the early '70s everyone knew it meant keeping wages down while prices skyrocketed. Under Carter's "guidelines," prices rose at a record 18 percent, leading to a cut of almost 10 percent a year in real wages. If anything, Kennedy's program would make that worse. And Reagan, at least, is calling for a tax cut, which would provide some immediate relief.

This has led to a remarkable turnaround. Today, for the first time since they started taking public opinion polls, more trade unionists think a right-wing Republican has the best economic program. A May 14 Louis Harris Poll reported 35 percent of union members interviewed said Reagan could best handle the economy; 30 percent preferred Carter and 23 percent said Anderson. This cannot be explained away as hard-hat anti-communism, to which Carter appeals no less than Reagan these days. The same unionists favored Carter over Reagan by 38 to 28 percent on foreign policy, by 39 to 25 percent on aid to the poor and by 38 to 30 percent overall. How this will be translated into votes is problematical. Barring a Kennedy upset at the Democratic convention, there will likely be unprecedented working-class abstention this fall in a Carter-Reagan contest. Some workers will vote for the maverick Anderson, and many reluctantly for Carter.

But many will go for Reagan, in ignorance of or in spite of his opposition to a minimum wage and his support to union-busting "right-to-work" laws. Behind this remarkable phenomenon is the bankruptcy of liberal Keynesian economics. In the 1930s FDR won the workingman's vote by promising unemployment insurance, public works and the right to unionize. In 1960 JFK carried labor by promising to "get the country moving again" with a tax cut. But today Carter talks like Herbert Hoover (who only said prosperity was "around the corner") and promises "bitter medicine," while Kennedy is calling in effect for a larger wage cut. Besides, it's getting harder and harder to present the Democrats as "friends of labor" when Carter receives campaign contributions from the notorious anti-union J.P. Stevens textile company. Seldom has the Democratic Party seemed less like a lesser evil.

Falling Productivity—Rising Inflation

The current economic situation and election year policy debate must be set in the context of the severe objective problems of American capitalism since the onset of the 1974-75 crisis. In particular there has been a sharp fall in the increase in productivity. Primitive right-wing propaganda blames this on lazy workers who supposedly have lost the incentive to work because of high taxes. But a glance at the statistics shows where it's coming from. Thus between 1973 and 1979, real consumption expenditure in the U.S. increased by 20 percent, much of it reflecting personal indebtedness, now at the highest level in history. Employment rose 15 percent, but investment in new plant, embodying the main technological breakthroughs, increased only *5 percent*. That means an economy which is more labor-intensive, or less mechanized, and a catastrophic fall in the increase of labor productivity.

This development is worrying serious elements of the bourgeoisie even more than the present conjunctural crisis—although the depression and inflation will dominate the election. Between 1965 and 1973, output per man-hour in manufacturing increased by 2.4 percent a year; from 1973 to 1978 it rose by 1.5 percent annually, a decline of almost 40 percent. Internationally the comparisons are even worse. Between 1973 and 1979, the annual growth of the U.S. gross national product per employee was 0.1 percent. In Japan it was 3.4 percent, and in West Germany 3.2 percent—more than 30 times as much. Even decaying Britain did three times as well.

There are a number of economic and policy repercussions. First, obviously, is a deterioration of the economic plant, most extreme in steel where there has been an actual contraction. Today U.S. steel-making *capacity* (not production) is 5 percent less than half a decade ago. There also seem to be a lot more plant closings than in 1974-75, as many capitalists use the cyclical downturn to get rid of unprofitable plants for good. A second consequence is the uncompetitiveness of American industry—the most glaring case being the failure to retool to make small cars in the wake of staggering oil price increases. This has sent Japanese auto imports soaring from 3.7 percent of the U.S. market in 1970 to 21 percent today. Consequently, there are increased pressures for protectionism, particularly in auto and steel.

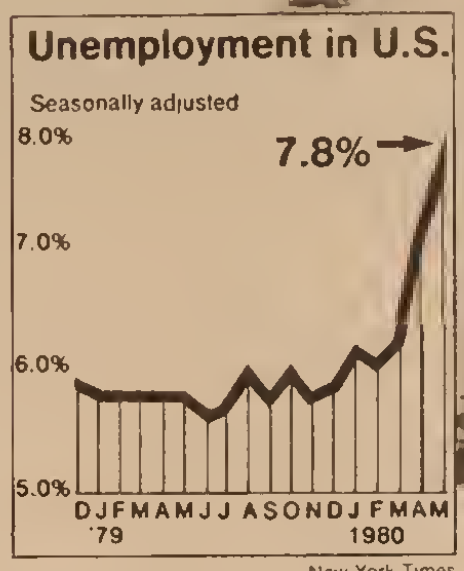
Falling productivity is also the main underlying cause of the accelerating inflation. Beginning in 1978, with capital investment lagging behind production, the U.S. economy has run into bottlenecks and increasing labor costs per unit of output. Naturally the companies raise their prices, but one capitalist's output is another capitalist's input. The result was a "leapfrog" effect, accelerated by the 50 percent petroleum price hike in mid-1979. Carter and the Federal Reserve, meanwhile, passively adapted to the higher level of prices simply by allowing money to be borrowed. It's possible to stop an accelerating inflation by adopting tight money policies, of course, but only at the risk of a contraction and widespread bankruptcies.

But Carter is not about to let anyone big go down. Chrysler is the clearest example, but earlier this spring when the largest bank in Pennsylvania was in serious trouble, the Federal Reserve and FDIC put together a bail-out scheme. In fact, the Fed is even lending money to the man the *Economist* calls Nelson "Bungle" Hunt, paying for his unsuccessful bid to corner the silver market! So this opportunist, business-oriented administration is prepared to tolerate a higher level of inflation out of fear of a wave of bankruptcies that could send the whole system under.

On the other hand, the liberal Democrats' program to fight runaway inflation has been utterly discredited in the last two years. Going back to the Kennedy administration, the standard neo-Keynesian liberal answer to inflation has been wage-price guidelines, or at the extreme, compulsory wage-price controls or even a freeze. And this was tried by Carter's Democratic administration under conditions of near-full employment for adult white males. The wage-price guidelines began in late 1978, and since then *real take-home pay has declined by over 10 percent*—a whopping wage cut. Blacks, in turn, have faced depression conditions for years: double-digit unemployment ever since the 1974-75 downturn, when black workers lost their jobs at double the rate of white workers; already an official 35 percent jobless rate for ghetto youth. From cold statistics to the hot flames of Miami, it is clear that millions of blacks are being driven to despair. And white workers in droves are turning their backs on the Democratic Party.

Earl Dotter/UAW Solidarity

April's rise in unemployment was the largest for any month in 30 years.



New York Times

Bourgeoisie's Dilemma: War, Taxes, Protectionism

This brings us to the "Tax Revolt." Taxes and inflation are complementary, because under a progressive income tax system higher money income throws people into a higher bracket. Today for many workers and many in the middle class, real gross (before tax) income is about the same or even less than it was a decade ago (adjusted for inflation), but they are paying a higher tax rate. In 1966 the general tax rate was 33 percent, while today it is 39 percent. This also intersects black/white relations, for at bottom the "revolt" which began with California's Prop 13 is the white backlash at two or three removes. For white workers, at or near full employment for the last couple years, the so-called welfare state has seemed like subsidizing ghetto blacks. And as their incomes suffer from galloping inflation they become prey to the right-wingers pushing for a tax cut associated with cutting social welfare programs.

But this can quickly change. Paradoxically, the worse the depression, the more likely the present appeal of Reagan's right-wing "populist" economics will be blown away. Because with millions of white workers and petty bourgeois out of work, suddenly unemployment insurance, welfare, job re-

McElhinney/Newsweek

Crazy Carter's Missile Madness

There's a scene in *Dr. Strangelove* where the U.S. president tells the Soviet premier that their radar will soon detect a strategic nuclear attack but they shouldn't get upset. But it was no movie last week when U.S. forces mobilized for a nuclear strike against the Soviet Union, after a "computer malfunction" at the North American Air Defense (NORAD) Command Center inside Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado, mistakenly signaled a Soviet missile attack. The three-minute false alarm June 3 tripped buzzers in the Pentagon and at Strategic Air Command headquarters. Minutemen button-pushers went on alert while B-52 nuclear bomber crews raced out in their underwear to rev the engines up. This was the second such incident to become known in recent months. Last November 10 a six-minute false alarm occurred when someone fed a war games tape into a NORAD computer at Colorado Springs, this time putting missile bases on alert and scrambling jet interceptors from [illegible] Oregon, Missouri and British Columbia into the air.

The military didn't even bother to inform President Carter during the alarms. If the maniacal anti-Soviet president and his sinister sidekick "Zbig" *had* got in the act you might not be reading this today, but we don't know whether to celebrate our good luck or cry because the demented Gen. Jack D. Rippers in the Pentagon clearly believe that nuclear annihilation is *their* prerogative. In the wake of the notorious helicopter malfunctions in Iran these computer bugs in the ultra-sophisticated defense system of the world's supposedly leading technological nation would be comical—but it is no laughing matter. Six minutes is the outside limit before missiles launched at Russia from West Germany could not be stopped, and Carter has gotten NATO to agree to install missiles in West Germany under U.S. control. No wonder the Soviets screamed last November that this whole mess could lead to "irreparable consequences for the whole world"!

After last week's incident defense secretary Harold Brown rushed to the TV cameras to declare that this only proves the "fail-safe system works." Brown wants us to "learn to stop worrying and love the bomb," but we know that the men who run this country are more dangerous than the haywire computers which launch B-52s. While Carter is supplying Chinese AK-47 machine guns to Afghan religious maniacs and Brzezinski cries "On to Moscow!" at the Khyber Pass, while Reagan dreams of giving the mullah fanatics ground-to-aircraft missiles and Reaganite senators demand the resignation of the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff because he supported SALT, no reasonable person can fail to feel unsafe.

training, public works, public housing, etc., will seem valuable for them. However, the inflation rate, while declining, is unlikely to go down enough to reverse the present trend of falling real incomes. So that by November, *both* inflation and depression are likely to be hot campaign issues. And it's far from clear that Carter can run as a new FDR against Reagan's Alf Landon. In fact, the present administration is responding to what is probably the greatest depression since the 1930s with more fiscal austerity and Hooveresque platitudes.

Traditionally the Republicans have presented themselves as the anti-inflation party and the Democrats as the anti-unemployment party. Liberal economic journalist Leonard Silk observes that we are seeing a peculiar historical reversal:

> "...Governor Reagan and his Republican supporters, with their demands for 'supply-side' tax cuts have changed roles and are threatening to play the activists against passivist Democrats, much as Roosevelt did against Hoover, contending that they are prepared to act to strengthen the economy while President Carter hesitates, fixated on a balanced budget...."
>
> —*New York Times*, 6 June

Actually, Silk overstates the differences and overlooks an important area of agreement between Reagan's and Carter's economic policies. Reagan links his tax cut proposals to even sharper cutbacks in government social welfare programs than those Carter has already wrought.

The American bourgeoisie is now caught in a contradiction. It wants to lower the inflation rate, raise profits, improve the competitiveness of U.S. capitalism and rev up the Cold War. It wants to cut taxes, cut government spending, raise the military budget and keep out German and Japanese imports. But they can't do it simultaneously. If Washington thinks it has trouble with its allies now, watch what happens when it tries to cut Volkswagen and Toyota, Krupp and Nippon Steel out of the American market: half the German and Japanese bourgeoisie will soon be marching to Moscow singing the "Internationale."

Evans/Gamma-Liaison

Dump the Bureaucrats—Build a Workers Party!

When in 1974 the banks and capitalist politicians put NYC into receivership, they were implementing the "austerity" policy of the entire bourgeoisie. It was Democrats who took a meat ax to city workers' wages, slashing services to the ghetto. And soon it went national, provoking the badly defeated 1976 San Francisco city workers strike. As a result of this ruling-class offensive, today New York, Chicago and SF, all historically strong union towns, are now run by mayors who are genuine labor haters: Koch, Byrne and Feinstein.

For some time labor leaders in these key centers have felt themselves under the gun. When all they are "offered" is takeaway, takeaway, takeaway, they have no room to maneuver. Under pressure from the membership they called a series of municipal workers strikes in Chicago last winter, but all went down to defeat in isolation; and the sharply divided New York transit strike in April ended only with an abject, total sellout by the union tops. And in a few areas, notably California, some veteran labor misleaders have begun to mouth off about "considering" a labor party—in order to get more attention from their traditional friends in the Democratic Party.

For some nine months now California Federation of Labor executive secretary-treasurer Jack Henning has been complaining about the "conservatism of the two major parties." With the endorsement of several building trades and county union bodies he organized a special statewide conference June 5 to "weigh creation of [a] labor party" (*California AFL-CIO News*, 7 September 1979). But after all the hoopla, they end up with Carter—just pleading for a few crumbs in the Democratic platform.

Black and minority populations have no interest in voting for the party of Dixiecrats and hypocritical northern liberals who did in busing. But come November the "Black Elected Officials" will be out there again peddling the Democrats as a "people's party." It will be harder this time to sell Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter than in 1976 when he won 90 percent of the black vote, tipping a close election. But as ghetto frustration and despair mount, leaderless and directionless, it could be dissipated in explosions of random violence such as occurred in Miami's Liberty City last month in response to a racist atrocity. Facing increasing lumpenization of the inner cities, blacks are hit first and hardest by the depression. Black workers in auto and steel have a key position of strength, which they must use to channel black anger into a real fight, taking the lead in fighting the capitalist attacks on the unions and the ghettos.

The rulers of this country are running it into the ground. There are only two roads facing the labor movement: either go with the capitalists who are destroying America and the world, or struggle to overthrow their irrational economic system of production for profit, which scraps whole factories while millions clamor for jobs. Militants in the unions

continued on page 8

Racist Terror in San Diego Primary

Klan Rides in the Democrats

The Democratic Party has nominated a Ku Klux Klan "grand dragon," Tom Metzger, for U.S. Congress from the 43rd District of southern California. This notorious nightrider whose armed mob and attack dogs staged the March 15 race terror assault in Oceanside, California got 32,344 votes to squeak by in a three-way race in the Democratic primary June 3. As the official Democratic Party nominee, Metzger will be able to select six (hooded?) delegates to the state's Democratic Party convention. The most populous district in the country, the sprawling 43rd stretches from San Diego to the Arizona line.

Metzger's nomination has the Democratic Party bigwigs red-faced. But a California rabbi and others have begged Carter and Kennedy to denounce Metzger and thus far they have pointedly refused to do so. An "appalled" state Democratic Party chairman said, "He stands for nothing the Democratic Party stands for." "But," he was quick to add, "we would not encourage the election of a Republican" (*New York Times*, 6 June).

No wonder the Democrats are embarrassed to be represented by an actual cross-burner. It exposes something they stand for: racism. Of course, they prefer their racism without white sheets and swastikas, but they have created the right-wing climate in which fascists like Metzger thrive. It is Carter/Brzezinski and the liberals who have handed the KKK and the fascists a respectability they haven't had in years—Carter's Cold War jingoism, the campaigns of legislative racism against "the cities," Supreme Court decisions against school integration, the "Skokie decision" protecting fascist provocations in minority neighborhoods.

Musgrove/Herald Examiner

Oceanside, California, March 15: Metzger's "program" of Klan terror.

Metzger is dangerous. Not least because he comes out of the school of "frat-fascist" Klan leader David Duke. While organizing for the kill, he speaks in the populist rhetoric so fashionable these days among the "mainstream" candidates of both parties: specific appeals to the "white working people" against the "welfare bums." The Democratic pols pretend that Metzger's nomination was just some terrible mistake attributable to his "name recognition." But for what was his name recognized? For Oceanside where his thugs, backed up by the cops, pummeled anti-Klan demonstrators and sent one to the hospital for 100 stitches in his head. For a vicious assault on Chicano workers when his KKK mob organized for armed "volunteer" patrols to shoot down "illegal aliens" and bragged that their "dead bodies stack up along the border."

Reflecting the embarrassment of "progressive" Democrats, Irwin Silber and his little group of trendy Maoists call upon the Democratic Party to

continued on page 8

Woo, Woo, Woo

As U.S. imperialism declines, there has been a corresponding deterioration in the caliber of bourgeois leadership. From "Tricky Dick" Nixon to "can't chew gum and walk at the same time" Ford to dull and dangerous "born again" Carter, the last batch of American presidents has hardly been of historic stature. Now we may even get Grade B cowboy star Ronald Reagan inflicted upon us. And then of course there's Teddy Kennedy—enough said.

In this respect virtually every one of this year's candidates (including the minor players) is a certifiable religious nut. Reagan, the Cold War ideologue, is lining up 100 Christian radio stations to broadcast his promise to make the halls of government "as inviolate and as near-sacred as a cathedral or a temple or a church." Jimmy Carter not only teaches Sunday School but reportedly tried to convert South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee to Christianity during a visit to Seoul in early 1979. He left, declaring the matter "in god's hands." (The almighty works in mysterious ways, however, and four months later Park was struck down by the head of the Korean CIA, who in turn has just been executed by another of Washington's Korean puppets.)

Of course, there was the flaky mystic California governor Jerry Brown, a former Jesuit converted to Zen Buddhism. That was weird enough, but it's beginning to look like John Anderson, a former Goldwaterite "maverick" Republican, may garner a respectable protest vote as an anti-Carter, anti-Reagan independent. Anderson's main claim to fame in two decades in Congress has been his thrice-introduced "Jesus Amendment," submitting the United States "devoutly...[to] the authority and law of Jesus Christ."

Well, just remember that the guy now running the country claimed last year he was attacked by a swimming killer rabbit while paddling a canoe in Georgia. As Pope John Paul Wojtyla, another of Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" mafia [illegible] said in Madison Square Garden last fall, "Woo, woo, woo!"

Depression USA...

(continued from page 7)

must fight to break the many-million-strong army of labor from the Democrats and Republicans to mobilize it in a workers party, based on the strength of organized labor. Phony leftists, like the reformist Communist Party, tag along behind the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats with their "fight the right" rhetoric, a cover for support to liberal Democrats. (This year, with Carter on an anti-Soviet rampage and Kennedy in the dumps, the CP will uncharacteristically push their token "independent" campaign a bit.) Genuine communists, however, warn that the defeatist bureaucracy, which accepts mass layoffs while tying the ranks to the class enemy, must be replaced with a revolutionary leadership. And that the real answer, the only answer, to capitalism's cycle of inflation and unemployment is socialist revolution. ■

Klan...

(continued from page 7)

cleanse itself. They call on the organizers of imperialist reaction to "take a side" against "the right-wing tide." (But Irwin, they already have a side!) Demonstrating outside Democratic headquarters May 31, the Trend group chanted, "Democratic Party open your eyes, Don't be fooled by the Klan's disguise." But the Klan is not in disguise. They are open organizers of racist, anti-labor terror, fostered by a political climate of the anti-Soviet "progressive" liberals the soft-core Stalinist fellow-travelers like Silber have tailed for years.

Metzger was recognized for what he was at San Diego State University on April 9 when 500 students pelted him with bottles, cans and tomatoes and chased him off the campus. That is the way to deal with Metzger and his kind. But it will take a mass movement led by the workers and not Democratic Party "progressives" to do the job.

Last month the Republican Party was similarly "appalled" when the punk "führer" of the "National Socialist Party of America" took 56,000 votes in a North Carolina statewide election for attorney general. Harold Covington campaigned in a Nazi uniform saying that "Hitler was a great man." He explained his surprising vote with the comment that "there are many closet Nazis in the Republican Party." Perhaps so. And when George Wallace ran his racist presidential campaign of 1972 he used to say there wasn't a "dime's worth of difference" between the Democrats and Republicans. One thing is sure. The Nazis and the Klan can depend on the twin parties of capitalism to provide fertile ground for the growth of fascism in America. ■

Zionist Bombing...

(continued from page 3)

government's recognition as the legitimate instrument of local Jewish authority in the West Bank and Gaza Strip." Moreover, the article continues, "Even before Monday's disastrous events... the authorities were aware that some settlements were setting up 'anti-terror' squads. The members are trained soldiers; the territory where they operate includes the neighboring Arab [illegible]"

[illegible] of fascistic towns.

Regardless of which gang of [illegible] Zionist thugs left their fingerprints on the bombs, Palestinians in the West Bank have good reason to think that Begin himself is complicit. The former leader of the pre-1948 Irgun terrorists now commands the vastly greater terror apparatus of the Israeli state, including its nuclear arsenal. He has appointed as foreign minister Yitzhak Shamir, a former leader of the Stern Gang, the Zionist terrorist group even more extreme than the Irgun, and the mastermind of the assassination of Lord Moyne. And Begin has never given up the methods of right-wing anti-Arab commando terrorism, which are cultivated with the complicity of his government under the protective umbrella of the army from which they train and recruit their cadre.

The settlement policies of the Begin government and its "Labor" predecessors have worked out the logic of Zionist expansionism: permanent occupation of "Judea and Samaria," i.e., the West Bank. Seeking to create "accomplished facts" with many-sided government aid, the terrorist "settlers" want, as Gush Emunim spokesman Eliakim Haetzni put it, to make the military occupation into "an omelet which no American would be able to return to the shell" (*New York Times*, 8 June). Israeli commitment to annexing the West Bank makes it clear that liberation of the occupied territories (not to mention Palestinian Arabs in Israel or those forced to live in wretched refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan) will not be achieved without bringing down the Zionist state. In this struggle, the Hebrew working class, facing the prospect of endless wars and grinding impoverishment imposed by its expansionist rulers, must be the gravedigger of Zionism or Zionism will prove the gravedigger of the Hebrew nation. For the right to self-determination of both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples in a socialist federation of the Near East! Israel out of the occupied territories! For organized armed self-defense against Zionist terror! ■

Blair Peach...

(continued from page 4)

role. As David Pallister of the *Guardian* (28 May) explained: "Politically... there were problems of prosecuting Scotland Yard's crack mobile reserve squad whose role has become increasingly one of dealing with the sharp end of public order policing." The SPG, you see, is trained for terror: "The SPG's job as exemplified at Red Lion Square and the Grunswick dispute, was to go in hard when the divisional police felt unable to cope."

And they do go in hard. Red Lion Square, 1974: another anti-Nazi leftist protester was killed, hundreds jailed. Grunswick, 1977: smashing of mass picket lines and dragnet arrests of the largely Asian workers trying to establish a union in the factory. Although the British ruling class has tried hard to glorify its trained killers, like the SAS commando units who stormed the Iranian embassy in posh Kensington, it's clear that their state terror is aimed against the working class, the poor, the Asian and Caribbean immigrants ludicrously blamed for the ills of decaying British capitalism, and the left. Even the timid Trades Union Council has finally come out for dissolving the SPG—though its brutal terrorizing of the Grunswick strikers took place under a Labour government.

The "Blair Peach affair" exposes the futility of calling on the capitalist state to ban the Nazis, relying on the cops to defend against fascist provocations and then running to the courts for "justice" after the inevitable atrocities occur. This is the "strategy" of the Socialist Workers Party and its Anti-Nazi League, the International Marxist Group and most of the British left. The Spartacist League/Britain calls for independent, mass working-class mobilization to stop the fascists. The queen's courts have shown where they stand—squarely for the SPG killers and cover-ups.

The workers movement in Britain must demand: Publish the secret Scotland Yard report! Down with Britain's ultra-repressive libel and official secrets laws! Drop all charges against the Southall protesters! Abolish the SPG! Jail the SPG killers of Blair Peach! ■

Protection-ism...

(continued from page 5)

other countries cut off those sales?

• *Protectionism means war.* Trade wars lead to shooting wars. It happened in the '30s and it can happen again. Import controls could be the first step on the road to an imperialist World War III.

So what's the answer? Instead of backing U.S. bosses against foreign workers, American workers must join with their class brothers around the world in a struggle against *all* the capitalist exploiters. Every now and again Doug Fraser makes noises about international workers solidarity. At Anaheim he said that as multinationals integrate their foreign and U.S. operations, the UAW "must assist foreign workers' organization and strengthen our ties to them." But what does this mean? Oh, occasionally Solidarity House will host a gathering of International Metal Workers Federation bureaucrats, and Fraser even brought a Japanese union bureaucrat to address the UAW convention. But in terms of labor struggle Fraser and his fellow bureaucrats have done *nothing*.

When Ford's South African division fired hundreds of black workers last fall for daring to strike against apartheid discrimination, the UAW tops didn't lift a finger to aid their hard-fought and eventually successful battle to win back their jobs. When Mexican GM workers struck in January, Solidarity House turned a blind eye. And when Brazilian auto workers struck for 41 days this spring against the tanks and guns of the military dictatorship to defend their union, Fraser sat on his hands.

Auto workers: Don't buy Doug Fraser's protectionist poison! Black workers beware: Economic nationalism and hatred of foreign workers will be the rallying call of the racist terrorists who march under the fiery cross, the swastika and the stars and stripes. Flag waving doesn't save jobs—class struggle does! The workers movement began as an international movement. Its holiday, May Day, began with a struggle throughout the world by workers of all nationalities for the eight-hour day. It is the bosses who profit by national divisions. The workers of the world have no country and must fight all forms of national chauvinism and racism.

If UAW workers are to be able to fight for their jobs and fight the suicidal protectionism being pushed by the auto companies, they will have to begin the struggle by getting rid of Fraser and his whole crew of pro-capitalist, pro-protectionist sellouts and replacing them with a militant, class-struggle leadership. Dump the bureaucrats! No to protectionism! No to import controls! Expropriate Big Oil! Save jobs with a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! ■

Corrections

In our last issue (*WV* No. 257, 30 May) we brought to the attention of our readers a report from the British *Socialist Challenge* on the execution of one of their comrades of the HKS in Iran. However, a letter was printed in the 5 June *Socialist Challenge* from the author of the earlier article stating that there had been a confusion of names and neither of the two leftists executed in Ahwaz on that date was a member of the HKS.

In *WV* No. 256 (16 May) there were several errors which require correction. The introduction to a letter from Sheffield steel workers mistakenly referred to two "militants" who crossed picket lines at BL Rover as supporters of the Workers Socialist League. The two whose scabbing was defended in the WSL newspaper (in a polemic against the Spartacist League) are supporters of the International Marxist Group. Also, the militant who refused to cross the picket line at SDI was incorrectly referred to by the WSL as an SL supporter. In an article on the same page on "Death of a Princess," we erroneously refer to the Indian custom of suttee as "wife-burning" instead of widow-burning. And the article "Labor Shakes Generals' Brazil" refers to the Brazilian industrial proletariat as the largest in the backward capitalist countries; however, India, at least, exceeds Brazil on this score.

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Black Panther Framed by the FBI

Free Geronimo Pratt!

Two men clambered halfway up the Statue of Liberty May 10 to unfurl a 25-foot banner reading "Liberty Was Framed—Free Geronimo Pratt." They thereby focused greatly overdue attention on the former Black Panther leader, imprisoned for almost a decade on a frame-up murder charge and long since abandoned by leftists who once cheered his every act.

Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt was a leader of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party and the target of an FBI "neutralization" campaign which culminated in a pre-dawn police assault on the L.A. Panther headquarters in December 1969. The attack came four days after the similar one which killed Fred Hampton in Chicago and was part of a gigantic attempt to physically destroy the Panthers in America. Pratt survived the raid, but within three years his wife had been murdered and he himself was serving a life sentence for a crime he did not commit. The FBI wanted to get the Panthers—and that's why Pratt's in jail today.

The continuing harassment and imprisonment of Geronimo Pratt grew out of the assault on the militant wing of black nationalism in the late 1960s and early '70s. This assault was part of the notorious COINTELPRO program, and today enough COINTELPRO documents have been released under the Freedom of Information Act so that anyone can see the truth—the "shoot-outs" were one-sided police attacks, the Panther casualties were deliberate executions and murder charges were fabricated by the FBI.

As regards Pratt, even liberal Republican Congressman Paul McCloskey has recently stated that "on the surface, this case smells to high heaven" and demanded a Congressional investigation. Under the pressure of new exposures of government frame-up, Pratt has been transferred from San Quentin Prison where he was incarcerated for several years under maximum security to San Luis Obispo.

Who Is Geronimo Pratt?

Geronimo Pratt was born 32 years ago in rural Louisiana and was educated in a segregated one-room schoolhouse which left him unable to read the enlistment forms when he volunteered for the U.S. Army at age 17. He was one of the many thousands of black youth who join the armed forces every year because they cannot find a job with wages higher than a private's pay. During the next three years he did two tours of duty in Vietnam. He was point man on 14 volunteer missions and was wounded three times. He received two purple hearts, two bronze stars for valor, one silver star, a soldier's medal, an army commendation medal, three combat infantry badges and master paratroopers wings (T.D. Allman, "Geronimo Lives," *New Times*, 11 November 1977).

Pratt also taught himself to read and write, and when released from the Army he passed college entrance examinations and went to school on the GI Bill. While a political science student at the University of California he was radicalized by the political ferment of his generation and became a member of the Black Panther Party. He thus turned his training and new education against the racist, capitalist state.

From that day on the story of Pratt's life is one of relentless state persecution. In 1968 his GI benefits were taken away—including medical care for his Vietnam war wounds. FBI memos make it clear that he became a prime target of J. Edgar Hoover's Racial Intelligence Unit designed to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize the activities" of the Black Panther Party.

Finally, before dawn on 8 December 1969 the Panther office where Pratt lived was attacked by hundreds of L.A. Police Department Metro Squad and SWAT Team commandos armed with M-60 machine guns, tear-gas launchers, dynamite and helicopters. They subjected the house to a five-hour barrage, and Pratt's bed—its location pinpointed by an informer's blueprint—was riddled with bullets. But because of his war wounds the Panther leader routinely slept on the floor, and so he survived.

Militant

In 1969 SWAT commandos attacked L.A. Panther office, arresting Pratt (far right) and 17 comrades.

Pratt, the victim of the commando attack, was arrested and tried for "conspiracy to assault policemen." But the *police* conspiracy was so grossly obvious that the predominantly white jury acquitted him of all major charges, convicting him only of the relatively minor "conspiracy to possess an illegal weapon."

Later that year Pratt's wife Saundra, eight months pregnant and also a Black Panther member, was mysteriously shot in the head and dumped on a Los Angeles freeway. No arrests were ever made for this murder.

The FBI Frame-Up

Having failed to kill Pratt in his bed, the government went to Plan B. In 1971, while in jail on the weapons charge, Pratt was indicted for the murder of schoolteacher Caroline Olsen. Olsen and her husband had been attacked on a tennis court in Santa Monica on 18 December 1968. She was brutally and senselessly murdered, and the killer escaped with $30 from her purse. It was exactly the sort of inhuman crime that Hoover liked to pin on respected black radicals.

Black Panther

Geronimo Pratt

The key witness for the prosecution, former Black Panther member Julio Butler, has now been identified as an LAPD agent. This cop, who infiltrated the Panthers, testified that Pratt had "confessed" the crime to him, which Pratt says is a lie. Recent evidence has confirmed that Butler was a member of the "black desk" of the LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy section. Another member of the "black desk," Louis Tackwood, testified in 1976 that the purpose of the desk was to "infiltrate, disrupt and destroy black radical organizations" and their leaders.

Tackwood admitted that he was involved in an attempt to murder Pratt and added that the Olsen murder rap was a fall-back plan in case Pratt survived. (Tackwood's last assignment as a cop agent was to smuggle a non-functioning gun to jailed Panther member George Jackson, an assignment completed two weeks before Jackson's death in an "attempted escape.")

Caroline Olsen's husband, after weeks of meeting with state officials, identified Pratt as the man who committed the murder four years before, despite having previously made a positive identification of another man. A few months after the murder he had told police his wife was killed by a "very tall, very black man." Pratt is light-skinned and only 5 feet 9 inches tall. And the only testimony placing Pratt in the vicinity was from a drugstore owner who said at the trial that "they all look alike."

But most significantly, Pratt was 350 miles away in Oakland, California on the day of the murder. Former Black Panther Chief of Staff David Hilliard told *Workers Vanguard:*

> "There was a meeting that night at my house about the Black Panther Party Breakfast for Children Program. Seale was there. Pratt was definitely there, as one of the leaders of the L.A. party. Kathleen [Cleaver] was there. [Shirley] Hewitt was there."

Kathleen Cleaver and Shirley Hewitt both testified in Pratt's behalf, and Hilliard gave a sworn statement. Because Pratt had been expelled from the party prior to the trial after siding with the Cleaver wing in the 1971 Panther split, Hilliard's action flew in the face of direct orders from Huey Newton not to testify for Pratt.

The facts speak for themselves. Pratt is the victim of a vicious and deliberate frame-up.

Pratt and his attorneys have repeatedly tried to obtain the FBI surveillance records which would place him in Oakland on the day of the murder. In September 1969 they were successful in getting a District Court order demanding the release of any Pratt files maintained by the state Attorney General's office and the LAPD. But the order resulted only in a trickle of documents and an announcement that "a tremendous amount" of files on Pratt had been destroyed by the department in its effort to conform to new intelligence guidelines. One batch of 500 documents, when finally pried away from the FBI, was found to consist entirely of blanked-out pages!

The FBI contends that it has no records on Geronimo Pratt dated before 20 December 1968—two days after the murder. But given the extent of surveillance, the FBI must have known of the meeting on December 18. Release of the relevant documents would reveal that the FBI knew perfectly well that Pratt was innocent but simply, in an act of breathtaking viciousness and cynicism, framed him up and put him away for his political beliefs.

FBI's Murder Inc. Hits the Panthers

The Panthers in their heyday were among the best of a generation of black militants, a generation crushed by a savage campaign of state terror. There were at least 295 FBI "operations" against black groups in that period, 233 of them against the Black Panther Party. In 1968 and 1969, 14 Black Panther leaders were killed. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale spent years in jail on false charges while Eldridge Cleaver was forced into exile.

The Black Panther Party of the late 1960s was a deeply contradictory black radical formation, genuinely seeking black liberation but lacking the working-class perspective which could show them the road. Already weakened by profound programmatic disorientation, the Panthers never had a chance against the concerted terror of the bourgeois state. As their influence waned they were abandoned by their former New Left tail-waggers and then, as demonstrated by Newton's orders against testifying for Pratt, they even abandoned each other. But while the Spartacist League never cheered the eclectic black nationalism of the Panthers—unlike many of the left organizations which subsequently ignored Pratt—we have always stood in defense of these militants against the state.

Eventually the Newton wing, under the influence of the Communist Party, descended into sniveling reformism while the Cleaver faction supported by Pratt expended its cadre in the dead end of lumpen urban guerrillaism. Today Newton and Seale look to the Democratic Party and Cleaver turns from born-again Christianity to found a cult called "Christlam" while praising the practice of wife-beating.

What stands out about Pratt is that he has maintained his dignity and the courage of his convictions—refusing to seek parole because it would mean confessing guilt, giving himself a university-level education with smuggled books because he was barred from the prison library—despite what can only be described as systematic harassment and torture by the U.S. government.

Release the FBI documents and expose the frame-up! Free Geronimo Pratt! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Friday 3:00-6:00 p.m. Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tuesday 5:30-9:00 p.m. Saturday 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

They Wouldn't Cross Picket Lines, And Won!

Australian Workers Defend Militants

In the Australian labor movement, deeply divided by craft unionism and hamstrung by a compulsory state arbitration system, the bosses, the government and the trade-union bureaucrats have done their best to bury any expression of labor solidarity. But in recent months two trade-union militants at the John Fairfax and Sons printing plant in Sydney took an exemplary stand in defense of the elementary principles of class solidarity, scoring a victory that points the way forward for all of Australian labor.

Fairfax printing worker pickets battle scabs. Australasian Spartacist

"This Clerk Doesn't Scab"

In January printers at Fairfax struck in defense of a Printing and Kindred Industries Union (PKIU) chapel representative (committeeman) victimized by management. The PKIU was joined on the picket lines, which at times were over 100 strong, by metal tradesmen, iron workers, engineers, plumbers, sections of the Transport Workers Union and one clerk, Linda Menzie, who refused on principle to scab on another union's picket line.

Menzie was the first clerk in memory to honor a printers' picket line at Fairfax. In response, the leadership of her own union, the Federated Clerks, instructed her to get back to work and hold to the scabbing tradition. But Menzie stuck to her guns and regularly stood alongside the PKIU on the picket line with a placard reading, "This clerk doesn't scab." This was enthusiastically received by the strikers, who insisted that Menzie accept strike pay. The PKIU passed a resolution to defend all those, from any union, who supported the strike against any company threats of reprisals. When the strike was over, Menzie was the only clerk who could return to work without shame—and she was not victimized for her courageous stand.

The PKIU took a militant stand in defense of Menzie for her refusal to scab. But a few weeks later, on March 5, when some 80 metal workers, iron workers and members of the Australian Society of Engineers hit the bricks in protest against management's violation of traditional union work rules, the printers union found itself on the wrong side of the class line—inside keeping the Fairfax presses rolling. After briefly walking out twice in solidarity at the beginning of the strike, the PKIU leadership struck a deal with the company in which their end of the bargain was to scab.

The refusal of the striking metal workers to set up a picket line provided a convenient cover for this backstabbing. Nevertheless at a mass PKIU meeting March 11, after the first printers' walkout backing the metal workers, a significant minority of 50 or so printers voted against returning to work. One PKIU militant, Ron Rees, argued that despite the absence of a picket line Fairfax was a struck plant, and regardless of the vote he would not return to work.

The bureaucracy's scabbing policy carried, and Rees was left to go it alone in solidarity with the metal workers strike. But the PKIU leadership was not about to tolerate this violation of the "rules" of craft unionism. Infuriated by Rees' refusal to scab, the PKIU tops threatened not to defend him on the grounds that this action was "outside the rules" of the union! But the printers' union leadership quickly backed down in the face of a protest letter, signed by 14 metal workers' shop stewards and strike leaders, which defended Rees' stand as "purely one of Union *Principle*." The spectre of another union defending one of *their members* put the PKIU bureaucracy on the defensive. Backed by both unions Rees won an arbitration hearing and Fairfax readily accepted the recommendation to reinstate him.

In the wake of the Fairfax strikes Australian journalists called a national strike against the press bosses' attempt to slash jobs through the introduction of new technology. The journalists are widely viewed in the Australian labor movement, in particular in the printing trades unions, as the worst scabs, many of whom owe their position to strikebreaking. But this justifiable hatred for the journalists' tradition of scabbing must not make strikebreakers of the other press unions. The journalists are fighting against press bosses of the ilk of Australian press magnate Rupert Murdoch, whose slanderous yellow journalism was instrumental in bringing down the Australian Labor Party government of Gough Whitlam in 1975. Murdoch has also played a key role in the drive to smash press unions from Sydney to New York City. This hated enemy of the entire Australian labor movement must be met by a united struggle of all the printing trades unions. ■

Defend the Steelworkers—Defend Keith Anwar!

As United Steelworkers of America (USWA) District 31 prepares for its annual conference June 27 more than 50,000 steel workers have been thrown out of their jobs in the massive layoffs and plant closures that have swept the Midwest in the last three years. At U.S. Steel's Southworks in Chicago only one out of four blast furnaces is now operating. Next door at the U.S. Steel Gary works, three out of six furnaces are down. Yet USWA president Lloyd McBride, with the backing of the "dissident" Sadlowski/Balanoff leadership of District 31, has rammed through another no-strike contract. Steel workers must not be made hapless victims of the bosses' job-slashing offensive! What is needed is industrywide strike action to save jobs.

In fighting for the steel workers' right to strike, the Keith Anwar picket line case is crucially important. Anwar, a member of USWA Local 1010, was fired from his job at Inland Steel one year ago for his principled refusal to cross the picket line of another USWA local at the plant. Anwar's fight to win his job back has won the support of hundreds of rank-and-file union members and union officials. Last year's District 31 conference voted to use "all available resources" in defending him, but the pledge was never honored by the Balanoff leadership. According to the Keith Anwar Defense Committee, composed of steel workers who support Anwar's reinstatement, this year's conference will see a showdown on the case. Already Local 1010, Anwar's union and the largest in the district, has submitted a motion reaffirming the basic right of union members to honor picket lines. We reprint below a leaflet distributed recently at Chicago-area mills by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee.

On May 18, 1979, Keith Anwar, a millwright apprentice at Inland Steel was fired for honoring USWA Local 8180's picket lines. Many of you have heard about this and are wondering what has happened to it. Well so are we! Last year's District Conference unanimously passed a resolution pledging "all available resources" to Keith's case and supporting motions soon followed at Locals 65 and 1010. Hundreds of postcards poured into District Director James Balanoff from steelworkers pledging support. In October 1979 Local 1010 hosted a rally for Keith at their union hall. Over 1,500 union members signed petitions and over two thousand hard-earned dollars have been donated for Anwar's defense. Yet, since this case completed Step 4 not a single thing has been done!

Is the company stalling, as usual, hoping that this grievance will disappear? Not this time! Staff Rep Ted Rogus, at the International's behest, pulled this grievance from the arbitration docket and our District leaders have done *nothing* to reverse this. Our District and International union leaders are playing "hot potato" with this case trying to blame the other guy for stalling. When you ask them why, all you get is a lot of double talk and mumbo jumbo. Ask them yourself and you'll see!

Our union leaders are blind if they can't see that the ranks are solidly behind this important case. Our members who go into the mills every day know that this case puts the right to honor *our own* pickets on the line. To the company this stalling can mean only one thing—this union will not defend its picket lines. What Keith Anwar is fighting for is the labor tradition that "picket lines mean don't cross." Don't our union leaders want a strong union?

Our International leadership has dropped picket line grievances in this District claiming that they have "no merit." Well the union ranks don't buy this and even the bosses' government doesn't think so. Earlier this year the National Labor Relations Board issued a complaint against U.S. Steel (Gary Works) for suspending a steelworker, Gene Goldenfeld, who refused to cross a rail workers picket line at the plant. It is likely that the NLRB hearing will reverse the arbitration decision the union lost and Goldenfeld will get a well-deserved award.

So what's all this stalling on Keith's case? We've come to expect this crap from our International desk jockeys but what about Balanoff and "Steelworkers Fight Back"? They know about the Goldenfeld decision and still have not acted.

Ever since the International dropped this case in Balanoff's lap he has been running from it. He claims he doesn't have the power and is being "set up" by McBride. This is bunk! Kleiman's letter to Balanoff, despite its cynical withdrawal from this case, did empower Balanoff to act. But all Balanoff has done is to demonstrate that he is more concerned with electioneering and factional maneuvering than with the *survival of our union*—and that's what is at stake when the companies attack union picket lines.

On May 15, 1980 Local 1010 unanimously passed and submitted to the District Conference the following resolution: "Local 1010 urges this body to reaffirm our support of the basic right of all union members to honor picket lines." Fine words with which we couldn't agree more. But what about Keith Anwar—the union member that led the fight in Local 1010 to establish this position? Is the District leadership going to move to get his job back? Given Balanoff's inaction we're pessimistic. Our District Director is going to have to hear more from the membership—by telephone, letter or personal visit—before he gets off his duff. Call him at (219) 398-2051.

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee plans to fight this case through to victory, not just for Keith but for the USWA. We hope the membership, that has been solidly behind this case, is as disgusted with this stalling as we are. Let Balanoff, your grievers and conference delegates know how you feel. The KADC will be at the June 27/28 District Conference to fight for the District leadership to take action on the Anwar case.

This union's taken a beating recently. Tens of thousands of jobs and whole plants have been lost. A victory for Keith would be an important step in reversing this trend. A victory for Keith Anwar is a victory for defense of our picket lines and defense of the entire labor movement. Let's stop this petty hassling and get Keith his job back!

DEFEND THE UNION, DEFEND KEITH ANWAR.

Keith Anwar Defense Committee
P.O. Box 7914
Chicago, IL 60680

Nationwide TV Exposé of AIFLD

Get the CIA Out of Our Unions!

The Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) has fought for years for the labor movement to break all links with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). CWA ties with the AIFLD—the big-business-dominated, government-controlled group which is the CIA's favorite "labor" front group in Latin America—go back a long way. Joe Beirne, founding International president, was the brains behind AIFLD, even donating the former CWA facility at Front Royal for an AIFLD training school. The CWA has also been used to legitimize another lesser-known CIA labor front, the Post, Telegraph and Telephone International (PTTI). But for years CWA bureaucrats denied any connection between the AIFLD and the CIA.

Now thousands of people nationwide have seen for themselves the true story of this shameful connection. In May a public television documentary, "On Company Business," interviewed ex-agents and survivors of CIA terror who exposed "the Company's" bloody history of assassinations, torture, spying, terror and overthrow of governments around the world. The three-part series covered CIA use of American union connections to smash strikes in post-World War II Europe, its plots and coups in the Dominican Republic, British Guyana, Chile, Brazil, up through CIA mercenary forays in Angola. What was undoubtedly most shocking to many working-class viewers was the stark evidence of deep involvement of top U.S. labor leaders with these criminal terrorists.

Part II of the series showed news clips of George Meany, Andrew McClellan (Inter-American rep of the AFL-CIO) and Bill Doherty (current head of AIFLD), going through their ritualistic indignant denials of CIA connections: "That is so ridiculous and so infantile, so juvenile" spouted McClellan, while Doherty flat out said, "It's just not true." But the TV interviewers had found a former organizer for the PTTI, Richard Martinez, who told the real story—and the contrast was damning.

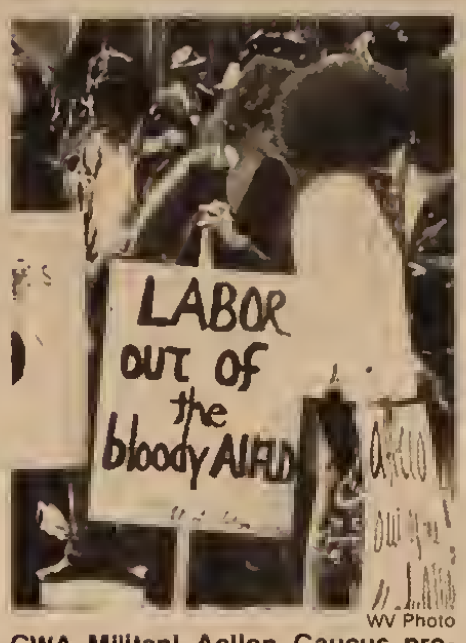
Martinez got involved via Tom Robles, of the AFL-CIO in Washington, who asked him to go to Brazil:

Martinez: "To me, a young man coming out of a ghetto, I felt it was a big opportunity. I didn't even know where Latin America was.... My position was going to be administrator and organizer for the PTTI, which later on I learned was one of these phony organizations under the CIA. My boss was Wallace Leggy who was one of John McCone's top hands. John McCone, at that time was the head of the CIA.

"The idea was to, ah, well, they didn't explain anything. You go there with the impression that you are going there to do a labor job.... So I started tackling the problems, combating the management for better conditions, working conditions, higher salaries, lenient rules. What you do in the labor movement. Apparently I was doing the wrong thing because three months later...they instructed me that I was to return to Washington...in 1962, the same year that I started there, to be trained in clandestine activities. Leggy pointed out to me that we were organizing for 1964.... He was the head of the whole PTTI operation then. And he said, Richard, look, we are organizing against Communists for 1964...."

That was the year the government of João Goulart in Brazil was overthrown by a rightist military coup, with the help of AIFLD-trained "labor officials." Thousands of labor militants and Communists were jailed, tortured and murdered. And at the time, Bill Doherty was pretty proud of his work, bragging to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

> "What happened in Brazil on April 1st did not just happen; it was planned, and planned months in advance. Many of the trade union leaders, some of whom were actually trained in our Institute, were involved in the revolution and in the overthrow of the Goulart regime."



WV Photo

CWA Militant Action Caucus protests CIA labor front.

Doherty tried to backtrack on the TV show, claiming to interviewers it was really just "normal" trade-union work the boys were doing and they just "happened" to get caught up in a revolution. But Martinez spilled the beans:

Interviewer: "Did you have arms stashed right there in your office?"

Martinez: "Yeah, they were right there in my closet.... Shit, you name it, machine guns, all types of weapons."

Interviewer: "Did your field workers participate at all in that coup?"

Martinez: "Oh, yes.... They burnt out the Communist headquarters, they burnt up the whole damn building. My own people. All I knew was that the Communists had been put away in prisons, the military had brought in ships ...confined the Communists, put them in the ships, locked the doors and thrown the keys away." (And, as Martinez said, these included many labor militants—"there were more of them than us," he said.)

The Militant Action Caucus had already told how the CIA's "labor" front actively participated in the counterrevolutionary Brazil coup, pointing out that "AIFLD-trained leaders of the Telegraph Workers Union broke the strike [of workers supporting Goulart], kept communication open to the military, enabling the army to co-ordinate troop movements. The military dictatorship quickly appointed four AIFLD graduates to purge the unions of militants—socialist or otherwise" ("Why is the AFL-CIO known as the AFL-*CIA* in Latin America?" *Militant Action* No. 11, June-July 1974).

The MAC has also raised many of the other CIA/labor connections made on the TV series: AIFLD-backed "union" support to the U.S. Marines in crushing Juan Bosch's government in the Dominican Republic in 1965; and the bloody overthrow of the Allende government in 1973, where the AIFLD worked closely with the right-wing *gremios* (labor-business groups) to sabotage the economy. And AIFLD got its reward, MAC pointed out: "The reactionary Chilean junta...arranged and approved a meeting of 26 of the AIFLD-connected company unions last January—just a few months after the junta had outlawed the CUT (the Chilean equivalent of the AFL-CIO) and at the same time the junta's goons were torturing and executing labor unionists."

This year MAC is again fighting for a motion at the CWA's national convention to break with the AIFLD. This time it will be hard for the CWA tops to hide the truth, now that trade unionists across the country have seen the MAC's charges confirmed on national TV by the very people who carried out the dirty work. Militant unionists who are sick and tired of having their union used for the CIA's Murder Inc. crimes against the working class should support the MAC motion: CWA must break all ties with the AIFLD! ■

Margolis Interview...

(continued from page 12)

to endorse Jimmy Carter in 1976 and again in this election. How does this affect the union directly?

Margolis: Well, if you thought like a prominent labor bureaucrat campaigning for Carter's re-election would you want to put a national phone strike in your candidate's lap right before the election? Of course not. That's why Watts will do everything possible to ram through any sellout to avoid a strike.

Both Carter and Watts want to avoid anything "hot" before the election. Last July, for example, when Carter's popularity was lower than Nixon's ever was, Carter was invited to our convention as a guest speaker. I had intended to be one of the delegates to speak during the period set aside to ask questions. What I intended to say was that I did not feel that Carter should have been an invited guest to our convention when he had been blaming the workers for the economic crisis, when he had used the Taft-Hartley injunction against the miners strike and had threatened to use Taft-Hartley against a possible phone strike in 1977. I did not want to see the CWA convention being used as a platform for an anti-union strikebreaker. For this, I was dragged off the floor by the Secret Service at that convention to shut me up.

WV: Do you think the union is united behind Watts' support for Carter?

Margolis: Not by any means. There are some forces in the union that want to support Kennedy—who wants a wage freeze like Nixon's. There are many others who are disgusted with both. The MAC believes neither Kennedy nor Carter nor Reagan deserve any labor support. All of these candidates stand for more austerity, more unemployment, more sacrifice by the workers while corporate profits are going through the ceiling. The Democrats and Republicans have nothing in common with the interests of working people.

That's why the Militant Action Caucus, for the past nine years, since our very beginning, has stood for "Not a Dime, Not a Vote to the Democrats or Republicans." We're for a workers party which will fight for a workers government, not a bosses' government.

WV: Besides Carter's re-election bid, what other political issues do you think will come up at the convention?

Margolis: I expect there will be resolutions in support of Carter's warmongering over Iran and Afghanistan. The only reason Carter cares about either is Big Oil's profits out of the Persian Gulf and whipping up Cold War furor against the Soviet Union. What Jimmy Carter's foreign policy represents is a drive to get us into World War III. Do the CWA delegates want their world to be blown up and their sons and daughters to go to war over Jimmy Carter's attempt to get re-elected?

Also, I expect there will be a resolution of support for the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). This is a joint corporation/government/labor project which runs right-wing company unions in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Even U.S. Senate hearings have exposed the fact that it is backed by CIA money. The MAC has consistently called on the CWA—which was instrumental in setting up AIFLD and running it—to break all ties with "Operation South America" and AIFLD.

WV: MAC was active in the April 19 Committee Against Nazis which sponsored a rally preventing the Nazis from carrying out their plan to "celebrate Hitler's birthday" in downtown San Francisco. What is the Caucus' view of the upsurge nationally of Klan and Nazi activity?

Margolis: We see that Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign and the escalating Cold War have been helping create a social climate allowing the far-right-wing elements to grow in this country. There is a real racist backlash in this country, with the acquittal of the cops that beat to death the black insurance man in Miami, with the shooting of civil rights leader Vernon Jordan. It is critical that the union movement come to the defense of blacks and minorities that are being literally hunted down in cold blood by these racist killers.

We brought 75 phone workers from San Francisco, Oakland and Los Angeles to participate in the April 19 anti-Nazi demonstration. Twelve hundred other people—mostly unionists—came from around the city. And the Nazis were frightened—they didn't show up, which was a real victory for labor.

WV: MAC exists now in San Francisco and Los Angeles. What are your perspectives for reaching out to the rest of the CWA, and how do you see this as related to a possible strike this summer?

Margolis: We would like the Militant Action Caucus to be a national caucus. The present union leadership believes you can't win against the phone company. They must be replaced. At every convention, whether we are delegates, or whether on our own time, we are talking with delegates from all over the country about our full program, about what kind of leadership we feel is necessary for the union movement.

Several local officers, many delegates and members helped support my suit against the Secret Service and also helped us build the ANCAN rally against the Nazis. We have gotten a lot of support in sponsoring our constitutional amendment to give locals the right to strike. We have a large mailing list in which we keep union members across the country informed about crucial issues before the union.

This year will be the ninth national convention that members of the MAC have attended. We're going to be at the convention trying to reach out to delegates who agree with us on the absolute necessity, if we are to defend our members and our union, for a national strike against Ma Bell. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Shut Down Ma Bell in '80! For a Workers Party!

Get the CWA On Its Feet!

Interview with Jane Margolis

We print below a WV interview with Jane Margolis, an executive board member of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410, San Francisco. Last July, as an elected delegate from her local, Margolis was dragged off the CWA convention floor in Detroit by the Secret Service, because she was a well-known advocate of militant and independent trade unionism. Jane Margolis is also a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle opposition group in the CWA.

WV: Jane, what do you and the Militant Action Caucus see as the key issue facing delegates at the CWA convention?

Margolis: The key issue is the contract fight against Ma Bell. Our contract expires in six weeks, on August 9, and it is a critical time for members of the CWA. Automation is severely reducing the number of jobs of phone workers. Job pressures and harassment have increased dramatically. There is a rumor that the company is going to try and limit our already capped cost-of-living clause. These are serious and blatant attacks on our union and all of its members. So the convention *should* spend its time talking about and preparing for a national strike against the phone company to turn back these attacks.

WV: American workers are being hit with double-digit inflation and mounting unemployment. Could you describe how these economic conditions affect phone workers?

Margolis: From 1974 to 1978, the AT&T workforce nationwide was reduced by over 100,000 jobs. If you go into any main phone buildings in any major city in the country, the offices are starting to look like ghost towns. *Business Week* says that automatic switching has reduced the staff needs in that area by over 70 percent. What AT&T wants to do is have maximum flexibility to reclassify phone workers to reduce labor costs through downgrades.

Personally, in the San Francisco local, I have been fighting for a case of a phone worker who has over 33 years service with the company, has been at top pay for the last 19 years, and he has just been told that his job has been "reclassified" and that in one year's time he will be receiving over $100 a week less.

To further reduce the workforce the company has increased the job pressures and harassment, forcing people to quit, to take early retirement. No downgrades and fighting for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay are crucial to protect our jobs.

Jane Margolis WV Photo

None of these issues, from job security to a 100 percent cost-of-living clause to an end to job pressures, is going to be won by anything less than a strong united national strike against the phone company.

WV: What is the attitude of the company as you go into this bargaining period?

Margolis: At Pacific Telephone there have been many firings and disciplines of union officials. A steward and member of the Militant Action Caucus, Bobbi Sinnott, was recently framed up and fired [see "Bay Area Phone Workers Say: Hands Off Our Stewards!" *WV* No. 257, 30 May]. Another steward in our local, Evelyn Wyatt, with 25 years service, 13 years as a steward, was suspended for two days for "union activities on company time." She was telling a fired worker the address of the union hall as she was walking to her desk! I, myself, an executive board officer of the local, was recently given a five-day suspension and a final warning for dismissal in a frame-up, also accused of "union activities on company time." It is very clear that the company is trying to silence the union by going after its most active and militant spokesmen so that they can go after the union as a whole.

As has been the case with other unions across the country, we can expect the company to propose a take-away contract. But we are not in a situation like the Chrysler workers or the rubber workers, where their decaying plants are being shut down. The profits of the phone company—always astronomical—are way up. We are in a stronger position to fight for our needs, if we wage a militant and united strike.

WV: Can you tell us something about the history of strike action in the CWA?

Margolis: On the local level strikes occur frequently. But these are seldom authorized by the International, which usually helps drive the workers back on the job. That's why we have authored a constitutional amendment to give locals the right to strike without authorization by the International.

In the last year alone, there were strikes in Cleveland, Washington, Oregon and in New York. About 18 months ago there was a national walkout in the Long Lines division in solidarity with workers in Tennessee who had refused to cross a picket line and had been suspended. This year Western Electric workers struck against absence control. The large number of local strikes shows a willingness of the membership to fight the company if they have a leadership that really wants to fight.

Since the founding of the union in the late '40s, there have been only two short national strikes, in 1968 and 1971. But in both of these the International pledged that management be allowed to cross the picket lines in order that phone service would not be disrupted. We need militant, mass picket lines to really shut down Ma Bell. That means nobody crosses—no scabs, no management.

The problem is, Ma Bell has never been hurt *bad* by the CWA—like the auto sitdowns in the 1930s, like the general strike which consolidated the ILWU. Today this monopoly lords it over phone workers like it was a slave plantation, and it gouges the public for billions. But they can be broken through hard strike action. Ultimately, what we're going to need is not walkouts, but *walk in*, sit down, take it over—and while the union's running things it's free phone service for everybody. *Then* we'll begin "negotiations."

WV: Your CWA president, Glenn Watts, was one of the first union leaders

continued on page 11

WV Photo

San Francisco, April 19—Large CWA contingent marches to stop the Nazis.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 259 27 June 1980

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

Black Workers Shake South Africa

Once again black South Africa is rising up against its oppressors. After two months of the largest and most militant anti-apartheid struggles since the student protests of June 1976, black and "coloured" (mixed race) workers and students are marking the fourth anniversary of the Soweto massacre with strikes and demonstrations throughout the country. From the coloured townships of Cape Town to the auto plants of Port Elizabeth, from the sprawling slums around Johannesburg to the Indian Ocean docks of Durban, the victims of the apartheid system are defying heavily armed cops and troops and demanding an end to racist rule.

The South African army and police, who slaughtered more than 600 young protesters four years ago in Soweto, this time shot to death well over 32 persons and wounded 175 between June 16 and June 20. Those are the government's figures and South African newspapers and hospitals report that the real toll is at least twice as high. Panicked by the upsurge of the oppressed majority, which outnumbers the privileged whites by more than five-to-one, the Pretoria regime has put the regular army on a war alert—something that was not done even in 1976. In an effort to cover up their murderous repression and the extent of the unrest, the apartheid rulers have banned reporters from "trouble spots." But no amount of official censorship can hide the fact that the oppressed masses of South Africa are militantly challenging apartheid rule.

The shadow of Soweto hangs over both the white rulers and the black masses in the current struggles. Black students, who four years ago marched headlong into the automatic weapons fire, today are more cautious, dissolving their demonstrations when the killer cops and troops arrive. For its part, the government of Prime Minister Pieter Botha is wary of provoking another uprising by randomly mowing down hundreds of schoolchildren. But a distinguishing feature of the current upsurge, one which is crucial to the success of the anti-apartheid battles, is the central role being played by organized black and coloured workers in Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

Also important has been the vanguard role played by coloured students, who began this spring's actions with a nationwide boycott of schools to protest inferior education. Reports from South Africa agree that many of the young coloured generation are rejecting their traditional status as a relatively privileged intermediate group in apartheid's "separate development" and are throwing in their lot with the black majority, even to the point of rejecting the label of "coloured" and identifying themselves as "blacks."

Apartheid terror devastates coloured areas of Cape Town. Der Spiegel

The strikes and protests around the coloured students' boycott (see "Black Upsurge in South Africa," *WV* No. 258, 13 June) grew in size and intensity after police viciously attacked demonstrators commemorating the June 16 Soweto anniversary. Shotgun-wielding cops wounded at least 20 persons on the 16th in Soweto as black youths defied the government's ban on public gatherings. In Cape Town a one-day "stay at home" general strike was honored by about three-quarters of the workforce and in the city's textile factories up to 90 percent of the workforce stayed home. In the coloured townships in the Cape Town Flats, cops repeatedly charged groups of protesters with billy clubs and tear gas.

The following day angry coloured youths burned and looted white stores, set up street barricades blocking the roads leading to the airport and stoned white motorists. The cops, enraged because one protester managed to knife a cop to death in self-defense, broke out their automatic rifles and loaded their shotguns with deadly buckshot. Police Commissioner Mike Geldenhuys gave the OK to "shoot to kill," urging his men to show "no mercy" to protesters. Two planeloads of riot cops were rushed in to reinforce the locals.

Stone throwing and street barricade fighting spread to Soweto, Durban and Port Elizabeth. Then, on June 20, the wave of protests reached a new level as 10,000 workers joined the struggle. Port Elizabeth's Ford, GM and Volkswagen assembly plants, the Goodyear Tire factory and a dozen other plants were shut down solid by strikes for higher pay and an end to racist discrimination. At Volkswagen, the United Auto and Rubber Workers, one of the few recognized black unions, demanded an 80 percent raise.

As black workers waited at the gates, management gave its answer: lockout. Cops fired shotguns and teargas into crowds of strikers. Goodyear workers responded by stoning white homes in the industrial town of Uitenhage. The government, recognizing that the black auto workers are the muscle of the anti-apartheid upsurge, called in the regular army to occupy the plants. A reporter who slipped through police lines reported that the Volkswagen plant, ringed by Hippo armored cars, had been turned into an armed camp.

"Verligte" Apartheid Under Siege

South African Prime Minister Botha assumed office last year promising to reform various of the minor forms of apartheid restrictions. But the bloody police terror unleashed against the unarmed street protesters and strikers is the clearest possible evidence that Botha, like his predecessors, is committed to preserving white minority rule at any cost. And just to prove it he launched the biggest South African foreign military operation since World War II this month. Thousands of troops poured over the border from South Africa's Namibian colony to strike South West African People's Organisation refugee camps in Angola.

Even before this spring's protest/strike wave, Botha, under pressure from the "verkrampte" ("narrow") wing of his ruling National Party, had backed off from such sub-tokenist "reforms" as integrated white-coloured high school rugby matches. In this way he duplicated the history of his predecessor, J.B. Vorster, who also started off by promising to reduce "petty apartheid," until it threatened to break up the unity of the Afrikaner *laager*. Botha, the leader of the so-called "verligte" ("enlightened") wing of the National Party, is now trying to give the appearance of flexibility by advocating an appointive "president's council" which, while having no real power, would include coloured, Indian and even Chinese representatives—but no blacks.

The "verkrampte" racists are holding

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Letter from Japan

In elections on June 22 Japanese voters returned a majority for the governing conservative Liberal Democratic Party. The following letter, sent to us by a supporter in Japan, goes into the background of the campaign, in particular the split between the Communist and Socialist Parties. Late last year the long-standing JCP-JSP electoral alliance was broken as the Socialists opted for a coalition with the Buddhist "clean government" Komeito movement.

Tokyo, Japan
8 June 1980

Dear Editor,

In the last four years the ruling Japanese Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has suffered one scandal after another. The latest series began in February when the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations exposed a shady deal between the Marubeni trading firm and Lockheed. This led to the eventual arrest of Prime Minister Ohira's mentor, Kakuei Tanaka. Among the aircraft involved in this and later deals were F-104 fighter planes and P-3C antisubmarine reconnaissance planes for Japan's growing Self Defense Forces (SDF).

UPI

Tokyo: 72,000 workers take to the streets for the spring offensive.

The most current corruption scandals involve a vice-minister, an LDP deputy in the Diet (Japan's parliament), the former head of the SDF, and Koichi Hamada who resigned as Dietman over his caper in Las Vegas where he gambled away $1.5 million. The gambling loss of the latter fellow was the last straw. The opposition LDP factions of Fukuda (former prime minister), Miki (another former prime minister) and Nakagawa (former agriculture, forestry and fisheries minister) felt that Ohira was not doing the best thing for the party's interests. On 16 May when the opposition factions wanted more discussion over the means for a cover-up or for deflecting criticism from the LDP, Ohira had the bell rung to begin the plenary session. Opposition factions claimed there was no conscious decision to bring down the cabinet but they couldn't follow Ohira into the session like puppy dogs.

1955 System

Twenty-five years ago a number of events came together to create the system of Japanese capitalist class rule which has successfully maintained itself to this day. The economy regained its peak performance, the LDP was established as a single party ruler, the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) reunified and Japan's unique "spring struggle" labor-management bargaining method began. There are two elements of this "1955 system" which are not widely recognized by the Japanese left for their "peace"-keeping merits. One is the JSP's role as conscious guardian of capitalism. Through its influence in the powerful Sohyo (General Council of Labor Unions) the JSP has consistently helped to maintain wage increases at sub-inflatinn levels. The other is the inherently hureaucratic and defeatist "spring struggle."

With all the anti-Japanese propaganda going on now, American workers will be glad to know that there is a class struggle here. But the burcaucrats of the Japanese labor movement are no better than their counterparts in the U.S. Workers go out on ritual strikes, negotiations take place behind closed doors, and rank and file members are not consulted when the final offers are accepted. Moreover, public sector workers (whose wages are lower) are denied the right to strike. This no-strike law is an integral part of the "spring struggle" system of labor peace. Last year they made a deal that there would be no strike in 1980. Since the Japan National Railway did go on a brief strike this year, 90,000 workers face discipline.

The last two elements of the 1955

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Guardian Distorts

The following letter was written in response to an article in the [New York] Guardian 30 April, "W. German Anti-Nazi Moves Grow" by Phil Hill. In reporting on a mid-April anti-fascist conference held in Frankfurt, Hill complained of the "disruptive effect of the Trotskyist League of Germany (TLD)—related to the U.S. Spartacist League." According to Hill, the TLD's "crime" was presenting "the ultra-'left' view that it would be reformist to 'ask' the state to ban the fascist gangs, that it would only be necessary to 'mobilize the unions' to smash them. The unfortunate result was that the working committee on implementing the already existing Nazi ban had little time to pull together a concrete program."

Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands
Sektion der internationalen Spartacist Tendenz

Postfach 1 67 47
6000 Frankfurt/Main 1
West Germany

June 2, 1980

Letter to the *Guardian*,

In his article "West Germany Anti-Nazi Moves Grow" in the April 30 *Guardian* your journalist Phil Hill reports the real and alarming increase in neo-fascist activity in West Germany, naming as an example the busting up by fascist thugs of an anti-fascist citizens' committee meeting. But he then tries to lull the reader into believing that "since then the antifascists have had too much mass support to be broken up by the fascists," and that the fight against these thugs is now in the competent hands of ...the movement "Rock Against the Right." Hill apparently wants to promote the export into America of the pernicious idea that fascism can be dispelled by a few thousand rock fans grooving to "progressive," "left" music.

In fact, Rock Against the Right is nothing but a ploy by reformists like the ex-Maoist Kommunistischer Bund (KB) and the Sozialistische Arbeitergruppe (SAG) to put "popular" pressure on the SPD to ban the fascists. They don't even call for smashing the fascists, contrary to Hill's report!

Hill certainly reacted hysterically when comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands [TLD]—German section of the international Spartacist tendency—intervened in a workshop at the "Antifascist Congress" sponsored in Frankfurt in mid-April by the KB and SAG. The topic in debate, the KB's and most of the left's position of calling for a ban by the capitalist government against fascists, has evidently been bothering some left elements of this rotten propaganda conglomerate. And so it should. As our comrades said in the workshop, such calls fly in the face not only of the Marxist understanding of the state, but also of all empirical experience. Haven't Hill and the Kommunistischer Bund ever noticed that the aims of the fascists—the destruction and reconquest of the Soviet Union and East Germany and other workers states, the smashing of the unions, the liquidation of communists and of national minorities—are also the long-term aims of West German imperialism? Perhaps not today, but in times of severe crises, the bourgeoisie will need these anti-working-class stormtroopers. All decorative constitutional guarantees in the West German Constitution to the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 259 **27 June 1980**

Here's One for the Irish

No Magnum Force for Ulster Cops!

It's not often that revolutionaries are able to support a Congressional action. But if we had a representative in Congress we'd certainly be supporting the current embargo on shipping arms to the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) in Northern Ireland. The RUC, recruited almost exclusively from Protestants, is a paramilitary force functioning as an extension of the British army occupation force. It is notorious for its bloody assault on a peaceful civil rights demonstration in Derry in 1968 and consistently turns a blind eye to assaults on the oppressed Catholic minority by "Loyalist" gangs (whose membership often overlaps with the RUC).

A couple of years ago the RUC ordered 3,000 .357 Magnum handguns from the United States, a very insignificant deal compared to the billions worth of military hardware the U.S. routinely ships to reactionary dictators around the world. But this one didn't get through. House speaker "Tip" O'Neill decided to call in some political IOUs and stand up for the Irish by getting Congress to block an export license for the guns. The weak Carter administration, concerned no doubt to undercut Kennedy support among Irish American voters, obligingly went along.

However, like most of Carter's recent moves, this one went awry, too. His chastisement of the British for failing to impose a severe economic boycott on Iran because of Parliamentary pressure was snidely rebuffed by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington: "Now you, who we think are our friends, are unable to supply us with the pistols we need for the R.U.C. because of opposition in Congress. It's rather the same thing, isn't it?" To which the *New York Times* (28 May) editorialized: "Point, game and set for the Noble Lord."

The Congressional boycott reflects simply the historical accident of some of its influential members' Irish ancestry. As proletarian socialist-revolutionaries, we defend the IRA against the imperialist army and the Loyalist thugs in uniform, but give no political support to the Catholic nationalism common to all wings of "Republicanism." The Spartacist tendency calls for the formation of anti-sectarian workers militias to combat the bloody communal terrorism, both Orange and Green. And we fight for the creation of an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles.

Colman Doyle

But the precondition for any solution to the bitter conflict must be that British troops get out of Ireland! The Royal Ulster Constabulary, the police force of Protestant ascendancy, must be smashed.

Get the Killer Klansmen Off the Streets

Free the Greensboro CWPers!

The cops tore into the Communist Workers Party (CWP) again on June 16, right in the hallways of injustice at the courthouse in Greensboro, North Carolina. CWP supporters were beaten bloody. Four more were arrested and jailed as they tried to get into the opening day of the semi-secret trial of six of the Klan and Nazi murderers who blasted the comrades, friends and family of the CWP last November 3. As the proceedings continued through the week, it was apparent that the defense was going for an all-white jury and the "prosecution" was letting them.

About 40 anti-Klan demonstrators stood outside the locked chamber doors of Judge James Long on Monday chanting, "Let the families in." But "justice" North Carolina-style was having a "public" trial of the Klan/Nazi killers in which only token representatives of the families of the victims were permitted to sit in the courtroom. The cops even stopped survivors of the Greensboro massacre, including Dr. Paul Bermanzohn who was wounded and paralyzed by the fascist gunfire on November 3. Dale Sampson, widow of one of the martyred CWP members, told the press the cops grabbed Bermanzohn's wheelchair. And the CWP newspaper *Workers Viewpoint* (23 June) explains it was when his comrades tried to defend Bermanzohn from attack that the cops arrested the four demonstrators.

They had come to the courthouse in Greensboro to protest what they call "upside-down justice." Indeed, from the first day that fascist Klan/Nazi guns took the lives of five CWP martyrs, the weight of capitalism's "blind justice" has been balanced to punish the victims for the crime. The media called the Greensboro massacre a "shootout" between two equally violent "fringe groups." Four surviving CWP leaders who were missed by the KKK/Nazi assassins were arrested for "felony rioting" and other charges meant to convict the CWP for "inciting to riot" and provoking their own murders.

So it was the continuation of this "even-handed" justice at the Greensboro courthouse on June 16. In courtroom 3A they arraigned the victims, five CWP survivors, on felonies: Nelson Johnson, Rand Mandella, Dorothy and Alan Blitz, Lacie Russell. Across the corridor in courtroom 3C they started picking the jury for the trial of the six Klan/Nazi killers.

It was in the no man's land between these courtrooms that the cops got their latest CWP victims. The four protesters were charged with "interfering with courtroom procedure" and additional charges including "assaulting a police officer" and "assault with a deadly weapon." What was this "deadly weapon"? A walkie-talkie. In Greensboro, North Carolina it seems any object in the hands of a radical can be classed as a "deadly weapon" by the courts. This is also one of the charges against Nelson Johnson (who was stabbed during the November massacre), because he carried a stick.

By June 23 the racist process of jury selection was already under way, with two white jurors picked and ten more whites promised. Klan lawyers dismissed four blacks who were part of the pool and made it clear that they were going to keep the jury lily white: "We're looking for people who do not have any pre-conceived prejudices against the Klan," said defense lawyer Robert Douglas III. He went on to state the obvious: "I think you would have a hard time finding a black that does not have some deep-seated feeling against the Klan." But these "deep-seated feelings" are based in experience not in prejudice. Blacks, the targets and victims of Klan terror, are in the best position to judge them. Those who have awakened to the sight of hooded nightriders and blazing crosses, those whose memories of lynching are vivid, those who lost family and comrades recently in Greensboro, or themselves took fascist bullets—let them judge the Klan and Nazis!

AP

Greensboro, June 16: Cops beat CWP supporters outside locked courtroom.

It will not be in the courtrooms of Greensboro or any capitalist court that such justice will be done. The KKK lawyers have also said that not only blacks but also "well-educated" jurors may "work against" the Klansmen on trial. The two jurors selected June 23 include a Vietnam veteran who said he had no opinion about the Klan although he saw the Greensboro Klan shooting on TV. The other man said he had once lived next door to a Klan leader and had no strong feelings about him.

The entire workers movement and all those who defend democratic rights must protest this "license to kill" trial of the CWP. The state of North Carolina

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Down With SWP Exclusionism!

On June 21, supporters of the Spartacist League were excluded from an advertised public meeting of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Los Angeles. The SWP's pretext for this blatant violation of the principle of workers democracy was an incident at a San Francisco SWP forum the week before. There, some Spartacist supporters were admitted to the meeting in apparently accidental violation of the standard S.F. SWP practice of excluding the SL from "public" events. The SLers expressed by some chanting their indignation at the SWP featured speaker, Peter "Pedro" Camejo, who reportedly fingered members of the leftist Simón Bolívar Brigade to the Nicaraguan authorities. While the first SWP speaker was addressing the meeting, an argument at the door became audible between several Spartacist supporters seeking to get into the meeting and SWPers who were seeking to keep them out. A Spartacist member rose to address the chairman, demanding she allow the other Spartacist comrades inside. A shouting match ensued, and the SWP quickly seized on this excuse to adjourn the forum to the SWP headquarters.

The role of the unspeakable Camejo was not really a fit subject for comradely debate. Camejo's collaboration with the bourgeois Sandinista government in driving adventurist leftists out of Nicaragua would have been more appropriately protested by a picket line outside rather than by an attempt to engage this fink in a "dialogue." Camejo has drawn the line between himself and the left in blood.

The SWP became the policeman of the left in the 1960s. As the supposed "best builders" of a popular-frontist Vietnam "peace" movement, the SWP provided whenever it could both the goon squads and the left-sounding excuses for purging the demonstrations of "unauthorized" pro-NLF slogans and other expressions of anti-imperialist sentiment. The SWP drew the blood line between its reformism and Trotskyism when it brutally drove out Spartacist and Progressive Labor supporters who were vocally protesting the presence of bourgeois politician Vance Hartke at a conference of the SWP's antiwar front group NPAC in July 1971. In December 1974 the SWP cited in court, as evidence of its "peaceful, legal" respectability, its July 1974 expulsion of the SWP "Internationalist Tendency," thereby solidarizing with a bourgeois "anti-terrorist" scare and fingering its own former comrades as purported terrorists. More recently, the SWP has become the most notorious cheerleader of Khomeini's Islamic reaction, defending his goons' bloody rampage against pro-guerrillaist leftists at Teheran University.

Our comrades have endured the most extreme provocations at the hands of the SWP. The SL has been singled out for exclusion from SWP "public" meetings, systematically in some parts of the country and selectively in others. The threat of violence implicit in all such exclusions has been carried out more than once; the most graphic such incident occurred in San Francisco on 2 May 1975 when three militant trade unionists were brutally assaulted and thrown out of an SWP "public" forum when they protested the exclusion of the SL (see *WV* No. 68, 9 May 1975). We have been the recipient of reams of slander, both political and organizational, in the SWP press. Prominent SWPers have engaged in the most repulsive race-baiting of black Spartacist members.

In the Bay Area, the SL had been excluded from every "public" SWP forum held in the last two years, with the notable exception of one meeting where the veteran SWP speaker informed us that "nobody will ever be excluded from a forum I give." Last month the SWP went so far as to exclude prominent Bay Area trade unionist Jane Margolis from a "public" meeting, preventing her from announcing an upcoming mass anti-Nazi rally because the anti-fascist action was being heavily built by the Spartacist League. Little more than a week ago, an SL picket line outside an SWP campaign rally for scab presidential candidate Andrew Pulley was menaced by an SWP goon squad; only the tight organization and restraint of our comrades prevented the pushing and shoving from turning into a violent melee.

So after suffering endless abuse from the SWP, some SL members were sucked into becoming unruly when their comrades were excluded yet again from yet another "public" SWP forum. The SWP was thrilled to seize this excuse to justify the cowardly exclusionism it has been practicing all along. The L.A. SWP's prompt recourse to a special leaflet on the subject of the S.F. meeting is itself a refutation of the leaflet's claim that "similar attacks... have occurred in numerous cities throughout the last year by the Spartacist League." The SWP has screamed "disruption" at such eminently proper Spartacist activities as peaceful picket lines and even the asking of questions the SWP deems inappropriate to the subject. Now at last, like the little boy who cried wolf, the SWP has provoked an incident which it hopes will be the fig leaf covering its years of exclusionism and systematic abuse of Spartacist comrades.

The Spartacist League holds its own truly public public meetings where members and friends of the SWP will of course continue to be welcome. In contrast to the absurd statement in the Los Angeles SWP leaflet that "in order to protect the Militant Forum's policy of allowing all points of view to be heard, the members of the Spartacist League will no longer be welcome at our events," we can promise that orderly discussion procedures will be maintained through appropriate means—and not through blanket exclusion of any tendency in the workers movement, including the SWP. And we continue to view our exclusion from SWP "public" meetings as a chronic and politically cowardly violation of workers democracy. ■

Strike Ma Bell in '80!

Watts Sacrifices CWA for Carter

LOS ANGELES—With a national phone contract coming up August 9, with well over 100,000 telephone workers jobs lost since 1974, with a huge cut in the members' purchasing power over the last year due to runaway inflation—you would think that the Communications Workers of America (CWA) annual convention held here June 16-19 would be devoted to gearing up for a hard fight with Ma Bell. But CWA International president Glenn Watts squandered the opportunity, instead throwing the union's energies and resources into keeping the anti-labor Democrat Jimmy Carter in the White House.

Watts had little time to discuss contract issues, and the closest he came to a "strategy" was to assert that "CWA helped nominate Jimmy Carter. He knows it and he is grateful." Of course, Carter put it differently. As he told the convention in a phone hook-up Monday night: "All of us must sacrifice a little.... This has always been the spirit of the CWA." Sure, the Georgia peanut boss is "grateful" that Watts and the CWA bureaucracy are sacrificing their members' jobs and living standards for the "larger good" of Carter's reelection and phone company profits!

Watts actually spent more convention time attacking the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the leading opposition group in the CWA, than even talking about a strike. The MAC distributed a leaflet at the convention entitled "Break with Carter—For a National Strike in 1980." This sentiment also found its way onto the convention floor in discussion of the official "statement on economic policy." Delegate Cynthia Whetsell of Local 9102 (Seattle) urged the body to vote this down because "inflation is now running at 18 percent and endorsing this economic policy, which is Carter's wage freeze, would mean at least a 9 percent wage cut per year." Whetsell ended by calling for "a large national strike this summer." (Significantly, her remarks were censored out of the official convention proceedings.)

His Master's Voice: Glenn Watts gets his marching orders from the White House.

WV Photo

The CWA tops of course have no intention of embarrassing Carter and will do anything to avoid a phone strike in this election year. Discussion of bargaining issues was restricted to a special "delegates only" session Thursday morning. Watts admitted from the podium that the meeting was closed in order to keep out a particular alternate. This was alternate Jane Margolis, the MAC spokesman and executive board member of San Francisco Local 9410 who was dragged from the CWA convention floor last July by Secret Service goons. Thus, for a *crucial* meeting on the upcoming contract fight, Watts went so far as to exclude *all* the alternates in order to get rid of *one* whose views he did not like. Two of the speakers at this session protested the undemocratic exclusion.

On Wednesday there was a demonstration outside the convention hall by 100-plus operators and traffic division representatives calling attention to the fact that the CWA has proclaimed 1980 "year of the operator." However, the only piece of business at the meeting dealing with the interests of the brutally regimented operators was a resolution for a committee to "study" secret monitoring by the phone company. A call for narrowing the huge wage differential between largely male craft workers and largely female operators never made it to the floor. And in contract bargaining, this year as always no significant demands have been raised for the traffic division. MAC has called for many years for narrowing the wage gap between traffic, clerical and plant—as well as for no layoffs, forced transfers and downgrades, and for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to offset automation.

The biggest fight at the convention was over filling a slot for International executive vice president. Watts' candidate, Dina Beaumont, was roundly defeated by E. M. Nichols, a Houston bureaucrat. The membership had already gotten a bad taste of Beaumont, when as vice president for southern California (District 11) she implemented a recent sellout contract with General Telephone even before the ranks had finished voting on it. This was exposed in a leaflet to the convention by Mike Drake, president of Local 11510 (Anaheim). Unfortunately, Beaumont's opponent is no better. Asked by *WV* whether he has a more militant

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The Detroit News

Secret Service gives big apology

DETROIT (AP)—A union activist who was pulled from the floor of a union convention in Detroit and detained for 30 minutes for allegedly threatening President Carter has received an apology and a $3,500 check from the Secret Service.

Myron I. Weinstein, Secret Service deputy director, confirmed Wednesday that a copy of a letter signed by him and distributed by supporters of the activist, Jane Margolis, is legitimate. The letter, [illegible] accompanied by a copy of a $3,5[illegible]

which Secret Service spokesman [illegible] Warner also confirmed is legitimat[illegible]

MISS MARGOLIS, 32, is a mem[illegible] the executive board of the Comm[illegible]tions Workers of America, Local [illegible] her hometown of San Francis[illegible] hour before Carter was to add[illegible] convention at Detroit's Cobo H[illegible] July 16, she was dragged from [illegible] by a Secret Service agent and [illegible] police after refusing to speak [illegible]

Cobo Hall arrest incident

U.S. apologizes to union leader

By ROBERT E. ROACH
News Staff Writer

A dissident California union leader has won an unprecedented apology and out-of-court settlement from the U.S. Secret Service because an agent dragged her from Detroit's Cobo Hall shortly before an appearance by President Carter last summer.

The union leader, Jane S. Margolis, 33, was a delegate to the national convention of the Communication Workers of America (CWA) which was addressed by Mr. Carter.

Miss Margolis, of San Francisco, was taken from the hall by the agent and a Detroit police officer, handcuffed and held for 40 minutes in the July 16 incident. She later filed false-arrest charges against Detroit police and the Secret Service.

MISS MARGOLIS announced the settlement yesterday. She received $3,500 and a letter in which Deputy Director Myron Weinstein blamed her "obviously regrettable" detention on "a misunderstanding between a Secret Service agent and a Detroit police officer."

In Detroit, Executive Deputy Police Chief James Bannon maintained yesterday that a plainclothes Detroit officer who was photographed hauling Miss Margolis from the floor "was asked by a Secret Service agent to remove her from the building."

Miss Margolis, an employe of Pacific Telephone and leader of a leftist faction within the CWA, named the agency in a $1-million lawsuit filed in November in federal district court in California. "Unknown" Detroit policemen were also cited but the suit was never served, said a Detroit city lawyer.

Weinstein's letter said investigation determined that an agent thought he was assisting a Detroit policeman in making an arrest while the policeman thought "the arrest was being made for a violation of federal law."

A SPOKESMAN at Secret Service headquarters in Washington refused further comment but said the settlement "is the first of its type we're aware of."

Weinstein's letter denied "any political motivation" in the incident. But Miss Margolis, an elected convention delegate and an outspoken critic of the President's labor policies, continues to insist that she was arrested to prevent her from questioning Mr. Carter.

"This is a real victory, not only for myself but for other convention delegates and for the rights of the labor movement to meet and assemble without fear of government intimidation and harassment," said Miss Margolis. She said she will donate the $3,500 to her union's strike fund.

Chicago Tribune

Secret Service apologizes for CWA arrest

A San Francisco union activist who was yanked out of her union's national convention, handcuffed and then detained when President Carter was preparing to speak has won an apology and an award from the Secret Service.

In an unprecedented action, Jane Margolis, a telephone installer, received a written apology and $3,500 from the Secret Service for what now is acknowledged to have been an error.

The incident took place on July 16, 1979, at the Communications Workers of America convention in Detroit. Margolis, a delegate to the convention, was told by police she was being detained because she was considered a threat to the president.

Margolis, a militant activist, contended that the Secret Service knew she wasn't a threat but was anxious to silence her because she had planned to make an anti-Carter statement and to ask a few embarrassing questions during Carter's nationally televised appearance.

After being held for 40 minutes, while agents read through the notes of her statement, Margolis says, she was released.

She returned to the line of questioners and was 16th in line when the president cut off questioning four persons ahead of her.

Following an inquiry by its own office of inspections, the Secret Service now admits that Margolis was on no list of dangerous persons. In a written apology by Deputy Director Myron I. Weinstein, the incident was called "regrettable."

Weinstein said, "The Secret Service's involvement in this misunderstanding, which is obviously regrettable, arose from our agent's confusion over why you were actually being arrested. It was his belief that he was assisting a Detroit police officer in making an arrest.

San Francisco Examiner

"At the same time, the Detroit police officer believed that the arrest was being made for a violation of federal law. In any event, it is now apparent that no arrest should have been made under the circumstances."

Weinstein added that "there is no indication whatsoever that there was any political motivation to these actions."

Margolis, 32, is a shop steward, a member of the executive board of local 9410, the San Francisco local, and a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus, a group dedicated to greater union militancy. After the incident in Detroit, Margolis hired San Francisco attorney Charles Garry and sued the Secret Service for $1 million.

The letter and money are settlement of the suit.

From Los Angeles, where she is attending a less dramatic national convention of the CWA, Margolis said the Secret Service apology and payment "is a terrific victory not only for myself but for the rights of unions to meet and assemble without fear of government intimidation or harassment."

Margolis maintains that the Secret Service is acting like a political arm of the Carter administration by squelching dissent at public gatherings.

"We have never and will never act as a political arm to the president," said special agent Jim Boyle, assigned to the office of public affairs. "Our integrity is such that we wouldn't." He added, "We do not deny the right to demonstrate, or for an individual to speak. As law enforcement officers we support that right."

Boyle said that the Margolis award is "an admission that we were wrong in this allegation."

"As one who has defended many victims of government repression," said attorney Garry, "I see this case as a victory for Jane Margolis, her union and all partisans of constitutional rights."

U.P.I.

PM-MARGOLIS 6-18
SAN FRANCISCO (UPI) -- A UNION LEADER, DRAGGED OFF THE CONVENTION FLOOR JUST BEFORE PRESIDENT CARTER WAS TO ADDRESS HER GROUP'S CONVENTION LAST YEAR IN DETROIT, HAS RECEIVED $3,500 AND A LETTER OF APOLOGY FROM THE SECRET SERVICE.
JANE MARGOLIS, A COMMUNICATIONS WORKER OF AMERICA OFFICER, AND ATTORNEY CHARLES GARRY SAID TUESDAY THE MONEY AND THE LETTER SETT[illegible] HER SUIT AGAINST THE SECRET SERVICE. THEY PRODUCED A COPY OF THE LETTER TO HER, WHICH TERMED HER ARREST "REGRETTABLE."
"THIS IS A WONDERFUL VICTORY, NOT ONLY FOR FREE SPEECH, BUT FOR THE VITAL RIGHT OF LABOR TO ASSEMBLE WITHOUT FEAR OF GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE OF INTIMIDATION. WE STOOD UP TO THE GOVERNMENT, AND W[illegible] WON," SHE SAID.
MS. MARGOLIS, 32, SAN FRANCISCO, ASSERTED THAT SHE WAS HELD BY THE SECRET SERVICE ON JULY 16, 1979, BECAUSE SHE WAS PLANNING TO ASK PRESIDENT CARTER A HOSTILE QUESTION. BUT THE SECRE[illegible] ITS LETTER OF APOLOGY THAT [illegible] WAS ASSISTING A DETROIT POLICE OFFICER IN MAKING A[illegible] SAME TIME, THE DETROIT POLICE OFFICER BELIEVED THA[illegible] BEING MADE FOR VIOLATION OF FEDERAL LAW.
"IN ANY EVENT, IT IS NOW APPARENT THAT NO ARRES[illegible] MADE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES."
MS. MARGOLIS, EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER OF CWA LOC[illegible] WAS SURROUNDED BY ABOUT A HALF-DOZEN SECRET SERVI[illegible] THE FLOOR OF COBO HALL AND HANDCUFFED IN A BRIEF A[illegible] SHE WAS BEING HELD FOR THREATENING CARTER'S LIFE, [illegible] MINUTES LATER.
MS. MARGOLIS SAID SHE WOULD DONATE "THE MONEY T[illegible]
UPI 06-18 12 40 AED

Secret Service grants $3,500 to union leader

By Lorna Isaacs
Tribune Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO. The U.S. Secret Service has apologized and [illegible] to Jane Margolis [illegible] company employee in Chicago who was detained by agents last [illegible] during a labor convention [illegible] in Detroit.

Agents said the detention [illegible] tion up. However, [illegible] San Francisco attorney Charles Garry, if Margolis' attorney, called by the union, [illegible]

a speaker at the convention. She was going to call Carter an enemy of the working class," said Garry. "Of course it was an act of intimidation. They (the Secret Service) didn't want her to tell Carter what was on her mind.

Margolis, executive board member of union Local 9410, claimed in a suit against the government that she was handcuffed, escorted off the convention floor and questioned by the FBI and Detroit police offi[illegible]

[illegible] Attorney's office de[illegible] of politics was involved [illegible] letter to Margolis, dated [illegible] Secret Service Deputy [illegible] Myron I. Weinstein [illegible] incident regrettable.

Oakland Tribune

Interview with Jane Margolis:

"A Terrific Victory for the Rights of Labor"

We print below a WV interview with Jane Margolis, a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in the Communications Workers of America, a steward and a member of the Executive Board of CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco. Last July, as an elected delegate from her local, Margolis was dragged off the floor of the union's national convention in Detroit by the U.S. Secret Service shortly before Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak. Following a storm of protest and a legal court suit by Margolis, on June 6 the Secret Service was forced to issue a formal apology and award a $3,500 cash settlement for this "regrettable" violation of her rights.

WV: Jane, could you tell us something about the settlement of your suit against the Secret Service?

Margolis: It was a terrific victory for the rights of labor—for the right of unions to assemble and meet without fear of government intimidation, harassment and intervention. And also for the rights of oppositionists within the labor movement to be able to speak out and oppose the policies of the government.

They had accused me of being a threat to the life of the president, a charge that could put you in jail for the rest of your life. It also was an attempt to discredit me as a unionist. But it was ludicrous to begin with. Never did the Secret Service search me. All they did was take my notebook which had my prepared question for Jimmy Carter in it.

Just to give you an idea of how absurd it was, only a few months after the incident at the CWA convention, while the Secret Service said the case was still being investigated, who do you think put in Vice President Walter Mondale's phones in his presidential suite at the Hilton Hotel while he visited San Francisco? Me! And not a word of opposition from the Secret Service. Because they were only interested in *silencing my political views.*

I want to tell you, this case was supported by representatives of over 100 individual unions, and many officers and members of the CWA. And since the rights of the entire union—all delegates and the members who elected them to last year's convention—were attacked, I am turning the entire check from the Secret Service over to the CWA and earmarked for the Defense Fund.

WV: Could you tell us how you went about fighting this attack?

Margolis: Our key to winning this case was mobilizing active support and publicity in the labor movement. Many outraged union members sent telegrams and made phone calls to the White House. Apparently there was a press secretary there who was handling the "Margolis case" calls. After getting a good lawyer, Charles Garry, and filing the lawsuit in November, within our union we formed the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) which did the publicity and fundraising for the case. Within a couple of months we raised over $14,000 and gathered a wide number of union endorsers.

WV Photo

Attorney Charles Garry, MAC militants Jane Margolis and Gary Adkins announce victory to press June 17.

We discovered wide receptivity about the case because many unionists have also been victims of government harassment and they were excited seeing someone fighting back. The International Association of Machinists, in particular, had also been victims of the Secret Service, acting as political agents of Carter. At an IAM demonstration against Carter and his energy policy last summer, the Secret Service had threatened to take away the union photographer's camera and film. And the Secret Service says their sole function is to protect the life of the president!

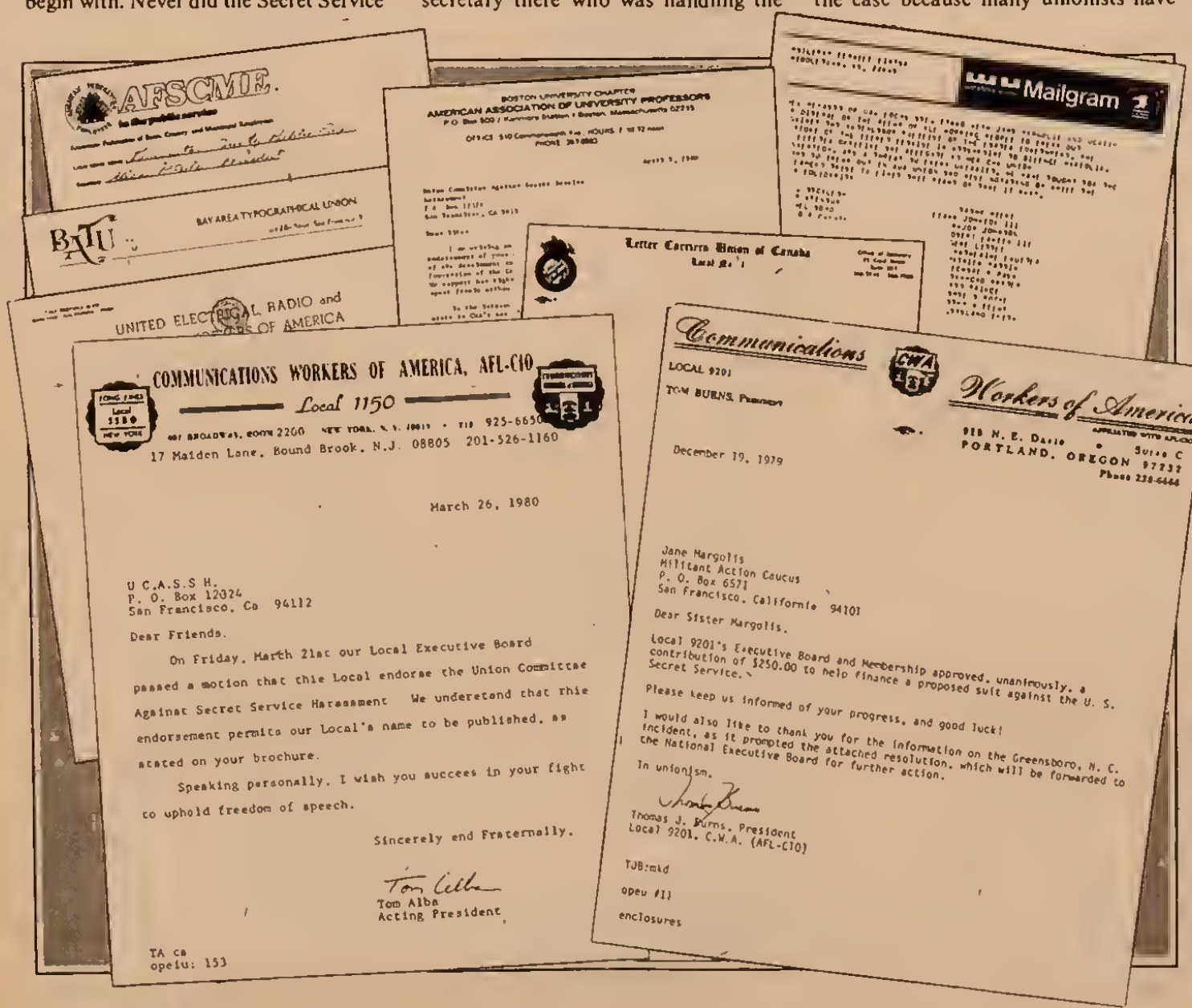
WV: Could you tell us how you see the significance of the suit that you brought against the government?

Margolis: Every day this strikebreaking government intervenes on behalf of an employer against a union. But union-busting comes in all different kinds of packages. In my case the government directly stepped into a union convention to manipulate and control the political climate, to silence a critic of Jimmy Carter and intimidate any other potential critics. A lot of people don't understand the nature of the government. They want to appeal to the pro-business courts to help them in union elections, and so on. Well, this is what you get. My case was supported by such a wide range of unionists and persons interested in civil liberties because they understood the significance: if we did not win, their convention and union could be next.

WV: What kind of support did you get from outside the unions?

Margolis: Some very prominent individuals who are concerned about civil liberties endorsed the case: Daniel Berrigan, who was active in the antiwar movement; Noam Chomsky. I was very excited when Crystal Lee Sutton, the real Norma Rae, endorsed my lawsuit when I was attending a benefit on her behalf in Los Angeles. Also, individuals that were victims of government repression in the '50s, two members of the Hollywood Ten, Alvah Bessie and Lester Cole, endorsed, as did a number of legal organizations, including the

continued on page 7



AFSCME

BAY AREA TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

UNITED ELECTRICAL RADIO and MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

BOSTON UNIVERSITY CHAPTER
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS

Mailgram

Letter Carriers Union of Canada

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
Local 1150
17 Maiden Lane, Bound Brook, N.J. 08805 201-526-1160

March 26, 1980

U.C.A.S.S.H.
P. O. Box 12024
San Francisco, Ca 94112

Dear Friends,

On Friday, March 21st our Local Executive Board passed a motion that this Local endorse the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment. We understand that this endorsement permits our Local's name to be published, as stated on your brochure.

Speaking personally, I wish you success in your fight to uphold freedom of speech.

Sincerely and Fraternally,

Tom Alba
Tom Alba
Acting President

TA ca
opeiu: 153

Communications Workers of America
LOCAL 9201
TOM BURNS, President
918 N.E. Davis, Suite C
PORTLAND, OREGON 97232

December 19, 1979

Jane Margolis
Militant Action Caucus
P. O. Box 6571
San Francisco, California 94101

Dear Sister Margolis,

Local 9201's Executive Board and Membership approved, unanimously, a contribution of $250.00 to help finance a proposed suit against the U. S. Secret Service.

Please keep us informed of your progress, and good luck!

I would also like to thank you for the information on the Greensboro, N. C. incident, as it prompted the attached resolution, which will be forwarded to the National Executive Board for further action.

In unionism,

Thomas J. Burns, President
Local 9201, C.W.A. (AFL-CIO)

TJB:mld
opeu #11
enclosures

NEWLY RELEASED PHOTOS: When the Secret Service seized Jane Margolis.

Outrage...

(continued from page 12)

The reason: Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak that afternoon. A well-known labor oppositionist, Margolis had been elected to convention delegate on the platform, "Not a dime, not a vote to the strikebreaking Democrats and Republicans." Carter's agents wanted to make sure the voice of militant unionism would not be heard.

When Margolis was dragged off the floor, CWA president Glenn Watts told tha delegates to pay no attention to the disruption. The floor mikes were turned off so no one could protest. Out of view of the delegates, Margolis was manhandled, interrogated, threatened with being held incommunicado for days on the basis of "reports" from unidentified "sources" for suspicion of "threatening the life of the president." She was deprived of legal counsel, which she repeatedly requested. White House officials first denied that anyone had been seized. But they changed their story.

Margolis...

(continued from page 12)

rights, for the rights of labor, and she won.

"We Demand an Apology"

From free speech to the right to strike, it takes a hard fight to defend democratic freedoms from the ruling class. And unlike any other civil liberties case in recent memory, this victory was won by a union-based campaign from start to finish. Immediately after the Secret Service assault, 700 workers from Margolis' San Francisco local petitioned the White House:

> "We the undersigned strongly protest the forcible removal of our delegate Jane Margolis from the convention floor... preventing her from making critical remarks about Carter's anti-labor policies. This was in clear violation of her democratic rights as a duly elected delegate. We from CWA Local 9410 demand an apology from the White House to delegate Margolis and the union as a whole."

Represented by noted attorney Charles Garry, Jane Margolis sued the Secret Service for invasion of privacy, assault and battery, false arrest and violation of her constitutional rights. Outraged unionists formed UCASSH and began to pound the government stonewalling, gathering support for their case from coast to coast. Forty-nine CWA stewards endorsed the case, along with Locals 9201 (Portland, Oregon) and 1150 (Northeast Long Lines). Hundreds of endorsements were generated from local unions, well-known civil libertarians, other frame-up victims.

Socialists joined the fight early on. James Robertson, national chairman of the Spartacist League (SL) and a close personal friend of Margolis, immediately phoned the White House to demand that Jane be released and an official apology made. Told by a White House staffer, you can't talk to me like that or I'll hang up, Robertson told him to stop stonewalling and reminded him of what happened to Richard Nixon. SL supporters and friends played an energetic role in backing UCASSH, particularly in fundraising, and a staff counsel of the Partisan Defense Committee joined the legal team headed by Garry to fight the case in the courts.

But the case encountered one obstacle—many CWA bureaucrats from International president Glenn Watts to leaders of Margolis' own local stood passively on the sidelines or actively tried to sabotage this defense of their union's independence from government control. For Watts & Co. are so tied to Carter that they are blinded to the threat to the whole union posed by the invasion of the CWA convention and seizure of Jane Margolis.

A "Regrettable Misunderstanding"?

Seldom do the government's snoops say they're sorry. The Secret Service was forced to issue a formal apology and award a cash settlement to Jane Margolis not least because it didn't have a leg to stand on legally. At first it denied any arrest had been made, and the official letter from Secret Service Deputy Director Myron Weinstein refers to "alleged false arrest." But then it tries to explain the "regrettable misunderstanding" as a comedy of errors resulting from "our agent's confusion over why you were actually being arrested." Never mind, says the letter, "it is now apparent that no arrest should have been made under the circumstances." So the government now admits Jane *was* arrested even though she had "not violated any law."

Why was Jane Margolis hustled off the floor of her own union convention?

Endorsers of the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment

Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 1414C, Hayward, Calif.
Gary Adkins, Executive Board, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles
AFSCME Local 1695, University of California, Berkeley
AFSCME Local 2652, Livingston County Public Employees
Tom Alba, Executive Board, CWA Local 1150, New York
Christopher Alston, pioneer member UAW; former President, Local 429, UAW
American Association of University Professors, Boston Chapter
American Postal Workers Union, San Francisco
American Postal Workers Union, Oakland
Dore Ashton, Author
Edward L. Baldwin, Jr., CWA Local 9413, 2nd Vice President
Gilbert Basaldua, President, CWA Local 9425
Erwin Bauer, former President UAW Local 306, Detroit, Mi.
Blanche Bebb, Executive Board member, Hospital & Institutional Workers Union, Local 250
John Beecher, School of Humanities, San Francisco State University
Ulrich Beher, OTV, Public Employees & Transportation Union, University of Frankfurt
Daniel Barrigan
Alvah Bessie, Hollywood Ten
Bob Blauner, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley; member AFT Local 1474
Robert Bly, poet
M. Burawoy, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley
Tom Burns, President CWA Local 9201, Portland, Oregon
Bob Carson, member Waterfront Writers
Noam Chomsky
Marge Clouser, Executive Board member, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco
Richard R. Cobb, OCAW Local 4-227, Chairman ARCO Pipeline Group
Lester Cole, Hollywood Ten
CWA Local 1150, Long Lines Local, New York City
CWA Local 5011, Lockport, Illinois
CWA Local 9201, Portland, Oregon
Paul Copeland, Law Union of Ontario
Vern Countryman, Harvard Law School
Angela Davis, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression
Ross Dowson, Forward Group, Canada
Dagobert Diemann, Shop Steward, OTV, Public Employees and Transportation Union, University of Frankfurt
Frank Donnar, Attorney
Dianna Doughtie, Business Agent, AFSCME Local 2700; member Contra Costa Central Labor Council
Executive Board of the University of Detroit Professors Union, Detroit, Michigan
Glen Fields, OCAW Local 4-227 Workmen's Committee, Houston
Jerry Foster, Executive Board member, Local 4-227 OCAW, ARCO Group Workmen's Committee, Houston
Bill Franz, Vice President, CWA Local 2011, Clerksburg, W. Va.
Richard Fraser, New American Movement
Barbara Garson, Author
Gay Activists Alliance, New York
Tom Gentry, Executive Board member, District 4 Delegate, OCAW Local 4-227, Houston
Earl Gilman, Executive Board, San Francisco Chapter, SEIU Local 535; member San Francisco Central Labor Council
William Goodman, Attorney, Detroit, Michigan
Jim Grant, Farmworkers Legal Services; recently released defendant, Charlotte 3
Hazen Griffin, President, SEIU Local 372, Chicago
Fernando R. Guerraro, Board of Governors, OCAW Local 1-1978
John Gurley, Economics Department, Stanford University
Bill Hampton, December 4th Committee; Hampton/Clark lawsuit
Paul Harris, President, National Lawyers Guild
Nat Hentoff, Author
David Harrasholf, Professor, Wayne State University
David Hilliard, SEIU Local 411; former Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party
Jerome L. Himmelstein, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley
Hospital and Institutional Workers Union Local 250, San Francisco
Industrial Workers of the World
IBT, Chauffers Local 265, San Francisco
IBT, Local 312, Martinez, CA
Abdeen Jabarra, Attorney
G.T. (Jake) Jacobs, Secretary-Treasurer, OCAW Local 1-5
Paul Jarrico, Producer, "Salt of the Earth"
Randall Johnese, Field Representative, SEIU Local 535; member, Alameda Central Labor Council
Sanford Katz, Attorney
Ted Keller, International Relations, San Francisco State University
John L. Kelley, Math Department, U.C. Berkeley; Executive Board AFT Local 1474
William Kunstler, Attorney
Frank Lazaro, Executive Council AFT Local 3157, San Diego
League for a Revolutionary Party
Gerald Lalcourt, Attorney
Sidney Lens, Author
Debby Leonard, OCAW Local 4-227, ARCO Group Organizing Committee
Letter Carriers Union of Canada, Local 1
Harry M. Levin, Professor, School of Education, Stanford University
Walter Lippmann, Chairperson, Human Rights Committee, SEIU Local 535
Gretchen Mackler, President, AFT Local 1528
Jeffrey Mackler, Board of Directors, Hayward Unified Teachers Association/Calif. Teachers Association/National Education Association
Shirley Magidson, ACLU, SCLC, Vietnam-U.S. Friendship Association
Maintenance and Construction Unit of UAW Local 600, Detroit, Michigan
Joan Marcus
Ben Margolis, Attorney; New American Movement
Hilding Martinson, Business Agent, U.E. Local 1412
Dr. Henry E. McGucken, Speech Department, San Francisco State University
Patsy McMichael, OCAW 4-227, Workmen's Committee ARCO Group
Michael Meeropol, Fund for Open Information and Accountability; elder son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
Robert Meeropol, *Socialist Review*; younger son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
Militant Action Caucus, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles
Militant Action Caucus, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco
Militant-Solidarity Caucus, UAW Local 906, New Jersey
Kate Millett, Author
Lynne Morel, Steward, Chevron Negotiating Committee, OCAW Local 1-5
Howard Myron, Chief Steward, Long Lines Division, Local 9415, Oakland
Charles D. Najbergier, Executive Board, SEIU Local 535
National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 228, Pasadena
National Lawyers Guild
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Local 8-149, Albertson, New York
Partisan Defense Committee
Dorothy Perry, Executive Board, UAW Local 203, Detroit
Revolutionary Communist League-Internationalist
James Robertson, National Chairman, Spartacist League/U.S.
Mike Rotkin, Santa Cruz City Council; NAM; AFSCME
Richard Rubenstein, Antioch Law School, Washington, D.C.
San Francisco Progress Newspaper Chapel, International Typographical Union
Bernard Sapiro, President, District Council #2, Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union, Los Angeles
John H. Schaar, University of California, Santa Cruz
Henry Schmidt, Retired International Vice President, ILWU; leader of 1934 San Francisco General Strike; defendant in Bridges/Robertson/Schmidt lawsuit
Paul Schrade, UAW Local 887 Los Angeles, Chairman ACLU Worker's Rights Committee
Charles Schwartz, Professor of Physics, U.C. Berkeley
Peter Dale Scott, English Department, U.C. Berkeley; AFT Local 1474
SEIU Local 372, Chicago
SEIU Local 535 State Executive Board
Marianne Silva, CWA Local 9421, Executive Vice President
Dan Smith
John Snow, Bargaining Committeeman, UAW Local 600
State Council of the United Professors of California (AFT/AFL-CIO)
Crystal Lee Sutton, ACTWU; (the real "Norma Rae")
Ron Teninty, Business Agent, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 315
Twin Cities Federation of Labor of Champaign County, Ill. (AFL-CIO)
Sylvia Tennenbaum, Author, Freedom to Write Committee
Typographical Union No. 21, San Francisco
United Electrical Workers, Local 1412
United Stanford Employees, Local 680
United Transportation Union Local 1081, Phoenix, Ariz.
Doron Weinberg, Attorney, San Francisco
Leonard Weinglass, Attorney
Cynthia Whitsell, 1977 and 1979 Delegate to CWA National Convention, Local 9102, Seattle
Jewell White, President CWA Local 5011, Lockport, Ill.
Robert F. Williams, Author, *Negroes With Guns*
Women Back Into Steico Committee, Ontario, Canada
Bruce Wright, Statewide Executive Board, United Professors of California; member AFT Local 1588, Los Angeles
Sol Yurick, Author
Howard Zinn, American Association of University Professors, Boston University Chapter
John Zupan, former President AFSCME Local 1497

In addition CWA Stewards in the following Locals endorsed as individuals
Local 9410, San Francisco: 31
Local 9415, Oakland: 3
Local 11502, Los Angeles: 11
Local 11513, Los Angeles: 1
Local 1150, New York City: 1
Local 4015, Plymouth, Michigan: 1
Local 9102, Seattle, Washington: 1

Organizations listed after individuals are for identification purposes only.

Photos by Jon P. Fishback

Because she was "a threat to the life of the president"? Then why wasn't she searched, not even her handbag? And as Margolis noted in her statement for the June 17 press conference, "No wonder they settled. They would have looked pretty funny when the fact they allowed me to install [Vice President] Mondale's phones in his hotel suite came out in court!" Was it really only a "regrettable misunderstanding"? Then why was Jane held incommunicado until a CBS newsman accidentally entered the room where she was being held and demanded to know why she was being detained? Even after she was released, Secret Service agents continued to hound Margolis for the rest of the convention, even following her to the bathroom.

The government of course denies "any political motivation" to the seizure of Jane Margolis on the floor of the CWA convention. But why was she singled out from among the more than 2,900 unionists present? Clearly because she was a leading oppositionist who had spoken as a delegate at the CWA's 1978 convention against union support for "strikebreakers, anti-labor politicians, Jimmy Carter who brought the Taft-Hartley against the miners strike...." It was the idea that militant labor opposition to the Democratic Party might be voiced that panicked the president's private political police. That is why they seized Jane Margolis' *notebook*, and why the "question and answer" session following Carter's speech was abruptly cut off before she could speak. Margolis was politically gagged.

"Whose Union Is This, Anyway?

The legal complaint filed by her attorneys began, "This is no ordinary lawsuit." Unlike many would-be oppositionists who routinely drag the unions into the bosses' courts, Margolis asserted labor's right to decide its course free from government interference. And the suit pointed out how this fight goes a long way back, citing the important Minneapolis Teamster trial of 1941 as an example of how the capitalist state witchhunts militant unionists and socialists like Jane Margolis. The preface to the legal complaint concluded:

> "Thus the case of Jane Margolis versus the Secret Service challenges *in principle* the government's interference with, and attempt to politically control, the trade union movement."

The familiar government "dirty tricks" are apparent in this case: anonymous G-men seek to discredit a militant leader in the eyes of fellow unionists, trying in a dramatic incident to make her appear as a dangerous criminal. By this outrage the Secret Service tried to block Margolis from carrying out her mandate at the 1979 CWA convention, chilled free discussion by other delegates as well, may have intimidated phone workers from supporting her for fear of reprisal and forced Jane to spend the last year fighting to clear her name of this slanderous charge. One of the crimes is that it took this much effort, thousands of hours of volunteer work and hundreds of small contributions, for working people to get even partial justice. And that doesn't even begin to compensate for the discriminatory nature of capitalist class justice in America, where corporations and the government can hire batteries of lawyers, making this victory all the more remarkable.

The Secret Service's formal apology and cash settlement demonstrates that Jane Margolis was a victim of official persecution reminiscent of Nixon's COINTELPRO. This was a victory for Margolis and her UCASSH supporters, for the CWA, the entire labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights. Of course, it is only one step. The same letter of apology vows that the political police will do it again and again ("the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur"), all in the name of protecting the imperial president. But Margolis' victory will give pause to the secret police witchhunters before they try such a stunt again. Finally it will not be mainly through legal suits but on the picket lines and in the class struggle that this fight must be won. The only real protection the working class has against victimization by the capitalist state is a militant, vigilant labor movement politically mobilized against the big business politicians and government.

Of course, there were those who said it couldn't be done, shouldn't be done. As always there were many who counseled reliance on the Democrats and other phony "friends of labor." Others just "knew" you can't fight city hall. They must be scratching their heads in amazement now, for Jane Margolis, UCASSH, MAC and their supporters fought the White House ...*and won*. That counts for a lot in a union that has been pushed around for decades by the hated phone monopoly: here is a program that can put the CWA on its feet.

To Jane, to the phone workers who threw their full strength and thousands of valuable hours into the cause, to the hundreds of trade unionists and socialists who supported them, to the contributors who donated thousands of dollars to back these fighters against the government, CONGRATULATIONS ON A VICTORY WELL WON! ■

Margolis Interview...

(continued from page 5)

National Lawyers Guild. The American Civil Liberties Union in southern California voted to file a "friend of the court" brief in my behalf.

WV: What about the left?

Margolis: From the very start, a few hours after the incident, when a good friend of mine, James Robertson, the national chairman of the Spartacist League, called up the White House demanding my release, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee did everything to push this case to a victorious conclusion. Fund-raising, mailings, speaking engagements, you name it. They took an active stand against union-busting. But I can't say the same for the rest of the left. Most were noticeably silent. If it was left to the Communist Party and *People's World*, you would never have known that Jimmy Carter was using the Secret Service to silence political oppositionists in the trade unions. The Socialist Workers Party also was silent on the issue, but very active in physically excluding me from one of their public forums when I wanted to make a three-minute announcement building for the April 19 rally against the Nazis in San Francisco.

WV: In addition to being an elected official of the CWA, you are also a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA. Would you tell us what the MAC is fighting for at this convention?

Margolis: Our union is facing a tremendous battle against Ma Bell as our contract expires in August. And the company has already begun gearing up. In San Francisco, numerous union reps have been fired in blatant frame-ups. And since November, when I filed my lawsuit against the Secret Service, PT&T has been trying to fire me. The Militant Action Caucus is calling for a national strike against Ma Bell to protect jobs. A shorter workweek with no loss in pay, an unlimited cost-of-living escalator, an end to job pressures should all be the primary focus on the agenda of this convention. Instead, Watts will try to turn this convention into a rally for Jimmy Carter. With phone workers in every city in this country, with phone service being essential for big business, we have tremendous potential power as a union. But our union leaders never use it. Instead they tell us to rely on the Democratic Party.

Carter, Kennedy or Reagan—they're all a disaster for working people. All three are defending the interests of big business, attempting to get us into a war against the Soviet Union and cutting social services, telling unions that we're the problem while our members lose jobs, minority unemployment rises to 14 percent and the climate is created that brings out the KKK and the Nazis. That's why we in the Militant Action Caucus for the last nine years have been calling for a workers party. There is a solution to the anarchy of plants closing, of people being put out of work. We need a workers party that will fight for a workers government, will expropriate industry, establishing an economy that is run for social need, not profit.

WV: Anything else you'd like to say?

Margolis: I want to thank everyone who supported this case. We in the Militant Action Caucus are fighting to win. When the Secret Service grabbed me off the floor, they didn't realize that they had laid their hands on someone who will not let her rights be violated without a fight. I do believe that you can "win against city hall"—if you are willing to stake a stand, organize the labor movement, and know who your friends are. *My* friends are other unionists, persons truly concerned about democratic rights and socialists. If I had relied on "my" senators and assemblymen and a "more Democratic Congress," as the labor bureaucracy is always telling us to do, I never would have received a letter of apology and the CWA Defense Fund would never have seen the $3,500. And if we can win against the government, we can win against Ma Bell! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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New York, NY 10116

Stalinists Call the Sheriff

TUAD: No Action, No Democracy

Participants at the Second National Conference of Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) held June 20-22 in Gary, Indiana were greeted by armed sheriff's deputies who searched their bags and confiscated "unapproved" literature. A government crackdown on TUAD's Communist Party backers? On the contrary, this one was ordered by the Stalinists themselves. There was Fred Gaboury, editor of TUAD's paper *Labor Today*, standing by the cops ordering bewildered and angry workers to turn over their literature to the police as they entered the conference.

The use of strikebreaking cops was no accident, but part of an effort to make sure no militant alternative could be raised to TUAD's reformist program. The deputies and TUAD goons moved to prevent distribution by a number of labor and socialist groups, including auto workers of the Rouge Militant Caucus, who were instrumental in building a successful labor/black rally against the KKK in Detroit last November. They even stopped an NMU seaman who sought to hand out a resolution opposing the reactionary trade boycott of the Soviet Union initiated by anti-Communist AFL-CIO leaders.

In particular, the TUAD hacks were determined to prevent steel worker militants from raising a resolution endorsing the Keith Anwar picket line defense case (see below). Although TUAD's "Bill of Rights for Union Members" includes the demand that "all union members shall have the right to respect the picket lines of other workers," the Stalinists wanted nothing to do with this case. Two of the invited guests at the conference were Jim Balanoff, director of District 31 of the USWA, and Bill Andrews, his successor as president of Steelworkers Local 1010 (which is also Anwar's local). Both Balanoff and Andrews are trying to wash their hands of this case, a militant defense of the right to strike, and naturally TUAD didn't want to embarrass its guests. (TUAD supporters in the USWA have also refused to endorse a recent Anwar defense resolution.)

Stalinist goons call on cops to censor union militants.

WV Photo

When a member of the Keith Anwar Defense Committee tried to distribute inside the conference building a motion that had been *officially endorsed* by USWA Locals 1010 and 65, Dave Woods, a grievance man at Local 65, led a gang of Stalinist thugs who attempted to rip the leaflets out of her hands. This was too much for some trade unionists from Clinton, Iowa who had been invited as guest speakers. These militants, members of the Grain Millers union, had just lost a bitter eleven-month strike against the Clinton Corn Company. Their union had been busted and decertified as a result of organized scabherding. The Clinton strikers had also defended CP vice presidential candidate Angela Davis against right-wing thugs when she came to town to address the union. But when they saw TUAD goons attempting to censor a resolution endorsing defense of picket lines, they packed their bags and left in disgust.

The conference was attended by at best only half the number of unionists who turned out for the first, and only previous, TUAD conference ten years ago. A few gutless resolutions were passed appealing to the bosses' state to ban the Klan and limit the right of companies to close down plants. Of course, the keynote speaker was Gary's Democratic Party mayor, Richard Hatcher. And while TUAD leaders were using deputies to seize "unauthorized" literature, the same Lake County Sheriff's Department was busy elsewhere breaking the strikes of iron workers, brewery drivers and the steel workers employed by the Northern Indiana Public Service Company!

For a number of participants, the TUAD conference was an eye-opener. Some undoubtedly left disillusioned and disgusted with what they understood as communism. But for at least some others, it was the first time they had come into contact with genuine class-struggle unionists, the ones who respect picket lines and defend workers democracy against Stalinist/bureaucratic suppression. They met *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the Spartacist League which backs these militants and fights for a revolutionary leadership in the workers movement. As for TUAD, a union militant could only conclude that it meant: no action, no democracy, no thanks. ■

USWA Must Act to Defend Keith Anwar!

Members of the Chicago-Gary District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) are demanding that union leaders take action to reinstate Keith Anwar and to defend the right of all union members to honor picket lines. On June 19 a resolution mandating the district leadership to immediately bring the Anwar case to arbitration passed in Anwar's Local 1010 at Inland Steel, and a similar motion passed in Local 65, U.S. Steel Southworks, on June 11. Numerous union officers have individually endorsed the resolution, many of them delegates to next weekend's District 31 conference, where the Keith Anwar Defense Committee intends to wage a fight over this crucial issue.

Keith Anwar was fired from Inland Steel on May 18 of last year for refusing to cross the picket line of another USWA local at the plant. Since then over 1,500 steel workers have signed petitions, and more than 2,000 hard-earned dollars have been donated to Anwar's fight to win his job back. Last year's district conference unanimously passed a resolution pledging "all available resources" to Keith's case, but for the last seven months his grievance has been in limbo. Meanwhile, district leaders Jim Balanoff and Ed Sadlowski and International president Lloyd McBride have cynically blamed each other for refusing to further the case. It is now 13 months since Anwar was fired, and still the union has not even completed the grievance procedure!

But the resolutions passed at Inland and Southworks make it clear that the membership is fed up with this stalling. Particularly significant was the victory for the motion in Local 1010, home local of District 31 director Balanoff. Balanoff has been doing his best to derail support for the case and delegates from Local 65 say that when they went to him to discuss the Anwar grievance, he told them "not to touch it." The Local 1010 leadership is overwhelmingly dominated by the Rank and File Caucus (RFC), whose former head was Balanoff himself. A number of Local 1010 leaders were reluctant to confront Balanoff by supporting a resolution that squarely placed the responsibility for getting the case moving on the district director.

The Anwar defense resolution was hotly debated at the June 19 Inland meeting with almost 45 minutes given over to discussion and several speakers taking part on each side. One union leader reportedly said that he had been on every picket line set up at Inland and that he had never seen a young man as serious about the union as Keith. Another commented that the Anwar case was not "merely another grievance...it's not just Keith, it's the union." The support for Anwar has cut across the normal bureaucratic squabbling in the USWA. At Inland the case has been endorsed by such RFC members as vice president Cliff "Cowboy" Mezo and Joe Gyurko, chairman of the grievance committee, as well as by members of the United Concerned Steel Laborers Caucus. So it was a big victory when the Anwar defense was backed by Balanoff's home local and by leading members of his own caucus.

Additional key endorsements have recently been received from David Wilborn, president of Local 6787 at Bethlehem's Burns Harbor Works, and Jerry Wilson, president of Local 8180, whose picket lines Keith Anwar refused to cross. At U.S. Steel's Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana, 100 members in the coke department signed petitions endorsing Bob Lotz for delegate to the conference so that he could bring up the Anwar defense motion on the floor. Lotz, a member of the Keith Anwar Defense Committee, who was subsequently made a delegate, pointed out in a statement issued to his department, "I believe the importance of this case should unite all elements of our union to defend the union picket line against the companies. Factional electioneering must not lose the Anwar case!"

The June 27-28 District 31 conference must take a stand. Reinstate Keith Anwar!

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee needs your help. Contributions may be sent to: Keith Anwar Defense Committee P.O. Box 7914 Chicago, Illinois 60680.

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Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Guardian...

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contrary, the state cannot and will not effect a ban on fascists.

But we do not just say that such calls for bans are reformist, as Hill reports of us in his article. We say they are lethal. In West Berlin the Senate used the murder by Turkish fascists of a trade-union leader as an opportunity to demand that all Turkish "extremist" organizations submit their membership lists to the city authorities. Naturally this will hit primarily at the *left* Turkish organizations. This is the consequence of relying on bourgeois-democratic "justice."

At the congress comrades of the TLD exposed the impotence of these strategies and pointed to the necessity of mobilizing the real power of the organized working class to eradicate the fascist scum when and where they raise their heads. Hill blusters about the disruption which our intervention brought in the attempts of the KB and SAG & Co. to work out a reformist program around appeals for bans of fascists. His problem is that none of these frauds could answer the political challenge of the Trotskyists!

We point with pride to the examples of successful actions against the fascists shown in the work of our American comrades in the Spartacist League. 1,200 trade-union militants, blacks, homosexuals, Jews, Chicanos on the streets to make sure that the Nazis couldn't celebrate the birthday of Hitler in San Francisco! For labor/black self-defense guards against fascist provocations! When Hill calls such actions "ultra-left" and "criminal," as he did at the Antifascist Congress, he is only betraying his own gutless opportunism and cynicism. Unlike Hill and the KB we do not attempt to present an *Ersatz* for a proletarian perspective—which could only distract militants from the necessity of a working-class struggle to smash the fascists.

A final word about the Antifascist Congress—it was a flop. They had planned it for 1,000 participants, but the fans didn't show. After all—at this gig there was no music!

Catherine Thomas
for the TLD

Japan...

(continued from page 2)

system are the powerful economy and LDP rule. At the turn of the century the Japanese had a dual slogan to keep Japan out of the clutches of the Western colonialists: "rich nation/strong army." In the post-World War II period they decided to go for the rich nation and use America's strong army. The economic recovery in post-war Japan was made possible by U.S. domination of world capitalism. The U.S. occupying forces helped bring into existence not only the LDP and Japan's constitutional regime but also the extra-parliamentary ruling bodies of Japanese capitalism. The great holding companies of the pre-war years, known as "zaibatsu," were disassembled, the senior members of these holding companies put out to pasture, and the junior members were invited to submit proposals for the restructuring of the economy in a "democratic" free enterprise framework.

Key to this misnamed "anti-monopoly" system was a network of ruling-class executive committees such as the Employers' Association of Japan (Nikkeiren), the Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren) and the Japan Federation of Commerce and Industry (Nissho), which through their close association with the Ministry of International Trade and Industry form the heart of what is known as "Japan Inc." This apparatus is only conditionally dependent on its beneficiaries in the LDP. The Keidanren was threatening to withhold funds if the LDP factions split. Now Keidanren's new leader has stated that he is prepared to see the LDP bypassed by a coalition government.

Brought Down by Inflation

The striking hypocrisy of the coalition parties is that they don't even claim they will change any of the substance of the so-called "1955 system." The main motivation of the JSP's no-confidence motion was uncontrolled inflation. Evidently these phony socialists feel they've done their part in fighting inflation by holding down wages and by easing up on the right-to-strike issue. In order to appease its coalition partners, the JSP has back-pedaled so far that it can scarcely bring up the defense spending issue as a cause for high taxes and inflation.

The Rengo Seiken coalition is an anti-Communist alliance with the right-wing social democrats of the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) and the buddhist Komeito. As an editorial writer for *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* (20 May) put it, "The JSP having made a stand against the JCP must either make a decisive turn in policies for this election or face the consequences of isolation. The JSP is being pressed by the Komeito to change and at the same time is under great pressure from its supporting groups"—the latter being the anti-Communist leaders of the Sohyo.

It is the CP, since it was rejected by the Social Democrats of the JSP, that is suffering isolation. The CP is essentially a Eurocommunist type of party. It has not openly embraced the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty as the Eurocommunists have embraced NATO. But the Communist Party's nationalism is manifest in its demand for the return of the strategically important Kuril Islands: "...the seizure of the Kuril Islands was the result of Stalin's great power mistakes and we have strongly emphasized this to the USSR" (*Akahata* special supplement, 19 May). In fact, at the end of the war the CP hailed MacArthur's occupying forces as liberators.

The JCP's unique brand of Eurocommunism resulted from having taken sides with China against the Soviet Union over the nuclear test ban treaty. A later squabble with the Chinese resulted in the party's present "independence." When taunted about its allegiance the JCP answers: "Reactionaries have taken the Afghan problem to show that if Japan is attacked by the Soviets that we would help them. This is slander against our party. We are friends of Japan and if attacked we will strongly fight to protect Japan's sovereignty and independence as we are a truly patriotic party" (*ibid.*). In fact it has called for the withdrawal of Soviet army forces from Afghanistan.

This nationalist approach leads the Communist Party to isolationism and ultimately protectionism. The same special supplement to *Akahata* (Red Flag) calls for getting "rid of America's meddling and its demands for an open Japanese market." It wants to "regulate big business' anti-social activities"—among which are "import[ing] those products which in turn lead to layoffs, rationalization, lower wages, and stifling small industry." So the CP shows it has no real program for layoffs and can only hope to reform imperialism. Of course Japanese workers suffer from the same problems as American workers. Foreign workers are not to blame. These are inherent problems of capitalism's decay and they cannot be solved by regulation.

USec

...The DYI [Revolutionary Communist Party, Japanese section of the USec] now calls for a new state based on the trade unions, for independence from capital, nationalization of major industry without compensation under workers control, and freedom of political activity within the union movement. This may sound good but the DYI spends most of its energy pursuing environmentalist movements against nuclear power and against the new Narita airport.

A little more than two years ago when I turned on the TV to see news coverage of the Narita demonstration of 26 March 1978 and saw DYI members smashing out the windows and bashing the computers of the airport control tower, I could hardly believe that the DYI would resort to such a stunt. Later I learned that the DYI had sacrificed the jobs of their trade-union members who participated in this. Their members abandoned important work in the unions to be a part of the "militant" action!

With the death of Ohira the LDP factions are bickering more than ever. What the Japanese working class faces now is not that end to the "1955 system" that liberals and even the "far left" have been praying for, but only a new version: a coalition government with or without LDP participation. The uneven development of anti-Stalinist movements beginning in the late 1950s has yet to produce an organization with a truly internationalist perspective for revolution. The tragic destruction of the Japanese Socialist, Communist and trade-union movements during the 1930s helped to insure this, and the disorientation of the left by the betrayals of Stalinism persists. The building of a Trotskyist party integrated into a reforged Fourth International is the only thing that can prevent Japan from being thrown into one side or the other of a new world war. This is the task of revolutionaries today.

D. Stevens

Gold!

"So, too, the old fetishes of so-called international bankers are being replaced by efforts to plan national currencies...."
—Franklin D. Roosevelt, July 1933

Thus spoke the president of the United States in announcing that the U.S. was abandoning the gold standard. From here on out supposedly the U.S. government would "plan" the value of the dollar unencumbered by the "fetish" of its convertibility into gold. In 1934 gold coins were withdrawn from circulation and American citizens were even forbidden to own gold except for jewelry and industrial uses.

At Bretton Woods in 1944 the U.S. organized its financial domination over the postwar capitalist world. To do so it *promised* other governments (but not private parties) to exchange an ounce of gold for $35. So the dollar was considered as good as gold. That is, it was until the late 1960s when de Gaulle's France actually turned in its dollars for the gold. Then it became apparent that the greenback was not as good as gold—not at $35 an ounce anyway.

So in August 1971 Nixon reneged on the Bretton Woods agreement and shut down the gold window. Now supposedly gold really had no role in the world monetary system. The good old law of supply and demand would henceforth determine the value of the dollar against other currencies, and that would be that. But, as should have been obvious at the time, floating exchange rates allowed governments to inflate their currencies even more than before.

By the late 1970s the wealthy of the world had had enough and exchanged ever greater quantities of dollars, pounds and even Deutschmarks into any pieces of gold they could get ahold of. The price went from $200 an ounce in mid-1978 to $875 an ounce last January. So as not to leave speculators with a monopoly of this lucrative trade, the South African, Russian, British, Canadian and other governments reminted gold coins.

Now the U.S. has shamefacedly followed suit. The Treasury just announced it is minting a new gold "medallion" for sale to the public at a fluctuating price determined by the world market rate for bullion. But to preserve the fiction that the almighty American government still pegs the price of gold, the Treasury will only get $42 (the official price) for a one-ounce "medallion," the rest going to a general government fund. So 36 years after Franklin Roosevelt announced that the U.S. government would "plan" the value of its national currency, the paper greenback is once again convertible into the precious yellow metal, albeit at what now promise to be wildly gyrating rates.

Capitalist governments can no more plan the value of their national currencies than they can the level of employment or steel tonnage. The crucial role of gold in world money derives from the fact that it has intrinsic value as the product of labor. Marx described it as "the universal medium of payment, as the universal means of purchase, and as the universal embodiment of wealth" (*Capital*, Volume 1, Chapter 3). Only Latin American *caudillos*, who believe they can do anything given enough machine-guns and printing presses, and arrogant imperialist powers like the U.S. in its "American Century" phase believe their own paper currency can do away with gold.

Down with Racist Bar to Haitian Refugees!

On June 20 the Carter administration announced that 114,000 Cubans and 15,000 Haitians who have recently fled to the United States would be given a six-month "parole" while Congress enacted special legislation, presumably to grant the refugees permanent resident status after they had lived here for two years. Carter is squirming under charges of racism for refusing to grant entry to the Haitians (who are black) and finds it necessary to put on a show of equal "generosity" toward them and the overwhelmingly white Cuban exiles.

The Cubans speed the 90 miles to Key West in cabin cruisers usually reserved for dope smuggling. And they are assured of a welcome as part of Carter's anti-Communist "human rights" provocation against Castro's Cuba. Washington still claims, however, that the Haitians are simply fleeing poverty, greedy for bucks. So if they are just "economic refugees," how come they're willing to face death in a treacherous 800-mile journey in tiny, leaking sailboats and fishing boats? Because they fear for their lives if they stay.

Haiti's President-for-Life, "Baby Doc" Duvalier, you see, is one of those despots whom FDR labeled "*our* sons-of-bitches." The newly granted "entrant" status will give the Haitians but a temporary reprieve from being sent back to the tender mercies of the Tontons Macoutes. Moreover, the U.S. hopes that announcement of a six-month grace period will facilitate rounding up the estimated additional 10,000-15,000 Haitians who have disappeared into the Caribbean communities in Florida. With their status "legitimized," they too will be eligible for deportation!

The majority of the Cubans will no doubt be granted permanent residency. To do otherwise would further undercut Carter's anti-Communist crusade, which has already backfired. (He really didn't expect all those Cubans, but Castro saw an opportunity to get rid of some anti-revolutionary dead weight.) However, Washington has announced that those found to be "anti-social delinquents" will be deported. At this, Havana screamed bloody murder, and rightly so. Wrote *Granma*:

"In the United States there are hundreds of Batista's assassins who sought shelter there after the triumph of the Revolution and likewise countless terrorists encouraged by the CIA to commit crimes against Cuba.

"If they deport them to our country we will receive them. But why does [Senator] Byrd want to send us cat burglars, gamblers, prostitutes, if they prefer to remain in the 'Yankee paradise'? This is in flagrant contradiction with human rights, and thus, we will not give them visas."

—*Latin American Review* [Havana], 6 June 1980

By the way, ever wonder why so few blacks left Cuba in "Operation Libertad"? Maybe they didn't like the looks of "human rights" in Miami's ramshackle Liberty City slum as it went up in smoke.

AP

Haitian refugees land their leaky craft near Miami.

Watts...

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approach than Watts, Nichols replied, "No"—adding that he is "totally opposed" to the local right to strike.

Attack on MAC

Watts had a fit of sour grapes over this loss, but he had already vented most of his ire on the Militant Action Caucus. He really let loose with a vituperative red-baiting smear attack at a so-called "union-builders rally" on the first night of the convention. Delegates who attended told *WV* that the union president spent more than ten minutes attempting to smear MAC as "the ultimate disruption" and comparing them to "communists in Cambodia, who want to destroy society so they can control what's left." (Whoops—isn't the U.S. backing the Pol Pot gang now? Oh well.) But he mainly wanted to explain away Margolis' recent victory—a cash settlement and formal Secret Service apology for her wrongful arrest (see page 5).

Watts told the delegates that at the 1979 convention they (MAC) created a ruckus on the floor in order to embarrass the president. The Secret Service, he said, was "just doing its job, checking things out." He charged manipulation of the press to spread "lies" about "this person" (Margolis) being handcuffed and dragged off. "It's not true," he claimed. This didn't impress the delegates, some of whom witnessed last year's incident themselves. There was no applause at that, and one CWA member, angered by this witchhunting, yelled out, "McCarthyite." Later at receptions in the hospitality rooms a number of incensed members and delegates called Watts a liar to his face. Subsequently, when a bureaucrat tried to run Jane Margolis out of the Michigan room, delegates voted for her to stay.

Naturally, the union members were quite interested the next day to read a MAC leaflet reproducing the Secret Service letter admitting the charges Watts claimed were "not true." The CWA president, however, when asked by *WV* what his reaction was to the Margolis victory, replied, "I don't know anything about it." The amnesia seemed to be spreading, as *WV* got "no comment" from Warren Downing, president of Local 11502 (Los Angeles), and Harry Ibsen of Local 9415 in Oakland, where Margolis had also been an executive board member before transferring to San Francisco. Jim Imerzel, head of Margolis' home Local 9410 in SF, opined that Jimmy Carter's thugs were concerned about a "threat to the physical well-being of the president." Yet the Secret Service itself admits that Margolis was arrested in error and that she had "not violated any law."

Well-known attorney Charles Garry who represented Margolis in her suit against the Secret Service, pointed out the significance of the victory at a press conference at the convention June 17: "This is probably one of the very few lawsuits that have been filed against the government and governmental wrongdoing that's ended up in a settlement of any kind, or even an admission of wrongdoing on the part of the government itself." In a public letter to Watts, Margolis announced that she was donating the entire $3,500 settlement to the union's defense fund. The victory received coverage in several daily papers, including the *Los Angeles Times*, *San Francisco Examiner*, *Oakland Tribune*, *Chicago Tribune* and the *Detroit News* (see display).

Labor Has the Power

While lining up the union for Carter's reelection bid, the CWA bureaucracy was working overtime to whip up Cold War anti-Communism. The official union foreign policy statement denounced Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as proof of Russian "ambitions to dominate the world" by force of arms. MAC met the anti-Communist issue head-on, explaining in its main convention leaflet that Carter "tries to justify domestic hardships by diverting the anger of the American people to 'foreign enemies'," and that in Afghanistan the U.S. was supporting feudal reactionaries who want to keep the country in the seventh century: "Afghanistan explodes the myth of Carter's 'human rights' crusade...." One CWA-COPE committee demonstrated what Watts & Co. mean by defense of the "free world," selling raffle tickets for South African Krugerrands to raise money for the Democrats!

MAC also pointed out that Carter's anti-Soviet Cold War drive has fueled the growth of racist terror groups domestically like the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis. The Caucus program calls for labor/black mass mobilizations to smash KKK/Nazi terror. And it has put this into practice, playing a leading role in initiating and building the successful April 19 S F rally to stop the fascists from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday. In a leaflet announcing the showing of a videotape of this demonstration at the convention, MAC wrote: "This rally of 1,200 largely union and minority demonstrators, including 75 phone workers, was endorsed by CWA Locals 9410 (San Francisco) and 9415 (Oakland). It demonstates that labor has the power to stop the growing fascist menace."

Militant Action Caucus literature insistently demands, "Not a dime, not a vote for the wage-freezing, strikebreaking Democrats!" We agree with Jane Margolis that the likes of Jimmy "Taft-Hartley" Carter shouldn't even have been invited to a union convention—not even by phone connection. The CWA bureaucracy's defense of Secret Service disruption of the 1979 convention—an attack on the entire union—even after the government admitted false arrest, speaks volumes about its servility. No wonder Watts bragged in the closed session about his good relations with the ex-AT&T chairman, who knows he's a "responsible" union leader, not a "strike-happy" militant.

Gary Adkins, a MAC supporter and member of the executive board of Local 11502 (L.A.), summed up the week in an interview with *WV*: "The convention is the highest body of the union, with all of the local leaderships assembled. We should have delivered a message to the Bell System that we have been preparing, are preparing, and are ready to strike now for the real needs of phone workers. The only thing that was done here was promises to Carter that Watts will abide by the straitjacket wage controls and attacking the most militant sectors of the union." The Militant Action Caucus proclaims it is for "a new fighting leadership in the CWA," calling for a workers party and a workers government. And to begin: Break with Carter! Strike Ma Bell in '80! ■

CWP...

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wants to prove in court that if fascists kill leftists, blacks, union organizers and anti-Klan activists, the state will go after the targets in the name of "even-handedness."

This vendetta against the CWP is part of a wider campaign to give the go-ahead to the fascists. That is why it will take a powerful, organized defense of the CWP to stop the continued railroading of its members. It will take more than talk and courtroom bravado. It will take more than a few dozen demonstrators up against hoards of armed cops. The CWP says that the bourgeoisie thought "it was putting the Party [CWP] on trial," but "we refuse to recognize their bourgeois justice." For the CWP it "was a great day for the Party of the working class" when another batch of its members were framed up and beaten. But the bourgeoisie *is* putting the CWP on trial and the CWP had better learn to understand state power and class power—the power of the working class to "indict" capitalism and avenge generations of Klan terror in struggle.

With its schizophrenic Stalinist politics, the CWP continues to oscillate between adventurism and capitulation to the bourgeoisie. So when 1,200 people at a labor-centered Bay Area demonstration stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday on April 19, what did the CWP do? Hold its own smaller, explicitly non-confrontationist rally of a few hundred a couple of blocks away rather than participate in a united-front action with the Trotskyist Spartacist League. What's more, they asked SF mayor Feinstein to endorse it.

Mass mobilizations of labor and blacks are needed to smash the Klan. The Detroit rally of 500 blacks, auto workers and socialists last November 10, also heavily built by the SL, is another example of what can be done. The defense of the CWP must not be limited to little adventures or liberal gestures. United-front actions under the slogans "Free the CWP! Lock Up the Killer Klan/Nazis!" could mobilize thousands to stop the state's vendetta against the CWP and turn around this "upside-down justice." ■

NYC Councilman Calls For:

Soviet Aid for the South Bronx!

In October 1977 Jimmy Carter delivered a major "human rights" address to the United Nations, then traveled to the devastated ruins of Charlotte Street in the South Bronx to reaffirm his "commitment to the cities." On that very spot, he vowed, a housing project would rise like a phoenix from the ashes. Two years later when the president's Polish pope visited the area it was still a pile of burnt-out shards. John Paul Wojtyla said a few prayers over the rubble, denounced "consumerism" and told the Puerto Rican population to keep their minds on "moral goals."

Now it is mid-1980 and still no housing project. So last week New York City councilman Gilberto Gerena-Valentin decided to cash in on all the "human rights" publicity and took a delegation from the Soviet Peace Council to Charlotte Street. "What I am doing," he said, "is asking the Soviet Government for $5 billion in foreign aid to rebuild the South Bronx." We bet the White House winced over that one. For the good councilman had an airtight case.

It was clear from the minute Carter set foot on Charlotte Street that his promises to rebuild the South Bronx would be a pork barrel without pork. When the Board of Estimate killed the plan a couple of months later (absorbing the federal money into more politically profitable sectors), they justified it by arguing reasonably enough that a single housing project amid miles of abandoned wasteland wouldn't make a dent.

At the time we joked that NYC mayor Koch would christen the token project the "Herman Badillo Plaza," after the city's token Puerto Rican politican. Not only did the plaza never appear, but Badillo lost his job as deputy mayor. He left remarking that the spot "where the president stood two years ago has become officially enshrined as an urban tombstone." Even the Phoenix detox program is being closed down as Koch moves to shut down Lincoln Hospital as part of his austerity drive.

WV Photos

Charlotte Street, South Bronx, 1977 (above) and 1980 (below). Same place, more desolation.

Mixed in with more than one million Spanish-speaking "illegal aliens," the Puerto Rican population of New York is part of a huge reserve army of labor forced to work at sub-legal wages as messengers, elevator operators and sweatshop laborers. They're lucky when they get "benign neglect" from the government. Washington's neglect is so complete, in fact, that it didn't even bother to ask Puerto Rico to boycott the summer Olympics this year. So in an unusual display of independent-mindedness the Puerto Rican Olympic Committee thumbed its nose at Uncle Sam and announced it would be sending a team to Moscow.

Councilman Gerena-Valentin got the spirit, too. The idea wasn't new—not so long ago an Appalachian town having difficulty getting money for a bridge appealed for Soviet aid. TASS sent a reporter, and the State Department was hot on his heels. Well, the South Bronx could use some Soviet aid. After all, conditions on Charlotte Street aren't that much better than in poverty-stricken Afghanistan.

We did some "before-and-after" photos ourselves of the conditions in this symbol of "human rights" America (see above). But try as we might we couldn't duplicate the same shot. Not because of urban renaissance—everywhere we looked there were *fewer* buildings standing today than when Carter visited in 1977. Looking at the photos you can't help saying "hats off" to the councilman, and a Bronx cheer for J.C. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

out against any weakening of apartheid, fearing that it would be the beginning of the end of their caste privileges and minority rule. The "verligte" white supremacists maintain that it is necessary to promote a privileged black stratum in urban South Africa having a material stake in the status quo. However, the fate of the oppressive apartheid regime will not be determined by the maneuvering and pseudo-reforms of white ruling-class politicians, but in the struggles of the black masses against the massive police-state apparatus designed to keep them "in their place." The black working class now flexing its muscles occupies a key spot in the South African economy. Out in the desolate bantustan "homelands" the black majority's numbers don't necessarily mean strength. But in the heart of South Africa's gold-fueled and growing economy, black labor is vital.

The growing reliance on black skilled and semi-skilled labor is the Achilles heel of apartheid. "Separate development" is contradicted by the need of the white capitalists to have the black proletariat in the urban centers. As Botha told a heckler who dismissed the need for more black housing by shouting "Send them to the homelands": "My friend, if they were all there, who would bring you your coffee in the morning?" (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 1980). And who would bring the gold, the diamonds, the automobiles, the textiles and all the other goods and services provided by black labor? The fact is, by bringing more and more black workers into the urban labor force, apartheid capitalism digs its own grave.

Black Workers to Power!

Recognition that the black proletariat has the power to smash apartheid is the key to a revolutionary program to liberate the oppressed South African masses. South Africa is the industrial powerhouse of the continent. But unlike those of virtually every other African state before independence from direct colonial rule, the black South African masses do not face a thin layer of colonial bureaucrats and expatriate settlers. Instead, they must defeat a powerful capitalist class at the head of an entrenched, quite large and well-armed white racial caste. Proportionately the white minority in South Africa is five times as large as its Rhodesian counterpart. And if they must go under, the country's rulers are quite prepared to unleash a fiery holocaust in the process.

To open the door to the South African socialist revolution the black masses must break through the present apartheid shackles and win a degree of freedom needed to mount organized, mass social struggles. Key to this is fighting for the legalization of independent black trade unions, abolition of the hated pass laws and bantustan system and an end to all racist job privileges and the contract labor system.

A South African revolutionary movement would, of course, strive for the unity in struggle of the black masses with the coloured and Indian populations. But what of the four-and-a-half million whites? They constitute an enormously privileged caste, not a nation for which one can advance the right of self-determination, i.e., the right to their own separate state. At the same time, as against some black nationalists and their left apologists, communists recognize the right of South Africa's whites to exist. Furthermore, their skills would be of tremendous value to a revolutionary regime. A black-centered workers and peasants government would grant to that portion of the white population which chose to remain the same democratic rights as those of South Africa's other peoples. And it cannot be ruled out in advance that for some white workers, appeals to class unity could overcome racist solidarity.

In the present anti-apartheid struggles, as black workers take to the streets along with the students, the need for a proletarian perspective is clearly posed. Petty-bourgeois nationalists of the African National Congress (ANC) and other exile and underground nationalist organizations offer no effective strategy to defeat apartheid. "We can't fight a bush war," admits ANC spokesman Thabo Mbeki, "Look at a map. It is all developed" (*New York Times*, 20 June). The would-be Kenyattas and Nyereres of South Africa seek to subordinate the workers' struggles to their own petty-bourgeois ambitions. They also appeal to U.S. imperialism to pressure the apartheid rulers for reform. Their model for post-apartheid South Africa is based on the experience of anti-working-class middlemen for imperialism like Mozambique's Samora Machel (who still sends contract labor to South Africa's mines) and Zimbabwe's strikebreaking Robert Mugabe.

If South Africa's oppressed non-white masses are to achieve full victory over the white racist regime they must look elsewhere for leadership. A key task in South Africa is therefore the construction of a Trotskyist party armed with a program for workers revolution through smashing apartheid. South Africa, a regional imperialist power, is the key to socialist revolution throughout the entire economically extremely backward region. The South African working class therefore bears a historic responsibility beyond even its own liberation from the chains of apartheid slavery. It can become the vanguard of social revolution for a whole continent. With the country's vast mineral resources and industrial power harnessed for social emancipation instead of apartheid profits, a black-centered workers and peasants republic in South Africa would be the real beginning of the African socialist revolution. ■

The following is the text of a motion raised at the Thursday, June 19 meeting of ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco by Stan Gow, an executive board member and supporter of the *Longshore Militant*. The motion reads:

"That Local 10 shall carry out a boycott of South African cargo for the length of time that the police killings of black worker and student demonstrators continue and that we urge the International and other longshore locals to carry out similar policies throughout the [longshore] division."

The motion was referred to the executive board without a vote being taken.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Carter's Secret Service Apologizes for Assaulting CWA Militant

Jane Margolis Wins!

Jane Margolis and her supporters in the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) have won an important battle on behalf of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and the rights of all labor. In a press conference at the CWA national convention in Los Angeles, June 17, UCASSH revealed that the U.S. Secret Service had made a formal written apology for seizing delegate Margolis, an elected steward and executive board member of Local 9410 (San Francisco), from the floor of the union's convention in Detroit last July. The government also forked over $3,500 to prove in hard cash that it "regrets" the incident. In a dramatic expression of labor solidarity, Margolis announced that since the attack was directed at the whole union and turned back by the determined action of hundreds of phone workers and trade unionists around the country, she was endorsing the check over to the CWA Defense Fund.

That the Secret Service and the Carter administration now "regret" the official mugging of Jane Margolis, there can be no doubt. They regret that they couldn't discredit and silence the union militant. They regret that they couldn't set a precedent for secret police invasion of a union convention. They regret that their stone wall was cracked and their dirty trick boomeranged, forcing them to apologize. Most of all they regret "regretting."

What happened in Detroit's Cobo Hall last July 16 was a naked assertion that the government has the prerogative to disrupt the business of a duly constituted union convention. Jimmy Carter's Secret Service was trying to guarantee that there would be no criticism of the president while he was at the convention—using police powers for political censorship, thereby seriously disrupting convention proceedings. Perhaps they thought Jane and her union brothers and sisters would just take it without complaint. The Secret Service, as its name says, likes to work in secret. It doesn't like noise, but Jane Margolis yelled "foul" loud and clear.

Who was legitimate here? Jane Margolis was where she belonged, as a seated, elected delegate in the CWA's national gathering; Jimmy Carter was only an invited guest, and his Secret Service invaded the floor of that convention acting as a law unto itself. She is a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the main opposition group in the union, which has been tested in nine years of principled struggle for labor's cause. Margolis insisted on her right, and duty to those who elected her to represent them, to defend the interests of working people against the strike-breaking Democratic Party. She wanted to explain that this strikebreaker had no right to use the CWA as a platform, that politically he was telling the American people they must sacrifice for the companies. But she was stopped by the president's private police.

Jimmy Carter said that he had come to the phone workers' convention "to hear the voice of Americans." But as one San Francisco newspaper headlined after the Secret Service assault, Jane Margolis was "one critic Carter wouldn't hear"—the voice of militant, class-struggle unionism. However, Jane would not be silenced so easily, allow herself to be treated as a "non-person" and her union to be violated. She demanded the rights that any American ought to get. That is what the case is all about: Jane Margolis stood up for her

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DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20223

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

JUN -

Ms. Jane Margolis
475 Alvarado Street, #3
San Francisco, California 94114

Re: Alleged False Arrest/Jane Margolis/CWA Convention
Detroit, Michigan; July 16, 1979

Dear Ms. Margolis:

Please be advised that in response to the above referenced matter the Secret Service Office of Inspections was directed to look into this claim to determine, as accurately as possible, what did in fact occur at the time of the original incident. Based upon this inquiry it is the opinion of this Service that a misunderstanding between a Secret Service agent and a Detroit police officer resulted in your being removed from the convention floor.

The Secret Service's involvement in this misunderstanding, which is obviously regrettable, arose from our agent's confusion over why you were actually being arrested. It was his belief that he was assisting a Detroit police officer in making an arrest. At the same time, the Detroit police officer believed that the arrest was being made for a violation of federal law. In any event, it is now apparent that no arrest should have been made under the circumstances.

It should be noted that there is no indication whatsoever that there was any political motivation to these actions.

Following your initial removal from the floor of the convention, the law enforcement personnel on the scene began questioning why, in fact, you had been removed. As soon as it became apparent that you had not violated any law, but rather that an error in judgment had been made, you were released.

The Secret Service, of course, regrets that this incident occurred. Obviously, due to the extreme complexity of supplying protection to the President and others, and the sensitive and sometimes conflicting interests that come into play, the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur. You can be assured, however, that every effort will continue to be made to assure that errors of this nature are kept to a minimum.

Again, the Secret Service regrets that this misunderstanding has caused you distress.

Sincerely yours,

Myron I. Weinstein
Deputy Director

Jon P. Fishbach

Outrage!

On July 16, 1979, in Detroit's Cobo Hall, the United States Secret Service, private police of the U.S. president, walked onto the floor of the Communications Workers of America national convention and seized an elected CWA delegate and union official, Jane Margolis. As other delegates looked on in stunned disbelief, the burly federal agents grabbed Margolis by the arm and dragged her, vigorously protesting, out of the hall.

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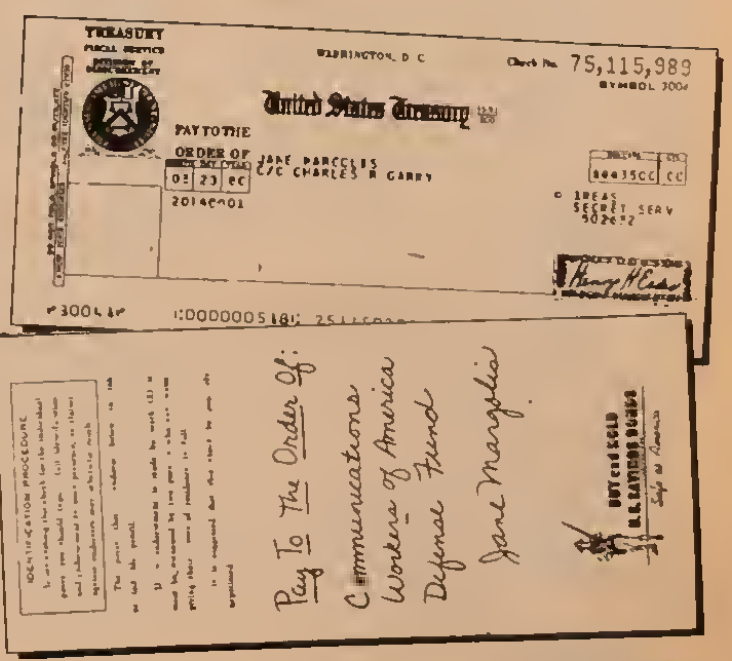

"Since the rights of the entire union were attacked, I am turning the entire check from the Secret Service over to the CWA Defense Fund."

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 260 11 July 1980

Pope blesses Carter's holy war against Russia. AP

Der Spiegel

Down With NATO! Defend the USSR!

Carter Warmongers Through Europe

As European government leaders glided in to the island of San Giorgio Maggiore in sleek Venetian boats late last month, U.S. president Carter arrived noisily in a Navy admiral's launch escorted by a cloud of helicopters. A Rome newspaper printed a cartoon of American choppers bumping into each other and tumbling into the canals. It is certainly a long way from the days when the U.S. was undisputed master of the capitalist world. The American commander-in-chief just can't get no respect anymore.

No sooner did Carter hit European shores than he re-issued the call-up announcement for a new Cold War offensive. Significantly, his anti-Soviet fulminations were directed as much (or more) at keeping America's imperialist allies in line as at shaking up the Russians. Whatever the West Germans might think, he insisted, Kabul was as important as Berlin in his eyes. In a toast at a state dinner given by the Italian president, he said:

> "The Soviets must understand that they cannot recklessly threaten world peace or still enjoy the benefits of cooperation while pursuing a policy of armed intervention.
> "Above all, everyone must know that efforts cannot succeed to divide our alliance or to lull us into a false belief that somehow America or Europe can be an island of détente while aggression is carried out elsewhere."
> —*New York Times*, 21 June

The Kremlin bureaucracy, still playing the losing game of détente, has shifted its tactics for now and is seeking to widen the fissure between Washington and the West European capitals. Just before the Venice conference, Moscow announced a partial troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. The U.S. predictably dismissed this as a cynical ploy to divide the Western allies. And so it did. The French thought it might be an opening, and the conference took up a whole day working out a mutually acceptable statement on Afghanistan.

The Venice conference only underscored the disappearance of American imperialist hegemony. Before Carter's arrival, the Common Market (EEC) countries met on their own and issued a call for the Palestine Liberation Organization to be "associated" with future Near East "peace" talks—a direct challenge to current U.S. policy. On embargoing Iran, even Britain, Carter's most loyal European ally, was backpedaling furiously, limiting sanctions to contracts signed after last November's hostage seizure—thereby leaving most of the trade intact.

Meanwhile, the anti-Soviet Olympic boycott is at best a draw for Carter. France, Italy and the British Olympics Committee have announced they will go to the Moscow games, along with more than 85 other countries. And while Carter maintains Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is a precondition to further "disarmament" negotiations, other NATO leaders have been shuttling east to hold private talks with Brezhnev. French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing met the Soviet chief in Warsaw in May, and West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt took off to Moscow just after the Venice meetings.

Carter's pique was vented mainly at the West Germans, the most insistent in seeking to maintain an "island of détente." When Schmidt announced his Moscow visit to discuss European disarmament, the U.S. president fired off a "warning" letter, drafted by Dr. Strangelove Zbigniew Brzezinski. Schmidt replied obliquely, "Our Polish friend in Washington mistrusts us more than our Polish foes in Warsaw." And German social-democratic novelist Günther Grass remarked: "The irrational behavior of the ayatollah is alien and frightening. But compare this to U.S. foreign policy and you will find the comparison is not very favorable at all."

Flora Lewis, the *New York Times*' witting European correspondent, reports that 20 years ago President Kennedy "automatically picked up a special phone which rang on his desk each day and said, 'Yes, Chancellor Adenauer, we still love you and support West Germany'." Today the shoe is on the other foot, and Jimmy Carter is worried about being "sold out" by Bonn. Perhaps he will now take up the slogan suggested by a perceptive *New York Times* pundit, "Ich bin kein Berliner."

Behind the increasing tension between Washington and its NATO allies lies the stark military fact that during the 1970s the USSR achieved effective nuclear parity with the U.S. In the mid-1960s De Gaulle asked: will the United States risk Chicago for Bonn? Today all of Europe asks the question the other way around: will the U.S. risk Bonn for Chicago? Carter is feverishly pushing to recapture the nuclear first-strike superiority it had in the 1950s and early '60s. And the West European bourgeoisies, not to mention the working masses, fear that Carter/Brzezinski are just crazy enough to start a war with the Russians over a god-forsaken place like Afghanistan, while trying to save the U.S. by limiting the fighting to Central Europe.

In addition to the legitimate fear of becoming the battlefield for World War III, the European bourgeoisies are resistant to a new Cold War offensive for sound economic reasons of national (capitalist) interest. The EEC is far more dependent on trade with the Soviet Union than is the United States. In 1978 the Common Market exported over $7 billion worth of goods to the USSR and imported over $8 billion; the U.S., in comparison, exported only about $2 billion and imported only $500 million from the Soviets. West Germany received important raw materials from Russia: a quarter of its imported natural gas and 40 percent of its enriched uranium.

Ultra-reactionary anti-Communist ideologue Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn is appalled by European "softness": "The West simply does not want to believe that the time for sacrifices has arrived; it

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Free Abortion on Demand!

Supreme Court Condemns Poor Women

The Supreme Court decision June 30 cutting off Medicaid funding for abortions means more poor women will die, suffer permanent physical mutilation or sterilization, or be forced into bearing unwanted children to be raised in bitterness, misery and poverty. If you're poor and pregnant, that's *your* problem, the judges said—and anyhow you still have the same right to go out and buy an abortion as rich women have. After all, they argue, it's certainly not the *government's* fault that people are poor. Besides, the government is biased toward "protecting potential life" (this of course has nothing to do with Roman Catholic tenets or any other religious bias, they say).

Abortions have been legal in this country only since 1973. Since 1977, when the Hyde Amendment—a Congressional rider forbidding use of federal funds for abortions except in cases of rape, incest or danger to the woman's life—went into effect, poor women have been essentially barred from obtaining legal, free, relatively safe abortions. The recent Supreme Court decision upholding the Hyde Amendment resulted from a challenge to its constitutionality raised by Federal District Court Judge John Dooling in January of this year, which temporarily restored Medicaid funding of abortions. But now Medicaid funding—including even for "medically necessary" abortions—will be cut off again starting in August.

Even the legality of private abortions is now being challenged, with Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan firmly in favor of a constitutional amendment banning *all* abortions except for cases in which the woman's life would be endangered. But the answer isn't to vote for the Democrats. Jimmy Carter just told the NAACP convention in Miami they'd better get blacks to vote for him because a Republican-appointed Supreme Court would be bad. What does he think *this* Court is? And it was Carter who said "there are many things in life that are not fair" when he admitted that the Court's 1977 decision in favor of states' rights to cut off funds for abortions *was* unfair to poor women, but he supported it anyhow. No "lesser evil" he.

Unlike reformist groups such as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), we have always fought for "Free Abortion on Demand!" as an elementary right of *all* women. Back in the early 1970s, the SWP's front group WONAAC ("Women's National Abortion Action Coalition") *refused* to fight for this demand, instead merely calling for "legalization" of abortion—the program of Nelson Rockefeller et al.—so as not to alienate the liberal bourgeoisie. Well, today they have what they fought for.

The fight for free, safe, legal abortions for all women must be linked to the fight for socialist revolution to overthrow capitalist property relations. The fight for women's liberation is essentially a fight to replace the repressive institution of the nuclear family which incarnates the capitalist ideology that women are passive, child-bearing beasts of burden and nothing else. That's what the Supreme Court decision means. No matter that the kids the women are forced to bear (with Medicaid still paying for that, of course) will face lives of poverty and desperation.

The decadent capitalist system has for the poor and minority-group youth of today and tomorrow no jobs, no education, no future. It sanctimoniously proclaims the sanctity of "unborn life" while it shows these youth that their lives are worth very little. It will have no scruples about their "sacred" lives when it sends them off to die in imperialist wars, just as it has no compunction about legally murdering the social dregs who in desperation turn to crime. That's why right-to-lifers are supporters of the death penalty: it's the capitalist *state*'s sacred prerogative to decide who shall live or die.

Communists say no! For free abortion on demand! Women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Letters

CIA's Qaddafi?

Paris, 20 June 1980

Dear comrades,

The article "Qaddafi's Murder Inc." in the *Workers Vanguard* of 16 May refers to "allegedly former" CIA personnel aiding Qaddafi's current terror campaign against Libyan exiles.

Relations between U.S. imperialism and the Libyan "Socialist Jamahiriyah" are not exactly cordial now, so the exact nature of such CIA involvement is a little murky. But it is a fact that the U.S., Britain and Italy helped prop up Qaddafi's shaky military regime in his first several years of rule. Information on this can be obtained from the interesting book *The Hilton Assignment*, by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville (London, 1973). They are, of course, the authors of the well-known book on Philby.

The book recounts (in a sober and credible fashion) the story of an abortive attempt by Umar al-Shalhi (the Shalhis were the power behind the throne under King Idris, overthrown by Qaddafi in 1969) to liberate monarchist prisoners from Tripoli's central prison (the "Hilton") and topple Qaddafi. Shalhi had engaged the services of British (ex-SAS) and French mercenaries to carry out this raid, but it was squelched by the combined forces of the British Special Intelligence Service, the Italian SID and probably the CIA.

The plotters had counted on the hostility of the Western powers to the "Islamic Socialist" regime. But the British prevented the use of the ex-SAS men and the Italians seized the patrol boat that was to carry the French mercenaries to Libya. The expulsion of the Italian community from Libya was outweighed by the interests of the Christian Democratic-controlled state enterprises (such as the ENI oil corporation which signed a major agreement with Libya in 1972). The U.S., although it lost access to the Wheelus air force base, backed Qaddafi as a useful counter to Soviet influence in the Middle East, correctly sizing him up as a fanatical anti-communist. During his first year of rule the U.S. tipped him off about an anti-regime plot in the officer corps.

Seale and McConville argue that the Americans reversed the initially favorable British attitude to the coup attempt. Qaddafi's career would thus parallel that of his good friend Idi Amin (initially supported by Israel and the British)—an imperialist-backed dictator who later ran amok. Despite their feuding, from the Iranian mullahs of 1953 to Afghanistan today, rabid anti-communism (and the Yankee dollar) have never failed to unite the "soldiers of Islam" with the imperialist "infidels."

Bolshevik greetings,
Marc Richards

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 260 **11 July 1980**

South Bronx Revisited

To the Editor:

The before and after photos of the South Bronx in *WV* No. 259 (27 June) are good for their graphic portrayal of what difference Jimmy Carter's promises can make in three years. He made Charlotte St. a symbol of urban despair that has been trumpeted over by every politician from New York City councilmen to the pope. Jimmy Carter stood on Charlotte Street in 1977 and promised dollars, housing, a new life and all the rest. What he delivered three years later is shown clearly in black and white: homelessness, hopelessness and the ugly futility of believing in the capitalist American Dream.

I took the photos in 1977 and 1980 for *Workers Vanguard* because we wanted to demonstrate exactly what would happen: a Jimmy Carter promise has a future akin to a Bronx apartment—both wind up burnt out, torn down and thrown away with nary a thought to those who are left behind. Actually though, the pictures in the recent *WV* are of a corner near Vyse Avenue and Home Street, a near-by area not as bad as Charlotte Street. Charlotte Street itself is beyond arson: there are no buildings left to burn. In the early part of the century the intersection of Charlotte Street and Seabury Place was the center of a lively ethnic neighborhood, a neighborhood to move up to. Now the intersection is the center of acres of trash, building

WV Photo

remnants and bricks. The length of the street has virtually no abandoned buildings left, much less occupied ones.

In trying to take before and after pictures I had a very hard time locating the spots again. I wanted very much to revisit the scene of a photo (printed in *WV* No. 177, 14 October 1977) of two Model Cities employees who were hired (for a total of 30 days!) to rake up acres of rubble with garden rakes. After retracing my 1977 steps and finding nothing that resembled the scene, I asked some neighborhood residents for help. One fellow said it was Charlotte St. Another said no, it was further south. Another wondered, who could tell? "The buildings probably aren't there anymore and all empty lots look alike." I had thought it was Charlotte St. myself, but I couldn't match the photo since the skyline of Charlotte St. has simply disappeared. The only thing left that identifies where you are at are the street signs giving the name of each block of barren, lifeless rubble.

Comradely,
Charles Price

Phone Militants Demand: Break with Carter!

For a National Phone Strike in 1980!

The leaflet reprinted below was distributed by the Militant Action Caucus at the national convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) in Los Angeles, June 16.

This is a critical year for our union. We are faced with both our contract fight and the national elections. [CWA International president] Glenn Watts is going to spend the next few days telling us—as he did in 1976—that electing Jimmy Carter and putting more Democrats in Congress is the answer to our problems. And, come August, Watts will do everything in his power to head off an effective national phone strike to prevent a "crisis" for his candidate right before the elections.

This is the policy that has crippled the CWA. Glenn Watts, and before him Joe Beirne, have never believed we could really fight Ma Bell. This is the reason why they have never organized a solid national strike which really shut down communications across the country. Instead, we have been told to rely on the Democrats, the so-called "friends of labor." Millions of dollars have been spent and countless votes cast pursuing this no-win policy.

Could it be clearer than in 1980 that *this strategy is not working!!* Jimmy Carter and an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress have brought us 18 percent inflation, mounting unemployment, an economy plummeting toward the worst recession in 40 years, and preparations for war. The Militant Action Caucus (MAC) doesn't think we need four more years of this to prove that the Democratic party is no less anti-labor than the Republicans.

Secret Service Apologizes—A Union Victory

At last year's convention in Detroit, MAC leader Jane Margolis, an elected delegate and executive board member from Local 9410 San Francisco, intended to speak following Carter to make these points. She was going to remind delegates of Carter's consistent anti-labor record: his use of the strike-breaking Taft-Hartley Act against the miners, his threat to invoke Taft-Hartley against us if we struck in 1977, his "wage guidelines" far below the rate of inflation, his blaming the workers for the country's economic crisis. It was exactly because she was a well-known critic of Carter—and of the CWA leadership's support to him—that 40 minutes before Carter arrived, she was physically dragged off the convention floor and locked up in a back room by Secret Service agents. Carter's friend Glenn Watts told delegates to "ignore the disruption" as Margolis was mugged.

The Secret Service knew Margolis was not a threat to the "life of the President," but to his *political credibility*. And now they have been forced to admit it. In reaction to Margolis filing a lawsuit against the Secret Service for false arrest, assault and battery and violation of her constitutional rights, the government capitulated. Margolis has received an official letter of apology from the Secret Service and a $3,500 settlement, which she is donating in whole to the CWA Defense Fund.

This is a victory for the entire union—for our right to meet and discuss our affairs without government intimidation and interference. It is also a victory for those in the labor movement—like Margolis and the MAC—who seek to convince our brothers and sisters that our current leadership is leading us down a blind alley in its continued subservience to the Democratic party.

WV Photo

Phone workers contingent at April 19 San Francisco demonstration to stop the Nazis.

What Jane Margolis had to say about Jimmy Carter has become more clear with the passing of time. Carter has brought us the highest inflation rate since the end of WW II, while he tells workers to tighten their belts. Layoffs are devastating industries like auto, steel and rubber. Social programs are slashed while the defense budget mushrooms.

Carter tries to justify domestic hardships by diverting the anger of the American people to "foreign enemies." The shah of Iran was a vicious dictator and his downfall was a good thing. Now the Iranian working people are saddled with the reactionary and religious obscurantist Khomeini regime. Khomeini may be nuttier than the shah, but a war with Iran would only serve the interests of the Big Oil companies. In fact, Carter would be happy to strike an anti-Soviet deal with Khomeini if he would only release the hostages. In Afghanistan, both Carter and Khomeini support the big land owners and religious fanatics who want to keep the country in the seventh century. Afghanistan explodes the myth of Carter's "human rights" crusade. The U.S. government is shipping guns to Islamic reactionaries no different than Khomeini who stand for mass illiteracy and poverty, the enslavement of women, the veil and selling little girls into forced marriages.

Carter/Reagan/Kennedy—Not a Dime's Worth of Difference

Carter and Reagan's program for America is basically the same: cut the budget, hold down wages, boost profits and re-arm. Kennedy's only real difference with Carter was that he preferred mandatory wage and price controls like we suffered under Nixon. Many labor leaders in the country—like Glenn Watts, also prefer mandatory controls so they don't have to take the heat for rotten contracts. But through either voluntary or mandatory "restraint," the goal is cutting our wages so profits go up.

Carter's rush to right-wing pro-big business solutions has in fact created a climate making Reagan more credible. The March *CWA News* said, "Unlike past Republican Presidents he (Carter) has not sought to fight inflation by putting brakes on the economy and throwing millions of Americans out of work." The leadership spoke too soon—this is exactly what Carter is doing! Reagan simply promises to do it more openly and efficiently.

There is something particularly hypocritical about the CWA leadership bemoaning Reagan's right-wing economic policies. The CWA-backed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) has been a CIA front promoting company unionism throughout Latin America. The AIFLD has helped overthrow "radical" governments and install rightist dictatorships, as in Chile in 1973. In Chile, Milton Friedman, now Reagan's economic guru, served as the Chilean junta's chief economic advisor to impose starvation-level conditions on the Chilean workers following the 1973 coup against Allende.

Labor Must Stop KKK/Nazi Terror!

Carter's cold war drive has also fueled the growth of racist terror groups like the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis. California Klan leader Tom Metzger just won the Democratic primary in the country's most populous congressional district, getting over 32,000 votes. North Carolina Nazi Harold Covington almost won that state's Republic primary for attorney general with 56,000 votes, 43 percent of the total. The Nazi/Klan killers profit from the Carter-inspired anti-communist hysteria, they feed off economic decline, seeking to scapegoat blacks and other minorities. When these fascists murdered five labor organizers and leftists in Greensboro and gunned down four black women in Chattanooga in April, the KKK/Nazi vermin were demonstrating that they are emboldened by the racist backlash Carter endorsed in 1976, praising "ethnic purity" and telling American blacks that "life is unfair."

The power of the labor movement can and must halt these facist killers. The Nazis wanted to celebrate Hitler's birthday last April 19 in San Francisco and pro-Carter Democratic Mayor Dianne Feinstein initially promised them massive police protection. The Militant Action Caucus helped organize a 1,200-strong demonstration of unionists, blacks, Latinos, Jews and socialists. CWA Locals 9410 and 9415 sent official contingents which linked up with representatives of at least 22 different unions. Faced with this show of strength from the labor movement, the Nazis decided it would be safer to stay home.

For A National Strike In 1980

Fascist hit-and-run assaults are only the far right wing of attacks on American workers and minorities being

continued on page 11

Notes on People

Secret Service Settles Suit for False Arrest

It took nearly a year, but Jane Margolis, a militant San Francisco union leader, has forced the Secret Service to do something rare for that agency — give a public apology.

What's more, the Secret Service last week sent Miss Margolis a check for $3,500 in settlement of her suit, in which she charged false arrest for an incident in which she was dragged from a union convention and held for 40 minutes. A spokesman for her said yesterday that she had dropped the suit and given the money to the Communications Workers of America, of which she is an executive committee member.

The controversy goes back to last July 16 in Detroit, where President Carter addressed the union's convention. Miss Margolis planned to upbraid Mr. Carter for "his antilabor prctices," but said she was ejected from the convention, handcuffed and detained.

It was all a misunderstanding, said the Secret Service letter of apology. The agent involved, the letter said, believed that "he was assisting a Detroit police officer in making an arrest" and that "the Detroit police officer believed that the arrest was being made for violation of Federal law."

Miss Margolis called the apology "a victory for free speech."

A Break for Bloodhounds

...on Rouge, La., State Senator ... has proved he was dog's

Big Dipper to Fame

... of fancy was achieved ... ride on the Big Dipper, ... ement Park in

The New York Times

—26 June 1980

Rehire USWA Militant Now!

Steel Conference Backs Anwar

CHICAGO—The fight to reinstate Keith Anwar took a major step forward this week as officials of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) announced that they would pursue his case to arbitration.

The victory capped a several month struggle by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee to mobilize support for the steel worker fired by Inland for respecting the picket lines of a fellow USWA local. When District 31 director Jim Balanoff announced at the June 27-28 District Conference that he was assigning the case to arbitration, it was 12 months from the day when last year's conference pledged "all available resources" to defend Keith Anwar and all union members victimized for refusing to cross picket lines.

But despite the enormous support generated in the district for this case, including resolutions passed by several locals and a rally held on Anwar's behalf by his Local 1010 last October—the union's leadership had maneuvered unsuccessfully to bury this case. Since last November the USWA International headed by Lloyd McBride and the Sadlowski/Balanoff leadership of District 31 have sat on Anwar's grievance, each claiming that the other has the responsibility to pursue it.

However in preparation for this year's upcoming District Conference, the Anwar Defense Committee mounted an impressive campaign demanding that the district leadership "immediately take this case to arbitration and do everything in their power to win Keith Anwar's job back." Resolutions to this effect passed in Local 65 in Southworks as well as in Local 1010. And a member of the Defense Committee at Local 1014 in Gary, Bob Lotz, was selected as delegate due to petitions signed by more than 100 workers asking that he be sent to the conference to raise the Anwar defense motion. Most important was the victory at Inland, Balanoff's home local. It was when leading members and officials of that local made it clear that they were prepared to wage a major floor fight at the District Conference over the picket line issue that Balanoff backed down.

When a Local 1010-sponsored motion reasserting the right of union members to honor picket lines hit the floor of the District Conference, Balanoff announced publicly that he had appointed Joe Gyurko, chairman of the Grievance Committee, to handle the case at arbitration. This Local 1010 motion passed without opposition, as did a subsequent motion which directed the USWA International to ensure that the district's decision be implemented. A spokesman for the Anwar Defense Committee later informed *WV* that the International staff representative in charge of the case had scheduled the arbitration for September.

The fight to get Anwar's job back is far from over. The real victory will be when Keith walks back into work at Inland. But the decision to take the case to arbitration marks a significant milestone: not only did the USWA reaffirm its commitment to defend militants victimized for respecting picket lines, but in a union where it is commonplace for opposing factions to resolve their disputes by calling in the big business government, the Keith Anwar Defense Committee relied on the union ranks. Although both the District and International made a mockery of union democracy by defying the will of the membership for several months, the Anwar supporters refused to run to the bosses' courts to pressure McBride and Balanoff. Instead they relied on mobilizing USWA membership and demonstrated that it is possible to win victories through principled struggle.

In Chicago-Gary District 31, which has been controlled for the last several years by the reformist forces of Ed Sadlowski and Jim Balanoff, the membership has had its fill of phony "fight back" rhetoric. But despite all bluster from District 31 leaders about their commitment to the right to strike, they have done no more than McBride to defend the ranks. And never has it been so evident—over 20,000 steel workers in District 31 are on layoff; Wisconsin Steel is closed for good; Pullman Works in Gary and in Hammond are slated for closing, and U.S. Steel at Southworks is now shut "temporarily." And still the District 31 leaders do nothing.

The Anwar case has had a big impact in this district precisely because it was clearly not another instance of fake-militant posturing. Talk is cheap but Keith risked his job to defend the principle that is vital to militant trade unionism—"Picket lines mean don't cross!" And there are plenty of steel workers in this district who know that this is true—many walked the picket lines that helped build or establish the CIO and the USWA. Key to the recent success achieved by the Anwar defense campaign was the fact that a sizable layer of influential unionists—most of them members of local caucuses tied to either the District 31 or International tops—made it clear that they would not tolerate any further shilly-shallying by the leadership.

Keith Anwar told *WV*: "This victory is a tribute to the members who over the last 12 months have repeatedly come out in support of this case. But even if we win the arbitration, the Steelworkers union will have really won the right to honor picket lines only when we exercise that right." The Anwar campaign has indeed been an important test of USWA members who claim to support the right to strike. A number of individual militants and local officers were forthright in their defense of Anwar. The fake-left performed abominably. It was hardly surprising that the Socialist Workers Party, whose presidential candidate Andrew Pulley scabbed on a railroad workers strike two years ago, simply ignored this battle. But even more outrageous was the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) which is backed by the reformist Communist Party.

While TUAD had several delegates to the District Conference, none endorsed the Anwar defense resolution. At its own conference a week before, TUAD went so far as to mobilize Lake County, Indiana sheriffs as well as its own goon squads to prevent Anwar Defense Committee supporters from distributing literature. This was not only a flagrant violation of workers democracy, but the leaflets torn by TUAD goons contained the same motions passed by the membership at Inland Steel and Southworks. But this attempt to ingratiate themselves with Balanoff came to nothing. Not only did Balanoff shift gears on the Anwar case, but he paid back the Stalinists for their groveling when at the District Conference his supporters combined with pro-International bureaucrats to ram through a resolution condemning "Soviet aggression" in Afghanistan!

Trade-union militants must understand what is at stake in the Anwar case. Both wings of the USWA bureaucracy and their left apologists preach reliance on the capitalist state and its politicians. McBride & Co. support reactionary protectionist legislation and import quotas, while Sadlowski/Balanoff call on the government to "reform" the union. Both wings undermine defense of picket lines—but it is on these battle lines of the class war that inflation, layoffs and other company attacks will be redressed. Only by breaking sharply with the reformist policies of the USWA bureaucrats and reviving the strike weapon and other militant tactics can a genuinely effective leadership of the Steelworkers be forged! ■

NYC Cops' Guns Out of Control

New York's got the "toughest handgun law in the country" now, thanks to Governor Hugh Carey and a yellow-journalist scare campaign by press lord Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post*. Of course it won't do a thing to protect John Q. Public—even the cops admit there are over two million illegal handguns in New York City alone, and more on the way. The only result of the new law, to go into effect in August, will be to make it even harder for ordinary citizens to defend themselves against violent crime. There is, however, a section of the New York City population that could well benefit from some disarming.

"COP SLAIN" screamed the *Post*'s banner headline on June 19, while pushing another of its write-in campaigns to make the death penalty mandatory for killing a policeman. What happened? Police officer Joseph Keegan, on duty in the early morning at the Columbus Circle subway station, saw two "potential troublemakers" (that is, two guys who weren't actually doing anything wrong) and decided to get tough. He drew his nightstick, chased and grabbed one of them, wrestled him up the stairs—where during the struggle he was shot to death with his own gun.

It seems obvious that Keegan would be alive today if (a) he hadn't wantonly attacked someone who wasn't bothering anybody, and (b) he hadn't been carrying a gun. Cops are of course well known for their propensity to plug each other in off-duty barroom brawls—cops are so frequently sociopathic, so relatively overpaid, so uncultured, therefore so homeless, that they often end up in bars drunk, aggressive and of course (as required by law!) armed. Moreover, cops seem to get shot amazingly often "in the line of duty" with their own revolvers. Thus some of the most immediate beneficiaries of taking the cops' guns away would be the police themselves. Then there are the rest of us.

Of course the cops don't see it that way—probably now they will be demanding machine guns. Meanwhile the young black man who got tangled up in Keegan's brutal "tough cop" mentality will probably spend the rest of his life in some stinking prison, while the police are free to fire away at will. They are the biggest, most dangerous, trigger-happy gang of armed men in this city, who shoot innocent people all the time. Just remember the young woman shot dead on a subway platform by a cop chasing an "alleged turnstile-jumper" a year ago.

The killer cops ought to be disarmed because they're dangerous. Since 1967 an average of 359 people a year are shot dead in the streets by the police "on suspicion." Fully half the victims are black. The people ought to have access to guns, to the means to defend themselves against crime—including that perpetrated by the brutal enforcers of capitalist "law and order." Things might be a little chaotic at first, but, Mayor Koch and the *New York Times*, elementary justice would be served far better than it is now. ■

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Black Phone Worker Shot

KKK Terror Stalks Fontana

LOS ANGELES—On Tuesday, July 1 Dovard Howard, a 32-year-old black phone worker, was shot in the back as he was splicing cable while suspended in a lift bucket in Fontana, 50 miles east of L.A. The attack occurred just two hours before a Ku Klux Klan rally at Fontana City Hall. About noon Howard was gunned down and sent to Kaiser Permanente hospital where he was placed on the critical list. Two hours after this attempted killing the KKK donned its white hoods in the center of town, set up a recruiting stand and passed the can "for the Greensboro boys"—the KKK and Nazi murderers now on trial for shooting down five leftists in North Carolina last November. Here in this steel town of 21,000 just north of the 43rd Congressional District where California KKK grand dragon Tom Metzger is running as the Democratic Party nominee, no black person is safe from the murderous race haters. The ominous shooting of black worker Dovard Howard is an outrage which must be vigorously and widely protested.

Witnesses said that a man driving down a Fontana street where Howard was working stopped, shouted a racial slur at him, then leveled a shotgun blast at his back. "I feel it was Klan-related," said Howard's wife. "I think he was shot just because he was black. We've had trouble with the Klan before. A cross was burned on our front lawn just a few months ago" (*Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, 3 July). One hour after the shooting sheriff's deputies arrested a San Bernardino man, Larry West Deane, driving a car that matched the description given by witnesses. George Pepper, head of the local KKK chapter, told the *Herald Examiner* that Deane was not a member of his organization but "might be a member of another Klan chapter."

The Howards were one of four black families living in nearby Rialto in a white housing tract. Mrs. Howard was afraid to let her children play freely—and who wouldn't be after waking up to find a cross burning on their lawn! Sergeant Mickey Carns of the Fontana Police Department said after the shooting, "We don't have a racial problem in Fontana. We have a good ethnic mixture with no racial problems between any groups, and there hasn't been any kind of confrontation." Even while the San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department was linking the KKK and Deane, labeling "no other motive other than that (racially motivated) possibility," Sgt. Leonard Johnson was insisting:

> "We had one incident three or four months ago, which wasn't really a cross-burning because there was no wooden cross, but someone had drawn a cross in dirt in front of a black family's house, and put flammable liquid inside and then lit it. This was a new black family that had just moved into the area. But we don't have any racial problem in this area."
>
> —*Herald Examiner*, 3 July

WV Photos

Massive layoffs at Kaiser Steel, economic despair provide climate for fascist terror. Everywhere the ominous "KKK" initials threaten fire and death in this bleak steel town.

No racial problem? According to the 6 July *Herald Examiner* the Klan frequently rallies at City Hall and KKK leader George Pepper "invites hundreds of Klansmen from throughout the state over for gatherings in his back yard at which crosses are burned while Klansmen with high-powered weapons flank the perimeter of his property." On March 1, 150-200 Klansmen assembled and displayed their weapons in a rally at Pepper's house. When city council members and the local police chief discussed measures to restrict armed rallies, the KKK brazenly invaded a city council meeting in protest. Fontana police detective Frank Scialeone talked of widespread fear of the Klan in Fontana and said informants have told the police of Klan burnings against Mexicans and blacks and other incidents.

In Fontana this kind of race-terror goes back a long way. The shooting of phone worker Dovard Howard is strikingly similar to the famous O'Day H. Short case three-and-a-half decades ago, when a black family who moved into a white Fontana neighborhood was burned to death by racist vigilantes. Short, a black Los Angeles resident, bought a house in Fontana in 1945 and stood his ground in the face of sheriff's warnings of vigilante violence if the family didn't move. Two weeks later Short's house was burned to the ground, his two children perishing in the fire, his wife hours later and Short himself dying of burns in the hospital six weeks later. While police and city officials covered up for the vigilantes and the FBI sat on its hands, the NAACP and other groups took up the case. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) issued a pamphlet "Vigilante Terror in Fontana" by Myra Tanner Weiss to publicize the case.

Weiss asked, "what would happen if Henry J. Kaiser, owner of the steel mill in Fontana were threatened" instead of a black family? Well, obviously the daily papers would publicize the threat, the deputy sheriffs involved would be removed from office, the landlord arrested as party to the criminal conspiracy, and the steel magnate furnished with guards at government expense. "But Short was not Kaiser. He didn't make millions out of the blood, agony and tears of the second world war. He was just an obscure member of the persecuted Negro minority." The SWP called for an independent labor investigation to prevent a whitewash and for united defense organizations of minority groups and labor to prevent further vigilante violence.

AP

Larry West Deane, suspect arrested in racist shooting.

The social conditions which spawned the race-terror of the 1940s in Fontana have not changed one whit. The sprawling Kaiser Steel mill dominates the bleak town as it has since it was set up during World War II to take advantage of the "poor white" labor which flooded in during the depression. Even today Fontana has the aspect of rural Southern poverty: old cars sitting on blocks in the back yards, dusty "lawns" in front of ramshackle bungalows, the main drag with its discount drugstores and Salvation Army store. And everywhere the ominous "KKK" initials threatening fire and death—on the walls of downtown shops, spray-painted onto benches at bus stops, on the sides of liquor stores, even on belt buckles sported by some whites in the plant parking lot. Black workers told reporters that after dark certain areas of Fontana are off limits to blacks—not "west of Citrus and south of Merrill." All the contradictions of life in Fontana can be seen at the Cherry Street liquor store outside the plant, where the words "KKK" are scribbled on one wall and the slogan "A Four Day Week" on the other side.

The man arrested for the shooting is a wild-haired, burly biker in cut-off denim jacket and chains. But he doesn't stand out in Fontana, birthplace of the Hell's Angels, where every other driveway sports a heavy-duty machine. The bikers here are not a couple of gangs, but a whole social layer of the white population. And while swastikas and iron crosses are standard regalia for these anti-social violence cults, in Fontana there is also a big overlap between the gangs and the Klan. Their threat is not just to Chicanos and blacks—in California bike gangs have been used on more than one occasion as strikebreakers by the bosses.

But things don't have to be this way. There is another power in town—the second biggest building after City Hall is the United Steelworkers hall. USWA Local 2869 vice president Rick Flores commented on the escalating Klan terror, saying, "There are many people in Fontana who used to belong to the Klan but kept quiet about it who are now openly saying they belong." Flores recalled yet another incident when a "Mexican-American family had a house in southwest Fontana. There was some superficial incident between neighborhood children, and all of a sudden their house was surrounded by Klansmen, not just from here, but from El Monte and Los Angeles, too. They stood

continued on page 10

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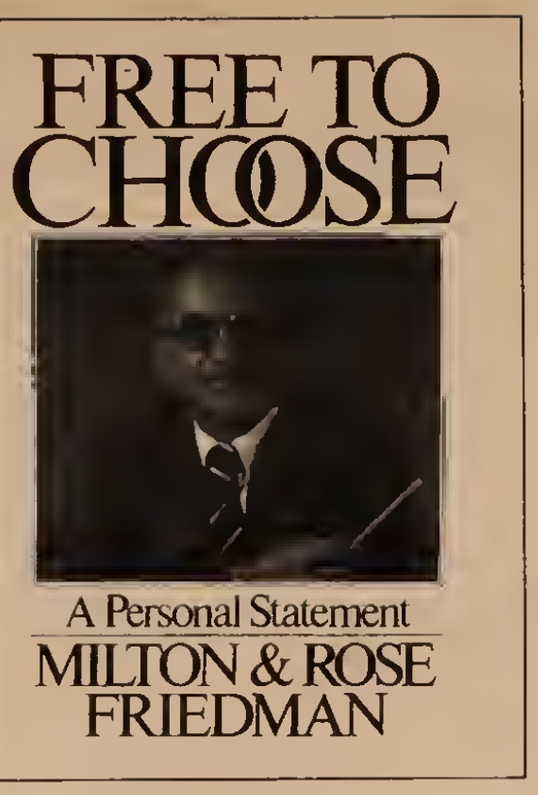
Tax Revolt Fever and the Bankruptcy of Keynesian Liberalism

BEHIND FRIEDMANIA



"In this period of social crisis, of economic shocks, *inflation and deflation are two complementary instruments for throwing on to the people the cost of decaying capitalism.* Bourgeois parties organize formidable discussions on the question: is it better to cut the workers' throats with the saw of inflation or with the simple knife of deflation? Our struggle is directed with the same energy against the saw and against the knife."

—Leon Trotsky, "The Belgian Dispute and the De Man Plan," *Writings (1934-35)*

With 22 weeks on the bestseller list for a book on economics, "the dismal science," a monthly column in *Newsweek* and now his own television series, Milton Friedman, not so long ago dismissed as the Don Quixote of the "free market" system, is today by far the most widely read and listened-to economist in the United States. And the high priest of right-wing economics may well be on the verge of even greater influence. On the jacket of *Free to Choose* one admirer writes: "It is 'must reading' for everyone—from the President to the private citizen—who is concerned with the future of America." The admirer is Ronald Reagan.

True, this isn't the first time that Friedman has been associated with a Republican presidential candidate. He was Barry Goldwater's adviser back in 1964. But then everyone knew Goldwater would lose big. The GOP power brokers let Goldwater take his licks mainly to discredit what they considered the party's lunatic fringe, which included Friedman. This time around Reagan is leading the presidential race. And he intends to win largely by appealing to traditionally Democratic working-class voters fed up with Carter's horrendous economic mismanagement.

In particular Reagan is pushing a tax cut as his big campaign issue. Right-wing Republican Jack Kemp (a former quarterback for the Buffalo Bills), considered a possible running mate for Reagan, now calls the GOP "the party of working people" which can secure prosperity without inflation or unemployment. And for now this line is selling pretty well. A Louis Harris poll in May showed that 35 percent of blue-collar trade unionists believe Reagan could best manage the economy as against 30 percent for Carter. Harris noted that this is the first time that bread-and-butter economic issues favor the Republicans among the working class. The political bankruptcy of liberal economic policy could hardly be clearer.

Shortly after Friedman's *Free to Choose* came out, the latest *Wunderkind* among liberal economists, Lester Thurow, also published a popular exposition on current U.S. economic problems, *The Zero-Sum Society: Distribution and the Possibilities for Economic Change.* The difference in attitude between the two books is striking. Friedman promises a radical and relatively rapid solution for the country's obvious economic ills. The liberal Thurow promises nothing. *The Zero-Sum Society* is one long alibi for why Carter and the Democrats can't do much about the American economy. The curious title indicates his basic premise that there will be little if any economic growth in the U.S. in the foreseeable future. Therefore, any major change in economic policy must reduce some group's income, which is supposedly impossible under present-day American democracy:

"Our economic problems are solvable. For most of our problems there are several solutions. But all these solutions have the characteristic that someone must suffer large economic losses. No one wants to volunteer for this role, and we have a political process that is incapable of forcing anyone to shoulder this burden. Everyone wants someone else to suffer the necessary economic losses, and as a consequence none of the possible solutions can be adopted."

With the liberals peddling this bleak historical pessimism, promising only cutbacks and takeaways, no wonder American workers aren't buying!

Capitalist spokesmen have nothing to offer except some combination of inflation, unemployment, wage cuts and social service cuts. But there is an alternative to the capitalist rules-of-the-game. The expropriation of private industry and finance run for profit and the establishment of *socialist economic planning* under a workers government would produce material abundance while progressively shortening the time people now spend working for a living.

There's No Such Thing as a Free Lunch

Friedman advocates abolishing Social Security, unemployment insurance, welfare, public housing and the minimum wage. He stands for "right to work" laws and in the past came out for prosecuting labor unions under "restraint of trade" legislation. This program would seem unlikely to endear Friedman to the mass of American people, even among college-degree white-collar types. He himself admits that Social Security, for example, "is a sacred cow that no politician can question—as Barry Goldwater discovered in 1964."

How then does one account for the present "populist" appeal and increasing influence in ruling circles of right-wing economic nostrums? The answer lies on two levels. One is the long-term effect on a capitalist economy of government deficit spending. The second is the particular unevenness of the U.S. recovery from the 1974-75 depression and its disastrous impact on the working class.

The basic Keynesian economic program is that government deficit spending will increase *total* demand for output and so move the economy toward full employment. The key underlying assumption is that an increase in government expenditure without increased taxes will either have no effect or a positive effect on private capitalist investment as well as consumption. This assumption is radically false save in the very short run.

A capitalist government finances its budget deficits in one of two ways or a combination thereof. It can simply print the money (the usual case). In the U.S. today this takes the specific form of the Treasury selling bonds to the Federal Reserve (central bank) which then credits this sum in the government's checking account. This way of financing a deficit is inflationary because it increases total money demand for goods and services but not their supply. (The only condition in which deficit spending via the printing press might not be inflationary is during the moment of a deep depression when there are large stocks of unsold inventories. But this period is to be measured in months, not in years.) Inflation in turn reduces the value of the money-capital which businesses have set aside for investment in new plant and equipment. These investment funds are worth less—they buy less. Thus, the government expenditure is offset to a greater or lesser degree by reduced real capital formation.

Governments can also cover a budget deficit by borrowing in the private financial market. Here government bonds directly compete for loanable funds with new corporate bond issues, would-be home builders, etc. Again increased government expenditure is offset by reduced private expenditure, especially capital investment. A recent empirical study by Richard Cebula of Emory University concluded that "in both the United States and Canada private investment is apparently crowded out as a result of central government budget deficits" (*Kyklos*, Vol. 31, 1978). Thus, the effect over time of continuous government deficits is to lower the level of investment in new plant and equipment, retarding the country's productive capacity and labor productivity.

Milton Friedman's strength as an economist *of the capitalist class* is his understanding that there is no such thing as a free lunch:

"The true cost of government to the public is not measured by explicit taxes but by government spending. If government spends $500 billion, and takes in through taxes $440 billion..., who pays the difference? Not Santa Claus, but the U.S. citizen. The deficit must be financed by creating money or by borrowing from the public. If it's financed by printing money, that imposes the hidden tax of inflation in addtion to the explicit tax. If it's financed by borrowing, then the government gets those resources instead of the private sector."

—"The Limitations of Tax Limitation," *Policy Review*, Summer 1978

Hundreds of poor black youth apply for a handful of job openings.

While Friedman speaks of "the public" in the abstract, his actual program is to transfer income from old people no longer working, from nurses in public hospitals, from social workers—and of course from welfare recipients—over to the profit accounts of the Fortune 500 corporations.

The Rage for Fiscal Austerity

Of course, Friedman has been singing the same song for the past 30 years. His writings used to have about as much respectability as Ayn Rand, the prophet of capitalist individualism "red in tooth and claw." Why are important sectors of the ruling class now listening? The severe global downturn of 1974-75, by far the worst in the post-war era, had a profound effect on the economic thinking and acting of the world's bourgeoisies. They concluded they could no longer afford the going overhead cost of "the welfare state." More than four years ago we called attention to the dominant tendency toward fiscal austerity:

"[Gerald] Ford likes to point out that prominent liberal Democrats, such as Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield, agree with him on the need to reverse the growth of government spending and the federal debt. Internationally as well, a right-wing offensive against liberal economic policy is taking place....

"On a global scale, the capitalist class is driven to seek a solution to falling profitability in a massive transfer of resources from the state sector to private capital."

—"Capitalist Politicians Can't Solve Unemployment," *WV* No. 98, 27 February 1976

The slow recovery from the 1974-75 slump was marked by fiscal austerity in most major capitalist countries—Christian Democratic Italy, Giscard's France, Fälldin's Sweden, Callaghan/Thatcher's Britain and, not least, in Jimmy Carter's United States. Carter is no less committed to cutting back non-military government spending than is Reagan—at most there is a difference in degree. Since 1977 he has sharply

Spartacus Youth League exposed Friedman's role as architect of mass starvation in Chile.

Bankruptcy of Keynesian Liberalism

HIND OMANIA

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> "The true cost of government to the public is not measured by explicit taxes but by government spending. If government spends $500 billion, and takes in through taxes $440 billion..., who pays the difference? Not Santa Claus, but the U.S. citizen. The deficit must be financed by creating money or by borrowing from the public. If it's financed by printing money, that imposes the hidden tax of inflation in addtion to the explicit tax. If it's financed by borrowing, then the government gets those resources instead of the private sector."
>
> —"The Limitations of Tax Limitation," *Policy Review*, Summer 1978

While Friedman speaks of "the public" in the abstract, his actual program is to transfer income from old people no longer working, from nurses in public hospitals, from social workers—and of course from welfare recipients—over to the profit accounts of the Fortune 500 corporations.

The Rage for Fiscal Austerity

Of course, Friedman has been singing the same song for the past 30 years. His writings used to have about as much respectability as Ayn Rand, the prophet of capitalist individualism "red in tooth and claw." Why are important sectors of the ruling class now listening? The severe global downturn of 1974-75, by far the worst in the post-war era, had a profound effect on the economic thinking and acting of the world's bourgeoisies. They concluded they could no longer afford the going overhead cost of "the welfare state." More than four years ago we called attention to the dominant tendency toward fiscal austerity:

> "[Gerald] Ford likes to point out that prominent liberal Democrats, such as Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield, agree with him on the need to reverse the growth of government spending and the federal debt. Internationally as well, a right-wing offensive against liberal economic policy is taking place....
>
> "On a global scale, the capitalist class is driven to seek a solution to falling profitability in a massive transfer of resources from the state sector to private capital."
>
> —"Capitalist Politicians Can't Solve Unemployment," *WV* No. 98, 27 February 1976

The slow recovery from the 1974-75 slump was marked by fiscal austerity in most major capitalist countries—Christian Democratic Italy, Giscard's France, Fälldin's Sweden, Callaghan/Thatcher's Britain and, not least, in Jimmy Carter's United States. Carter is no less committed to cutting back non-military government spending than is Reagan—at most there is a difference in degree. Since 1977 he has sharply reduced such government programs as aid to the cities and public health and is proud of it. In fact, the frustrated liberal John Kenneth Galbraith, flinging mud at the now-fashionable Friedman, dubs the high priest of anti-Keynesianism the "spiritual parent" of *Carter's* economic policies. Certainly no greater insult can be given any professional economist.

Still it is not Friedman, but unreconstructed New Deal liberals like Galbraith who now seem hopelessly out of touch with current American economic realities. Even a number of serious Keynesian economists recognize that the basic problem of American capitalism today is stagnant industrial investment, not deficient total demand. For example, Lawrence Klein, who was a young spear carrier in "The Keynesian Revolution" of the 1930s, now sounds like a *Wall Street Journal* editorial:

> "We have lived high on the hog and failed to modernize our plant and equipment. We must go from being a high-consumption economy to being a high-saving economy if we are to reindustrialize and improve our standard of living."
>
> —*Business Week*, 30 June

Friedman is the most consistent, most radical exponent of moving away from a "high-consumption economy." It's obvious why his program of cutting back government social services and welfare measures in order to increase potential profits should appeal to capitalists—for many it always has. But why should right-wing economics get any kind of favorable hearing from working people?

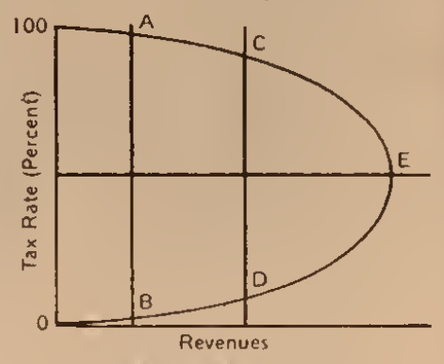
Carter's Raw Deal for the Workers

The answer lies in the uneven nature of the economic expansion under Carter. Employment recovered relatively rapidly from the 1974-75 downturn and by 1979 the labor force was 15 percent greater than in 1973. By contrast, last year investment in new plant was only 5 percent higher than the 1973 peak. This extreme unevenness had a significant effect on the underlying structure of the American economy. The expansion of the means of production failed to keep pace with the growing labor force. Between 1948 and 1973 capital stock (structures and equipment) per person employed increased at an average annual rate of 2.5 percent. Between 1975 and 1978 it actually *declined* by almost one percent a year (Edward F. Denison, *Accounting for Slower Economic Growth* [1979]).

What accounted for the "investmentless" expansion following the 1974-75 crisis? There is, of course, the classic factor that nearly full investment of the potential available surplus value will produce such a flood of cheap commodities it will wipe out the rate of profit. But this is a more or less constant and universal factor limiting production under capitalism. We must look instead at the particular factors which so retarded investment in the past half decade. The sharp 1974-75 downturn cut off a feverish capitalist spending boom heavily financed through borrowing. Many firms found themselves with half-finished construction projects, large debts and the bottom having dropped out of their markets. So in 1976-77 they used their profits mainly to repay their bankers and bondholders, while they expanded output by what seemed the least costly, least risky method—adding labor to existing facilities.

Another factor which retarded investment in the past period is usually discounted in left-wing circles—the fourfold increase in world oil prices in 1974. Typically acting as lawyers for Third World nationalism, most left-wing writers on economics (e.g., Ernest Mandel, the Communist Party's Victor Perlo, the SWP's Dick Roberts) dismiss Western ruling-class plaints about world oil and energy prices as mere chauvinist ideology and propaganda. In reality the explosion in energy prices engineered by the Seven Sisters/OPEC cartel has seriously affected American industry. Energy and machinery are complementary: the more machinery per worker, the more energy consumption per worker. So capitalists are economizing on now-expensive energy by using more labor-intensive, more primitive methods of production.

Whatever the various causes for the stagnant investment the effect on labor productivity has been predictably catastrophic. Between 1965 and 1973 manufacturing output per man-hour in the U.S. increased 2.4 percent a year. In the 1973-78 period this rate fell by 40 percent to 1.5 percent a year (*Economic Report of the President*, 1980). Internationally the deterioration was even more



The laughable Laffer curve.

marked. Between 1973 and 1979 gross national product per worker in Japan and West Germany increased *more than 30 times* that of the U.S. By late 1977 the expansion had absorbed the supply of skilled and semi-skilled labor and in general white workers were close to fully employed. The resulting production bottlenecks and sluggish rate of labor productivity caused unit labor costs to shoot up. Capitalists tried to offset this by raising their prices. Since one firm's product is another firm's input this sparked an inflationary spiral which by early this year reached Latin American banana-republic levels.

The Carter administration's response to the inflation was the standard liberal policy since John F. Kennedy—wage-price guidelines. For liberals and social democrats, wage-price guidelines or statutory controls are more than a temporary counter to inflation. Rather, they are viewed as the solution to a fundamental contradiction of capitalism. Over a century ago Marx pointed out that a boom which produces near full employment enables workers to bid up wages at the expense of profits. The capitalists then respond by cutting back investment thus restoring the reserve army of the unemployed as a drag on wages.

Today liberal and social-democratic politicians and their trade-union bureaucrat friends offer or impose on the working class the following deal: we, the government, promise to maintain full employment through fiscal and monetary policies; in turn, you, organized labor, will forgo taking advantage of the tight labor market and instead accept the wage rates we determine. In the past few years American workers have experienced this liberal/reformist "social contract" and have learned the hard way it is not a New Deal or a Fair Deal but a very *raw* deal for them. In October 1978 when Carter's wage-price guidelines were instituted, consumer prices were rising at a goodly clip of 10 percent a year. This February inflation went out of sight at an 18 percent annual rate. As a result, the real take-home pay of the average industrial worker fell 7 percent under Carter's guidelines (*Monthly Labor Review*, January 1979 and April 1980). Teddy Kennedy, who has been pushing a compulsory wage-price freeze, promised to be even more of a disaster. No wonder Reagan, Friedman & Co. could look to many workers like the lesser evil.

Tax Revolt and White Backlash

The conservative right has been able to exploit working-class reaction against liberal Democratic economics in large part because of the connection between inflation and taxes. Under the existing progressive income tax system, wage increases needed just to keep up with inflation push people into higher brackets. Many workers whose real wages have fallen in the past few years now pay a higher percentage of their gross income in taxes. Between 1966 and 1979 real take-home pay of the average worker fell slightly. In this same period total taxes collected have gone from 28 to 33 percent of gross national product (*Economic Report of the President*, 1980). So when Friedman goes after the inflation/income tax rip-off, he is bound to get a sympathetic hearing from millions of working people.

With the liberal program of wage-price guidelines/controls exposed as a cruel joke, many workers believed the only thing the government could do to help them stand the killing inflation was to cut their taxes—the more, the better. Reagan and his friends identified themselves foursquare with the "tax revolt" ushered in a couple years ago by California's Prop 13. Carter stubbornly opposed any tax cut as inflationary until a few weeks ago. Kennedy, well practiced in the art of political suicide, still opposes a tax cut.

In a sense the "tax revolt" is the white backlash at two or three removes. For the past few years until the present crisis,

continued on page 8

How Pinochet's men carried out the Friedmanite economic model.

Friedmania...

(continued from page 7)

white workers haven't had much trouble finding or keeping a job. Not so for blacks. Since 1974 black unemployment has never fallen below 10 percent and for the past few years has been almost three times that of white adult men. Many white workers, temporarily secure about a job, regarded "welfare state" liberalism as something only for black women with ten children. If welfare or CETA or food stamps had to be slashed in order to cut their own taxes, that was just too bad. Reporters who observe the similarity between Reagan's blue-collar appeal and George Wallace's are on to something, although the former California governor is less flagrant in his racism. More precisely, he disguises his racist program through attacks on "big government" liberalism.

But now that the depression has hit the picture looks very different. White workers, thrown out of work for a long time, will once more look upon unemployment insurance, government job retraining, even welfare and food stamps as not just for blacks, but as programs for themselves. At the same time reactionaries of every stripe will try to scapegoat blacks for economic misery. The white backlash is not however the result of Reagan the Republican, but of decades of betrayal of *class struggle* by the labor bureaucrats and liberal black leaders who are tied to the Democratic Party. And it is only through united class struggle that racist demagogy and attacks can be fought and reversed.

The majority of workers still view the Democrats as the party more concerned with unemployment and matters of economic security. Whether this can keep Carter in the White House remains to be seen. Of course, to call Carter an opportunist is like calling Jack the Ripper a naughty boy. He has just come out with his own tax cut and a $2 billion emergency public works program (peanuts). Still it's going to be hard for Carter to pass himself off as a new New Deal liberal, a true successor to Franklin D. At the same time if Reagan, Friedman & Co. believe the majority of American workers will cheer as they dismantle this country's minimal economic security programs, they are in for the shock of their lives.

Laffer Curves and Other Fantasies

There is a tendency to lump all right-wing political types together. However, grouped around Reagan's camp are conservative economic ideologues who, whatever their common homilies about the "free market," have policy differences with one another greater than their differences with Carter or even Kennedy. In November 1974 a young economist, Arthur Laffer, sent Treasury Secretary William Simon a brief memorandum, an event which for a small group of right-wing cultists ranks with Jehovah's granting of the Ten Commandments. This memorandum concluded:

> "In order to increase total employment, policy measures must have the effect of both increasing firms' demands for productive factors and increasing the productive factors' desire to be employed. Taxes of all sorts must be reduced."
>
> —cited in Jude Wanniski, *The Way the World Works* (1978)

Laffer maintained that if personal taxes were cut, more people would go to work or work longer and harder. Cut taxes enough, he argued, and there would be such a vast outpouring of labor effort that national income would increase enough to restore the old total tax revenue. He depicted this wondrous theory in a now-famous curve which purports to show that the same total tax revenue can be had with a low tax rate as with a higher one. This is called "supply-side" economics as distinct from the traditional Keynesian and monetarist focus on total demand for output.

What this Alice-in-Wonderland version of hoary "trickle down" economic theories amounts to is revealed in the lamentations of Jude Wanniski, Laffer's publicity agent, about the effect of high taxes on the downtrodden captain of industry:

> "...if you have the most talented and creative and energetic individual in your whole economy, somebody who's a J.P. Morgan, who is discouraged by the high taxes on his own income and therefore spends more of his time playing polo and sailing his yacht, and less of his time trying to figure out more efficient ways of financing enterprise...."

SYL-initiated demonstration, University of Chicago 1975. Young Spartacus

From the plight of the new J.P. Morgan on his yacht, Wanniski turns to the travails of a South Side Chicago black entrepreneur who wants to open a fried chicken place:

> "He wants to hire a kid and the government says, No, you have to pay him $3.65 minimum wage. The Board of Health says he has to have three toilets within 12 feet of the fried chicken grill. He has to go out and hire lawyers, he has to go out and hire accountants. It's a big deal just to open up a little fried chicken restaurant."
>
> —"The Battle for Reagan's Mind," *Village Voice*, 7 April 1980

And this is supposed to be a serious analysis of the deterioration of the American economy!

No one who knows anything about the real world takes Laffer/Wanniski seriously. Many of the most effective intellectual and political attacks on the Laffer curve have come from conservative economists and especially financiers, who have a vested interest in preserving the value of money. A few years ago right-wing congressman Jack Kemp introduced a bill, inspired by the Laffer curve, to cut income taxes by one-third while leaving government expenditure as is. The American haute bourgeoisie was not amused. At Congressional hearings on the Kemp-Roth bill in 1978 venerable conservative and former Federal Reserve head Arthur Burns shot down Laffer in a few sentences:

> "At the present time, we have virtually full employment in our country, as far as skilled labor is concerned. We have little surplus of skilled, experienced labor.... I therefore think that if we now had a massive tax reduction that was not accompanied by a large reduction in government spending,... the rate of inflation would be magnified."
>
> —U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Ways and Means, *Tax Reduction—Economists' Comments on HR. 8333 and S. 1860* (1978)

Citibank economist Lief Olson pointed out that the Laffer/Kemp proposal, touted as the latest word in right-wing fiscal radicalism, would be equivalent to Keynesian deficit spending with a vengeance. Among the pillars of the financial aristocracy who opposed Kemp-Roth as inflationary were the head of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, the senior vice presidents of Bankers Trust, Manufacturers Hanover Trust and Kidder Peabody investment bankers, the head of Citibank's Economic Policy Committee, the managing director of First Boston Corp. and the president of the U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce. Anyone who thinks Congress will enact a tax bill against the will of those boys is living in a fool's paradise.

When Reagan first started running for president, he talked about a tax cut similar to Kemp-Roth. But now that it looks like he might actually administer the most powerful capitalist state in the world, the American ruling class is reining him in. All of his advisers who have real weight on Wall Street—Arthur Burns; bond dealer and former treasury secretary William Simon; stock market analyst Alan Greenspan—dismiss Laffer and Wanniski as "wild men" and insist that any tax cuts must be matched by cuts in spending. A few months ago *Business Week* (7 April) observed that Reagan is "under increasing pressure to transform his populist economic rhetoric into a more traditional GOP economic platform." And he has done so, since he knows who his masters are. If Reagan actually tried to cut taxes by 30 percent without touching government expenditure, Wall Street would have him assassinated.

The Laffer curve is nonsense. Why then has it gotten so much publicity in the past few years? Because it promises what people want—a big tax cut—without the cost (politically hard to extract) of a corresponding reduction in government programs. Friedman remarks acerbically that there is growing popular support only for one-half of his fiscal program: "The widespread enthusiasm for reducing government taxes and other impositions is not matched by a comparable enthusiasm for eliminating government programs...." Unlike the mushheads Laffer/Wanniski, Friedman does not claim his policies will benefit everyone and admits that his "cure for inflation" will have "painful side effects." To see just what he means, we must look at Pinochet's Chile, the living laboratory of Friedmanite economics.

Friedmanite Chile: Free to Starve

On television Friedman appears to be a mild-mannered ivory tower professorial type. He cites Jefferson and the Founding Fathers a lot and comes off as an idealist. Don't be fooled. Milton Friedman is a vicious international political operator, responsible for the murder, torture, starvation and suffering inflicted on workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Chile is mentioned just once in *Free to Choose*, as an example of a country where the government was overthrown supposedly because it couldn't control inflation. (The inflation actually accelerated in the year or so following the 1973 military coup.) Someone unfamiliar with Friedman's political record might assume he deplored the overthrow of parliamentary democracy in Chile by a military dictatorship though perhaps regarded it as inevitable. Nothing could be further from the truth. Friedman and his "Chicago boys" were up to their ears in Pinochet's coup and especially its bloody aftermath. To understand Friedman and Chile one must realize that the "Chicago school" is not just another current of academic economics like the neo-Keynesian Cambridge or econometric MIT schools. It is more like a cult. The "Chicago boys" look upon Friedman as a veritable prophet sent into the capitalist world to purge it of its "socialistic" sins. The "Chicago school" is an international right-wing political cabal whose members braintrust plotting generals and infiltrate government bureaucracies.

Under Pinochet's junta the Chilean "Chicago boys"—Jorge Cauas, Sergio de Castro, Pablo Barahona and others—took over the reins of economic policy. UPI (15 June) reports that in a recent interview, former economics minister Barahona now admits that "a year *before* the 1973 coup, several of the Chicago boys got together" to "formulat[e] a plan to rebuild the economy" under military rule (our emphasis). What he neglected to mention was that this 300-page Friedmanite blueprint given to the generals in preparation for the coup was *financed by the CIA* (see "Braintruster of Chilean 'Shock Treatment' Gets Imperialist Prize," *Young Spartacus* No. 49, December 1976). In March 1975 Friedman himself, accompanied by his University of Chicago cohort Arnold Harberger, went to Chile for high-level talks to outline a "shock treatment" for the inflation-ridden economy. According to the Santiago *Ercilla* (2 April 1975), Friedman counseled Pinochet to harden his heart: "Don't worry about your international image anymore, Mr. President. Just make sure that the international corporations find it profitable here, and nothing more." And just how did Friedman intend to make Chile profitable for international corporations?

> "The 'Chicago Boys,' as the junta's economic advisers like to call themselves, slashed public spending, restricted bank credit and slowed the printing of money.
>
> "The only public expenditure that has escaped the scissors has been the military budget...."
>
> —*New York Times*, 21 September 1975

Sound familiar?

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New York Times reporter Jonathan Kandell was struck by how Friedman had become practically a cult figure in Pinochet's Chile. In a 21 March 1976 article entitled, "Chile, Lab Test for a Theorist," he wrote:

> "It is not often that a leading economist with strong views is given a chance to test specific prescriptions for a very sick economy....
> "Milton Friedman, the University of Chicago professor, has achieved precisely that status in Chile. Hardly a week passes without a reference to him or his theories in newspapers and magazines. Most members of the junta's economic team have either studied under Mr. Friedman or consider themselves 'Chicago Boys,' disciples of the professor's conservative, monetarist principles.
> "Mr. Friedman's views on the Chilean economy have also been largely supported by the United States State Department, foreign businessmen and bankers...."

Kandell goes on to survey the Chilean economy a year after the made-in-Chicago "shock treatment":

> "Last year, the gross national product declined by more than 12 percent.... Unemployment, which is climbing above 16 percent, has reached its most dramatic level in three decades. Malnutrition is widespread in the urban slums."

The conservative London *Economist* (2 February 1980), which supported the right-wing coup against Allende, admits that the depression engineered by the "Chicago boys" in 1975-76 "hit Chile as hard as the slump in the 1930s hit Britain." And *Business Week* (12 January 1976), hardly an organ of liberal protest, recognized that only a brutal military dictatorship could impose the Friedmanite economic model:

> "Because a drastic cut in government outlays often triggers a sharp jump in unemployment, the almost inevitable result is labor unrest. Countries that try the cold-turkey approach to inflation therefore tend, like Brazil and Chile, to be regimes that use police power to contain the social fallout of these economic policies....
> "...Chile's public works programs reach only about one out of seven of those officially recorded as unemployed. The plight of the poor is made even more difficult by acts of intimidation against private charitable efforts...."

We communists have always pointed out that when capitalist spokesmen talk about freedom, they mean freedom to exploit the workers. Milton Friedman, who talks more loudly about capitalism and freedom than anyone else, is just a bigger liar than anyone else. For the think-tankers of American imperialism the name of the game is concocting theories to justify mass starvation in the name of "freedom" and the balanced budget. Any whiz kid of Pentagon social "science" can draw a probability curve to show how massive bombing in Vietnam leads to "urbanization" and thus "economic development." But Milton Friedman has achieved a true pinnacle of power: the "Chicago boys" in Chile have just completed their purge of every non-Friedmanite economist from the country's universities ([London] *Times*, 28 May). And while Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom* and *Free to Choose* are undoubtedly compulsory reading in the universities and ministries of Pinochet's Chile, the works of Marx, Lenin and even Friedman's liberal *bête noire* Galbraith are burned. Perhaps this latter act of book burning is a personal favor for this "apostle of freedom."

Friedman Will Pay

In the fall of 1975 the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at the University of Chicago launched a campaign to drive the architects of mass starvation in Chile, Friedman and Harberger, off campus through protest and exposure. Perhaps because the SYL-led campaign hounded this seventh member of the Chilean junta for years, Friedman is well aware that militant Marxism exists on the nation's campuses. The architect of hunger for millions in Chile, whose program required the murder of 30,000 workers and leftists, complains about "these crazy kids, these kooks, with the madness on their faces." The worldwide operator whose followers burn the books and witchhunt the advocates of *any* other economic theories has the gall to invoke "academic freedom." And he is backed up with a Nobel Prize—the imperialist seal of approval also awarded to Vietnam mass murderer Henry Kissinger—for demonstrating "the complexity of stabilization policy"!

In an interesting passage in *Free to Choose*, he observes that the manifest economic bankruptcy of social democracy in Britain and liberalism in the U.S. has produced an upsurge not only in the "free market" right but also in the Marxian left.

> "They have no solutions to offer to present-day evils except more of the same. They can no longer arouse enthusiasm among the young who now find the ideas of Adam Smith or Karl Marx far more exciting than Fabian socialism or New Deal liberalism."

But the mortal enemies of this apostle of capitalism without freedom will not be limited to student-youth drawn to Marxist ideas, but will be centered on the American class brothers of the workers butchered and starved in Friedmanite Chile.

None of the bourgeois economists—neither Keynesians nor monetarists nor "supply-siders"—can overcome the irrationality of capitalism's boom-bust cycle. The only solution which can lead to real freedom from want is proletarian socialist revolution. ■

Black Radical Lawyer Threatened with Disbarment

Stop the Witchhunt Against Conrad Lynn!

The noted black radical civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn is under attack from the legal establishment once again. Lynn's devotion to the defense of the oppressed is chronicled in his autobiography, *There is a Fountain* (reviewed in *WV* No. 252, 21 March 1980). This dedication of his legal talent to civil rights and radical causes spanning more than four decades has brought him into continuous conflict with the corrupt, racist and class-biased criminal "justice" system. Now he is threatened with disbarment, along with the prominent black Republican lawyer Cora Walker, for telling the truth about the capitalist courts on a popular television program, *Like It Is*.

Lynn and Walker appeared on a segment of this program devoted to "Judicial Corruption" on June 3 of last year. Soon thereafter they were under investigation by the New York State Commission of Judicial Conduct for violation of "Canon 8" of the "Code of Professional Responsibility." In a recent interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Lynn pointed out that this "canon" decrees:

> "...that a lawyer should not say anything to bring the judiciary into disrepute. That is so funny after Watergate, that we shouldn't say anything to bring the judiciary into disrepute. Lawyers don't have the civil rights of other people, at least that is what they are saying."

Neither Lynn nor Walker were ever informed of the specific statements that they might have made which the Commission believed to be in violation of "Canon 8." However, Lynn surmises from the nature of the Commission's inquiry that they took exception to at least two statements he made. Given the corruption and attendant expense of buying "justice" Lynn stated on *Like It Is* that, "a poor person, especially in the Criminal Court, cannot expect justice except by luck." In his *WV* interview Lynn insisted, "that's going to be very difficult for them to do anything about because that is my personal opinion." But the Commission is really after Lynn for his statement on the program that to become a New York Supreme Court

Conrad Lynn WV Photo

judge it takes a "pledge to the [Democratic Party] club" of one year's salary. He elaborated, "...when the judge is put on the bench, then he has to continue to pay until this whole year's salary which is the cost of the job is paid off. Many times I've been a little embarrassed at noontime going into a little hamburger joint and there's a Supreme Court judge sitting. Well of course the poor man is under so much pressure to pay back all these obligations to get his job that he can't really eat in a first class restaurant."

Lynn later told *Workers Vanguard*: "Now these judges know this was said on the air. None of these judges have condemned me. Why? Because after they get the job they resent the fact that they had to pay all this money. So they're not going to criticize me for saying that." Lynn pointed out he made the very same charge in *There is a Fountain*:

> "Actually they are after my book. Because the book says judges are bought. Why didn't somebody sue me? They had one year to sue. Any judge could sue for group libel and destroy me forever. Not one judge sued me. Because they knew I could prove it. They [the Commission] asked me to bring the book in, this is important, the time I came before this group. They would not attack the book because they knew that even Republicans, the *New York Times*, everybody would come to my defense on that. They can't attack a book so they try to get at it obliquely. "Now this happened once before. In 1967 I published that book against the draft, how to stay out of the army. Robert Morgenthau, who is presently District Attorney of New York County, was then United States attorney. After the book came out he summoned me before a federal grand jury for making a wrong notarization, a misdemeanor, on a bankruptcy paper for some black woman who had a little business out in Brooklyn. I took my little book with me. This federal grand jury of 23 people sitting there in 1967 in the middle of the Vietnam War with so many things to do, looked at this guy in amazement that he wanted to consider indicting me for that. I gave the foreman of the jury the book. I said I think this will indicate why. And they passed it around and then they threw out the charges. And that Morgenthau has hated my guts ever since."

As if prosecution for speaking the truth were not enough, the New York Bar Disciplinary Committee is also trying to frame up Lynn for "professional misconduct" based on the complaint of a couple that he cheated them out of an illusory $6 million settlement with the FBI. Lynn had to obtain a statement from the attorney general of North Carolina (!) testifying to the spuriousness of this claim. While this couple resided in North Carolina the attorney general investigated the fantasized settlement for tax purposes and concluded this couple was "confused, generally unaware of their affairs and had imagined this asserted judgement recovery" (letter of Rufus L. Edmisten, attorney general, state of North Carolina, to Mrs. Marion S. Namm of the Departmental Disciplinary Committee for the First Judicial Department, New York, 26 June 1980). The fact that Conrad Lynn, the defense attorney for the black youth in the notorious "Kissing Case" and for Robert F. Williams, must appeal to the attorney general of North Carolina against the vendettas of New York's "liberal" legal establishment, speaks volumes about "justice" in America today, whether for the black defendant or the black lawyer who attempts to use the legal channels to attempt to get a little social justice.

Recently, William Kunstler and Morty Stavis of the Center for Constitutional Rights have offered to defend Lynn from the charges arising from his *Like It Is* interview. WABC, the station which carred the program, has stepped in to try to mediate a deal whereby Lynn disclaims his "objectionable" remarks in the interview and disciplinary proceedings are dropped by the judicial establishment. But Lynn refuses to disclaim his indictment of the racist, capitalist crime-infested criminal "justice" system, or to be silenced. We applaud his courageous stand and demand that all charges and disciplinary proceedings be dropped immediately. ■

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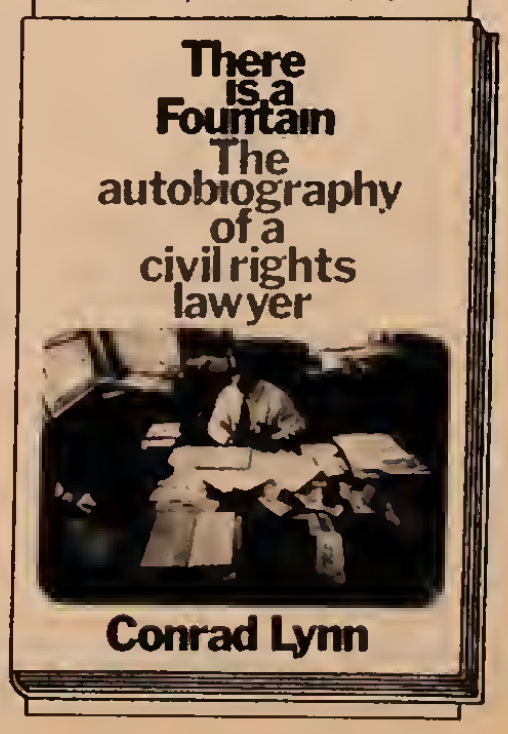

Detroit City Workers...

(continued from page 12)

increase in 1977 putting them far behind inflation. This was accompanied by draconian cuts in the city workforce through suspensions and firings. So city workers are justifiably bitter at the black mayor they helped put into office who calls on them to sacrifice to "enhance [Detroit's] reputation by putting up our best face for the Republicans."

AFSCME chief negotiator Lloyd Simpson hotly denies Young's charge that the union is "holding the Republican convention hostage." What would be so wrong about that? City workers have no reason to give a damn for the arch-racist, anti-labor Republicans, or for preserving the image of Democratic mayor Coleman Young. Striking workers should say, "If you want your convention, give us a living wage."

The city workers are eager to wage a militant strike, but the weak-kneed AFSCME bureaucrats have refused to go all out and shut down all city services. ATU bus drivers and Teamster garbage truck drivers are honoring picket lines, but their contracts expired the same day as AFSCME workers—they should be out on strike with the rest. And through a treacherous agreement between the city and the Building Trades Council, Carpenters Local 95 and electricians from IBEW Locals 17 and 58 are crossing picket lines at Cobo Hall and Joe Louis Arena to continue preparations for the convention. This scabbing must stop! Pull out the craft unions and the city administration will be up against the wall!

Meanwhile the City Council building, while surrounded by pickets, remains in operation while city officials like phony "Marxist" councilman Ken Cockrel scab with impunity. Strikers were eager to show a *WV* reporter where Cockrel, who likes to pose as the auto workers' champion, went in to work. When Cockrel was confronted as he crossed the picket line, the normally fast-talking councilman had nothing to say except to stick up his middle finger and to grab his crotch. City workers: remember this when Mayor Young's "left" challenger makes his bid for the mayor's office—Cockrel was a simple strikebreaker and a scab.

At Thursday's press conference, Young tried to line up the Detroit population against the strike, threatening, "We are in the midst of a renaissance which is being hailed across the nation....and we are not about to mortgage Detroit's future for the benefit of a few." Neither workers nor city residents, many of whom are unemployed auto workers whose SUB fund has just dried up, are buying this anti-union claptrap. They've got the money—they bailed out a loser like Chrysler; they poured millions into revamping downtown and they gave hefty raises at City Hall. It's simply a question of who in town gets it.

Coleman Young likes to flaunt his past as the quintessential progressive—he was a street-wise organizer for the UAW, he marched in the civil rights movement, he even shook hands with Angela Davis. But Jimmy Carter's premier black Democrat is no friend of labor and blacks. As Detroit sinks into a bottomless pit, this errand boy for Henry Ford builds the Ren Cen for the bankers and the executives, and nobody else. As one sanitation worker remarked, "There has never been a renaissance for city workers." Break with the twin parties of capitalism! For a workers party to mobilize the masses in militant class struggle toward a workers government!

City Workers: Unite Behind a Program to Win!

No contract, No work! Stop all scabbing! All city workers out! Young's Republican convention be damned—no work at Cobo or Joe Louis Arena!

For a big wage boost with a full COLA! End all forced overtime! Restore all job cuts, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay and massive hiring!

For a militant strike! Mass picketing—no one goes into struck shops! Link up with the rest of labor—auto workers, employed and unemployed should help man the picket lines.

City workers need a fighting leadership. No more sellouts to please the Democrats or Republicans! Break with the bosses' parties and build a workers party!

For elected strike committees and regular mass meetings to run the negotiations to ensure that the strike wins! ■

Victory to the City Workers Strike!

Leaflet published by the Rouge Militant Caucus members of UAW Local 600, 7 July 1980:

The UAW must not allow the 9,000 striking Detroit city workers to be sacrificed to ensure a smooth launching for Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign. City workers shouldn't give a penny for Reagan, a Nixon-Republican, a staunch racist and the man who calls unemployment insurance a "prepaid vacation for freeloaders."

Young calls for city workers "to share the misery of laid-off auto workers." He threatened AFSCME that if they went on strike "they would live to regret it," and demanded they accept a so-called Chrysler solution. This means mortgaging Detroit to the banks, while slashing city services and laying off hundreds of workers. To hell with this! We need a united fight of labor to save our jobs and living standards, not more brothers and sisters on the unemployment lines. AFSCME must call out the rest of the city workers unions who are working without a contract. This especially means the building trades who are continuing to work at Cobo Hall and Joe Louis Arena to prepare the Republican Convention. They are critical to force the city government to start bargaining seriously.

As auto workers, we have some power in this town. Young knows it. He has asked Doug Fraser to intervene and tell AFSCME to go back to work! This would be a crime. Instead, every UAW local in Detroit should show its active solidarity with the striking city workers by passing the following motion:

MOTION: That this local supports the victory of the city workers strike, and we call on and organize employed and laid-off UAW members to join the city workers' picket lines. This motion is to be distributed to all Detroit-area UAW locals, to city workers unions and the Detroit media.

Fontana...

(continued from page 5)

outside the house, and showed exposed weapons..." (*Herald Examiner*, 3 July).

In Fontana the potential power of the steel workers has been stymied by the threat of ever-more massive layoffs and possible shutdown of the plant. And with the inaction of the unions, the only force that could turn things around, you get despair. At one time Kaiser Steel employed up to 7,700 workers at the mill. But since the fall of 1979, 1,700 workers have been indefinitely laid off, while the company has been systematically attacking key union gains such as seniority and job classifications and running amok with health and safety violations. Meanwhile, Kaiser has been trying to sell the Fontana plant to anyone who will take it, already having been turned down by the Japanese steel maker Nippon Kokoan and LTV Corp. of Dallas. Kaiser spokesman Kathleen Hyland denies plans to liquidate Fontana, but David Healy, an analyst with Drexel Burnham Lambert, Inc., in New York, said LTV "probably concluded that there's no way that any steel company could make that plant run profitably" (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 July).

After Fontana workers' direct experience with the fascist killers, USWA Local 2869 vice president Flores and executive board member Ray King eagerly endorsed the Rally to Stop the Nazis in San Francisco on April 19. But what made that demonstration a success was the actual mobilization of union strength. To get at the roots of the problems of this one-industry, one-plant town, what is needed is strike action to stop the mass layoffs. With the Fontana USWA's well-integrated membership (50 percent white, 35 percent Chicano, 15 percent black) it can and must take the lead defending labor and minorities in the San Bernardino area. The CWA, too, has a special responsibility as its members are being shot down off the telephone polls while performing their jobs. Phone workers were the largest single contingent at the April 19 rally, and southern California phone workers must demand their union take action to mobilize the rest of labor to put a stop to this night-riding terror in broad daylight.

The doctors say that Dovard Howard will probably be permanently paralyzed from the waist down. Moreover he and his wife and children remain exposed to continuing danger. The organization of labor/Chicano/black defense guards against racist attack is an urgent task of the unions. Only a few years ago, UAW workers at the International Harvester plant in Melrose Park, Illinois mounted round-the-clock union defense guards at the house of a black family, effectively stopping racist vigilantes. In this context the upcoming USWA convention in Los Angeles can be an opportunity to mobilize the union against the fascist threat directed not only at blacks and Chicanos, but against the labor movement—in Gary, Indiana and the Ohio steel valley as much as in the bleak desert of Fontana. The unions must launch demonstrations of labor's strength to protest the fascist outrage.

Twenty-five years ago the then-revolutionary SWP wrote that racist vigilantes in Fontana could only be dealt with by the independent political mobilization of labor and minorities against the capitalist parties, that "[California State Attorney General] Kenny can no more challenge the vigilantes than Roosevelt or Truman could offend the 'Solid Democratic South'." Today while reformists such as the Communist Party call on city councils to "ban the Klan" and the driveling SWP advocates the "right" to "free speech" for the fascist killers, the Spartacist League has taken the lead in fighting for blacks and labor to use their power to stop the racists. The unions must break with the Democratic Party of KKK grand dragon Tom Metzger and Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter to undertake an integrated union/minority defense against the fascists and build a workers party! ■

Carter...

(continued from page 1)

is simply unprepared for sacrifices" (*Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1980). The tsar-loving apologist for the Black Hundreds and the born-again Baptist with his finger on the nuclear button are sounding the same theme. But fortunately for mankind, European workers are not prepared to sacrifice for an anti-Soviet crusade. Millions remember that it was the supreme sacrifice of 20 million Soviet dead which broke the back of Hitler's armies.

An important element in the European bourgeois calculation is the higher level of working-class organization and consciousness (compared to the U.S.), and a more vivid recollection of the nightmarish devastation of World War II. (The ruling class also remembers the spectre of revolution it faced at war's end.) For Americans war has always happened "over there," and the U.S. bourgeoisie considers its working class to be basically patriotic. But although anti-Soviet sentiment runs more deeply on this side of the Atlantic, American workers may also resist Carter's price tag: billions for the war machine amid mass unemployment, falling real wages and huge cutbacks in social services.

It is testimony to the betrayals by the Stalinist bureaucracy that the Soviet Union still exists in virtual isolation in a hostile capitalist world 63 years after the October Revolution. Ironically, the addition of China to the Stalinist sphere has not helped the Soviet position because of the treachery of the Chinese bureaucrats, who have lined up diplomatically and militarily with the U.S. The Kremlin's response to increased American military pressure has predictably been a renewed "peace offensive," relying on the pro-détente sentiments of the European imperialists to prevent deployment of new U.S. missiles.

This sort of "protection" will be about as effective as the Stalin-Hitler pact. When it comes down to a crunch with Moscow in the present period, Schmidt is right in saying that the U.S. "can count on the damned Germans." On the other hand, the Kremlin leaders say they will do what is necessary to maintain parity with the Western arms build-up. Soviet intervention to forestall a CIA-backed takeover in neighboring Afghanistan is encouraging, indicating that liberal rot has not yet terminally undermined the Russian bureaucracy's ability to perceive a threat to the conquests of the October Revolution. And even Western press reports indicate that the Soviet people are prepared to undergo the material sacrifices needed to forestall imperialist aggressive designs. But the Soviet leaders remain wedded to the "disarmament" frauds embodied in the SALT I and II agreements.

Whatever armaments program the Kremlin adopts for now, the fundamental Stalinist program of "peaceful coexistence" with world capitalism is the greatest internal blow to the defense of the USSR. Only when the European and American workers take the power from their historically bankrupt ruling classes will the Soviet Union be secure and the future of mankind assured. The Soviet bureaucracy, precariously trying to balance between the pressures of imperialism and the working class, is incapable of waging a struggle for worldwide socialist revolution. It is up to the Trotskyists, the Bolsheviks of today, to rally the world proletariat to break forever the power of the imperialist warmongers.

Oppose the imperialist arms drive! No American missiles in Europe! Down with NATO! For the revolutionary reunification of Germany, proletarian powerhouse of Europe! Unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack—For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy! For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Detroit Klan March...

(continued from page 12)

heard over the roaring, chanting crowd. The left groups crowded into the upper gallery chanted, "Death to the Klan." Russell backed away from the microphone, the chairman adjourned the meeting, and cops whisked the Nazis out the side door. Pandemonium ensued: there would be no orderly "debate" with the fascists. Good.

Supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) rushed to the front and grabbed the microphone amidst the uproar, screaming, "The city council are front men for the Nazis." The cops charged the CWP. One CWP supporter held up his arms to indicate he would "go quietly," but the cops seized him from behind, hauling him to the floor by his hair, and savagely beat him with half a dozen blows before dragging him out. Another was beaten and dragged headlong over the TV camera equipment.

Ten minutes later the meeting was called to order again, this time without the Nazis and Klan. When the crowd of 600 acted in unison drowning out the Klan they were successful. But the confrontations by the frenzied Maoists resulted only in cop attacks and more arrests. The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of macho-Maoism waving its red flags in the gallery was not to be out-frenzied by the CWP. They awaited their chance for futile confrontation with the cops and got it when Councilman Jack Kelley ridiculed their May Day mayhem and then red-baited them, equating the RCP with the Klan. An RCPer took this bait and stood up in the back yelling, "Shut up, you dog!" Kelley raised his fist, shouting, "You come up here, you pussy! I'll stick that flag up your ass!" The RCPer didn't have time to move as cops descended on him and after a scuffle with other RCPers dragged him out by his feet.

As the room began to settle down again, a woman RCP supporter grabbed the front mike and yelled wildly, "These dogs have no right to speak!" only to be hauled off by three women undercover cops. Another RCPer then burst into the aisle but realized too late he had nothing to say. Shouting, "We have something to say, you can't do this," he too was dragged out by the cops. The president of the city council thereupon threatened the entire upper gallery with arrest. At this a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) member cheered with gleeful support. In contrast with the sniveling SWP reformists, who advocate "free speech" for the fascists, in confrontations between Maoist screwball adventurists and marauding cops Trotskysts defend the left against the attacks of the capitalist state. Drop the charges against the leftists!

By the time it was all over, eleven of the leftist protesters were arrested. Such antics may deliver a few richly deserved kicks to the Nazis, but more often they end up as fruitless, adventurist confrontations with the police which leave the fascists untouched and emboldened by the impotence of the small group actions. What is necessary is to mobilize the power of labor and the black masses against the racist terrorists.

Cockrel Backs Down

Many people at the hearing agreed with a proposal made by councilman Ken Cockrel three weeks earlier. Cockrel had said, "Let them march and let's get a group of neighborhood people over there and kick their ass" (*Detroit Free Press*, 6 June). Cockrel's statement echoed the hatred of the population for the Nazis. And it tapped an instinctive sense that "debating" a permit didn't mean a damn. The important thing was that the Nazis had to be stopped.

One black woman speaker from the East Side, Dorothy Speidel, articulated the sentiment of thousands of Detroiters and received near-continuous applause when she said, "Don't turn them down. Let them march down Mack Avenue on the Lower East Side and it will save you a costly court battle. It will help us wipe out the slimy cowards and trash. They will be greeted with the keys to the city on the Lower East Side with lye and fire and stone."

By the time of the city council meeting, however, Cockrel was backpeddling desperately. His mayoral ambitions got squeezed between his pose as a black "militant" alternative to Coleman Young and his abiding need for liberal approval and respectability. He chose the latter and became a black "militant" for "free speech for fascists." Coming under fire from the city administration and the bourgeois press, Cockrel changed his proposal, advocating a demonstration on a different day from the one picked by the Nazis/KKK.

At the meeting, Cockrel called for the opinions of the city departments—all except the law department recommended denial of the permit. Even the police department announced, "Police cannot guarantee protection for this type of activity." The cop assaults on the leftists at the meeting illustrated who the police protect. It is not the pleading of reformists that the government "ban the Klan" but the threat of countermobilizations against the Nazis that has put the cops on the defensive.

The ACLU, on the other hand, defended the Nazis' "right" to a permit amidst a chorus of boos. If the SWP didn't openly join the civil libertarian liberals at the mike, it was only out of cowardice. Certainly the city council, the cops and any other agency of the government have no right to determine permits for political events, a legal device historically used against the left. But while the council opines on the "constitutional rights" of the fascists to demonstrate, it does not hesitate to ban anti-Klan demonstrations as it unsuccessfully attempted to do in the aftermath of the Greensboro killings last November when 500 anti-Klan protesters gathered in Kennedy Square.

For Labor/Black Mobilization

The city council meeting was dominated by a circus of adventurism and reformism aimed at pressuring the capitalist government to "ban the Klan" by denying them a permit. Against this program of defeat, another strategy was presented, however: that of mass labor/black mobilizations to smash the Nazis and the Klan. Frank Hicks, a member of the Rouge Militant Caucus of UAW Local 600, spoke for Cockrel's original position for a mass counterdemonstration to "kick their ass," much to the embarrassment of the "Marxist" councilman. Hicks denounced the city council's attempt to arbitrate on political activities, drawing tumultuous applause when he said: "If this city council wants to do something constructive on August 23, they can send the Detroit police force out of town." Even the cops liked that idea. But Cockrel interrupted the next speaker to comment, "I mean these statements in the same sense that Jimmy Carter meant when he said he would kick Teddy Kennedy's ass."

It will not be the Cockrels or the Maoist nuts who stop the Klan, but the power of the largely black Detroit labor movement. Nowhere is it more graphic than in this city where one out of every five workers is now jobless, where black youth unemployment is expected to reach 65 percent by the end of the summer, where the black mayor is threatening to call out the National Guard to bust a city workers strike in honor of the Reagan convention, where there is growing racist vigilantism and cop terror.

But no matter how the city council votes on the permit, one thing is clear: the Nazis and Klan must not ride in the Motor City! For a mass mobilization led by the unions and black organizations!

The seething frustration of Detroit's masses, largely black, as they see their lives being shattered by mass layoffs and 20 percent inflation must be channeled into militant class struggle. For a shorter workweek with no loss in wages—30 for 40! Break with the Democratic and Republican twin parties ties of capitalism! Oust the Frasers and other labor bureaucrats—for a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

"Send the Cops Out of Town!"

We reprint below remarks of United Auto Workers militant Frank Hicks at the Detroit city council meeting June 26. Hicks was one of the initiators of the Kennedy Square anti-Klan rally in Detroit last November 10 and one of the organizers of the campaign which drove two KKK-hooded foremen out of Ford's River Rouge plant. Significantly, of the 80 speakers at the city council meeting only Hicks spoke to the need to mobilize the power of the labor movement and blacks to smash the fascists.

My name is Frank Hicks. I'm representing the Rouge Militant Caucus of UAW Local 600. In the midst of depression and mass layoffs the Klan and Nazis want to demonstrate. We saw how these fascists demonstrated in Greensboro, North Carolina. The Nazis and Klan are here to organize for their solution—their "final solution." We can not allow this to happen.

Councilman Cockrel made a proposal for a mass counterdemonstration against the Nazis on August 23rd in Kennedy Square to "kick their ass." (Applause) From press reports Councilman Cockrel seems to be backing away from this position—but it is the right one. It's the only thing they understand. (Applause) I know that auto workers from every plant in this city would answer such a call.

Is there really a need for a meeting like this to discuss whether or not to allow a racist outrage to be committed in Detroit? Lynchings, cross-burnings and murder are not debatable questions, but acts of terror against blacks, unionists, Jews, socialists and others. This is not a question of free speech. To defend the Klan and Nazis' so-called rights is the same as asking their intended victims to do nothing while the noose is placed around our necks. (Applause)

This government is not neutral. The City Council or any other agency of this government has no business taking up the question of a permit. The power to regulate or censor political activity will be used by this Council and this government against labor and minorities. Just last November the Council refused a permit to myself and other brothers and sisters who organized and built the anti-Klan rally in Kennedy Square.

This meeting will not stop the Klan and the Nazis even if it denies them a permit. In fact, it has invited them here and given them a platform to spew their racist filth. Greensboro, Skokie, Miami, the Nazi headquarters in Southwest Detroit—the power of the cops and the courts has been used time and time again to defend the Nazis, to defend the Klan, and against labor and minorities as we have seen in this meeting today. If this City Council wants to do something constructive on August 23rd, they can send the Detroit police force out of town. (Applause)

Frank Hicks WV Photo

This past April representatives and members of 22 unions in San Francisco joined together and stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday. This is the only power we can rely on to sweep the Klan and Nazi scum from the streets of Detroit—the power of our own labor and black organizations. (Applause)

Phone...

(continued from page 3)

orchestrated by the Democratic Party. The pro-Carter policies of our CWA leaders act as an obstacle to the very purpose of our union: to defend its members. Brother Watts will do anything to keep from embarrassing Carter in an election year. He knows Carter would use Taft-Hartley against a successful national phone strike. The MAC is fighting for a class-struggle program—the only strategy that can win. Our union has the power to shut communications down tight. Local CWA strikes in the past year—in Cleveland, Portland, Texas, New York—has shown the willingness and desire of the ranks to fight. And we have plenty to fight for: a shorter work week to insure job security against automation and downgrades, a 100 percent cost of living escalator clause, an end to absence control, fully paid sick leave, no forced overtime or productivity quotas, no sub-contracting and an end to reform-school-like company work rules. Democratic and Republican twin make a dramatic break from its past policies. Ma Bell is going to kick us in the teeth until our union stands up and fights. These vital needs will only be met by a strong, unified and militant strike against Ma Bell. Class struggle politics means breaking with the twin parties of the banks and big business to form our own workers political party. A workers party would fight for a workers government that would end the economic chaos by expropriating all major industry and institute a planned economy run for social need, not profit. This is the *only* way to end inflation, unemployment, fascist terror and war.

For a Solid National Strike in August. For Militant Mass Picket Lines—No One Crosses. Union Action to Smash KKK/Nazi Terror. For International Working-Class Solidarity. Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet War Drive. Not a Dime, Not a Vote for the Wage-Freezing, Strike-Breaking Democrats.

West Coast Militant Action Caucus
P.O. Box 6571
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Cops Pummel Leftists at City Council Uproar

Stop Klan March in Detroit!

DETROIT—When the city council called its public meeting for June 26 to "discuss" giving a permit to the Klan and Nazis to organize race-terror marches on the streets of Detroit, they thought they were testing the waters of public opinion. What they got was a raging flood of angry protest as 600 people jammed the city council auditorium—blacks, concentration camp survivors, unemployed, an array of liberal and religious organizations, every left group in town—all saying that the fascists were not going to take over Kennedy Square on August 23 with their burning crosses and swastikas. When the speakers list was taken, 80 people signed up.

The "town meeting" was itself an insult and a provocation. A wave of revulsion swept the crowd as the first two speakers were announced: Bill Russell, the Klan and Nazi leader petitioning for the permit for his two groups, followed by his sidekick, Seth Kliphoth. The Nazis were right there in the auditorium. The "city fathers" had set up a "discussion" directly between these terrorists and their intended victims over the fascists' "right" to have a permit.

The permit is a phony issue. The fascists don't depend on permits to launch campaigns of race-terror. Even as the meeting was proceeding downtown, racist thugs on Sanger Street on Detroit's West Side were spray-painting the front of a black couple's house with the words "niggers suck" and signed it in spray-paint "KKK." This incident was part of a months-long campaign to drive the couple from their home. The next day a mob of 30 racists pelted rocks and bottles at the house while the couple was huddled inside. Maybe the city council would like to "discuss" giving the Klan a permit to drive black people from their homes. For that is the business of the Klan and Nazis—violent intimidation and, in the case of Greensboro, wide-open murder.

WV Photo

Coleman Young's cops assault anti-Klan demonstrators at city council, June 26.

The fascists don't need a permit to get police protection. They already have it: remember how two years ago Detroit cops lined up in front of Russell's Nazi storefront to protect it from the enraged community. The real problem for the city council is that the outrage felt by Detroit's residents might make it impossible to protect Russell and his little band of racist creeps. The streets of this black and labor city are not safe for fascism.

Even before the meeting began Kliphoth, wearing a black leather jacket and white gloves, slipped his cop protection and went outside the auditorium to taunt some 30 leftists from various groups who were picketing. The picketers, including a few supporters from Progressive Labor, gave the Klan thug a "debate" he understands, knocking him to the ground and bloodying him.

As the meeting opened at 10:30 a.m., about 30 uniformed cops were stationed just outside the door of the auditorium, and dozens of undercover cops scattered strategically through the crowd to protect the Klan and Nazis. When Bill Russell came down the far aisle, a couple of people slipped past the cops throwing an ineffectual kick at the tinpot führer. The cops immediately hauled out three anti-Klan demonstrators and arrested them. Russell made it to the microphone, but he couldn't be

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Republican Convention Be Damned!

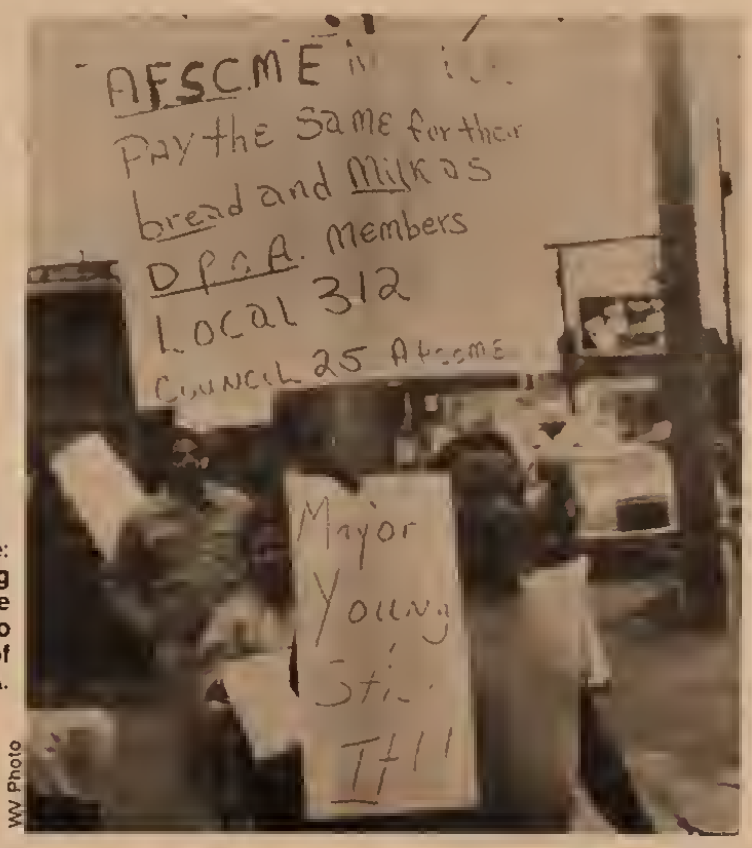
Victory to Detroit City Workers Strike!

DETROIT, July 8—In defiance of Mayor Coleman Young's threat that they would "live to regret it," 9,000 city workers of AFSCME Council 25 went on strike July 1 on the eve of the Republican convention. Unlike the other 55 city unions which continued to work without a contract, AFSCME insisted on "no contract, no work" and shut down garbage collection, public transportation and clerical work in response to Young's wage freeze.

The drive to subdue the city unions takes place against the obscene spectacle of Young and the auto barons rolling out the plush red carpet for the Republicans. Along the newly paved streets which allow delegates to go from hotel to convention center without experiencing the squalor of this depression-ridden city are freshly painted trees and billboards proclaiming, "Welcome Republicans! Detroit Loves a Party!" But the party spirit does not reach far when fully 20 percent of the population is on unemployment, thousands of auto workers are laid off, and soup lines and a tent city of evicted families are sprouting up in suburban Wixom.

Young threatened to pull out all the stops to crush the city strike before his "party" begins. The cops are now escorting supervisors driving sanitation trucks to pick up garbage in certain downtown areas, and court injunctions were leveled against two chemists' associations which refused to cross picket lines at the sewage plants. At a TV news conference last Thursday, Young answered a reporter's question with the ultimate threat:

> Reporter: "If the situation gets worse, for instance, if the garbage piles up and the chemical engineers don't go back and we start threatening health, would you ask [Governor] William Milliken to send in the National Guard to pick up the garbage and start running the sewer department?"
>
> Young: "I'll do whatever we have to in order to guarantee that this city stays together, but I am confident that in face of court orders, these chemists and anybody else will pop to."



WV Photo

On the line: Coleman Young "sticks it" to the workers, and so will the cops of the DPOA.

But if Coleman Young calls in the troops to black Detroit, which retains vivid memories of the summer of 1967 when the National Guard transformed the ghetto into an occupied territory—and this time to protect racist Reagan and the Republicans, no less—it would be an extreme provocation. With every other big city mayor worrying about "another Miami," this one is contemplating a step which could blow Detroit sky-high. A strikebreaking attack of this magnitude would necessitate a massive response from Detroit's labor movement, particularly the powerful UAW and black groups in solidarity with city workers. Later Young continued his saber-rattling, saying on TV, "Hell will freeze over before the city gives in to the union demands."

City workers are striking over cost-of-living allowances and an end to mandatory overtime. In six years of the Young administration, city workers have been ground into the dirt. Through the treachery of their union leaderships, they were saddled with a measly 4 percent pay

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 261 25 July 1980

Reagan, Carter? Oh Shit!

Many thought Ronald Reagan could never be elected president of the United States. But when the Republican delegates met in Detroit last week they had decided that they could lead the U.S. in a sharp turn to the political right. They came to this working-class and black depressed industrial city to restore the politics of Barry Goldwater to the Republican Party without re-enacting his electoral trouncing of 1964. The right-wing minority of this minority party is confident that it can appeal to a majority of American voters, including, for the first time, large numbers of working people. And they may be right. That is why revolutionaries had better pay attention to an event that usually goes unnoticed among socialists: the Republican convention. Ronald Reagan is no joke—for the left, for labor, for blacks and other minorities.

Carter's "human rights" campaign, braintrusted by the sinister Brzezinski, sought to bury the "Vietnam syndrome," push public opinion toward a new Cold War and mobilize militarily against the Soviet Union. In this way Carter/Brzezinski made right-wing Republicanism respectable and gave it its present battle cries.

They came to Detroit in their straw hats and big buttons and the smell of victory in their nostrils. The bumbling Jimmy Carter seemed to have handed them the election, if only they didn't screw it up. Carter is seen as the man responsible for the record inflation and depression levels of unemployment. His unpopularity was relieved only temporarily during the Iranian hostage seizure, as Americans rallied to the presidency in a burst of patriotic fervor.

The delegates to the Republican convention not only looked and sounded like the delegates who nominated Barry Goldwater in 1964, in many cases they were the same people. The reactionary ideologues now back in control used the Detroit convention to dump the ERA, embrace anti-abortion fanaticism and salute Pentagon warmongering. But the Republicans learned something from Goldwater's defeat. They had to appeal beyond their slender ideological base. That was why they came to Detroit and not some sun belt city.

But 1980 Republicans did not have the honesty of Goldwater's vintage. The danger was constantly covered in syrupy middle-American populism. The Music Man drops the H-bomb. Pat Boone pledged allegiance to the flag. Billy Graham invoked the Lord's blessing. Jimmy Stewart showed film clips from *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*. The American Legion trooped the colors. But with the Democratic liberal coalition in a shambles and New Deal rhetoric in general disgrace, the Republicans started their convention with a filmed statement from Alf Landon, the

Time

"I am not trigger-happy," insists Reagan, but he won't rule out a pre-emptive nuclear first strike against the Russians.

The nuclear trigger. Herman J. Kokojan/Black Star

Republican candidate defeated by FDR in 1936. And heaping on the irony, it finished with Reagan rendez-vousing with destiny, quoting large swatches of Roosevelt's 1932 campaign speeches.

The Democrats now seem to be only a paler, more muddled version of the Republicans. And, unfortunately for Carter, they are in office and have to take the blame for the economy. The working-class vote that has been solid Democratic almost every election since the 1930s will be divided between both parties this time. The *New York Times* (22 July) headlined: "Rising Joblessness Driving Many Auto Workers Into Reagan Camp." A regional director of the UAW, Edward F. Gray, lamented to the *Times*, "I don't know how to get them [auto workers] to support Carter; I don't know what handle to grab hold of. ... Most of the members who are concerned with politics feel they have been betrayed by Jimmy Carter, and that's a terribly difficult thing to deal with."

"Family, Neighborhood, Work, Peace, Freedom"

To win the election the Republicans have to strike a balance between ideology and mass appeal, that old-time Republican religion and some electoral snake oil. The "moderates" got the vice presidency. The ideologues got the party platform. Emblazoned on the cover of the platform are the five words Reagan echoed in his acceptance speech: "Family, neighborhood, work, peace, freedom." It is hard not to think of "Kinder, Küche, Kirche." Indeed the double-speak of these watchwords is startling. "Family" means opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, a reversal of a paper position in support of legal equality for women which the Republicans have supported for 40 years. It also means support for a constitutional amendment banning abortion, along with a political test for appointed judgeships on the basis of opposition to abortion.

The remaining catchwords of the Republican platform are equally duplicitous. "Neighborhood" stands for no busing and no integration. "Work" means no welfare, anti-union "right to work" laws, no minimum wage and Reagan's threat to subject unions to anti-trust laws for "restraint of trade," i.e., fighting for better pay and working conditions! "Peace" and "Freedom" mean doubling the military budget, repression of the left and getting the nuclear jump on the Soviet Union. In short, "peace" means war.

Much of the rhetoric in the GOP platform—the most easily forgotten genre of political documents—represents minority views even within the Republican Party, and the true believers who wrote it know this. But it does indicate that the people running Reagan's campaign feel they must lead the country in a reactionary crusade on social issues. And despite Carter's unpopularity, this call will provoke opposition. On the streets outside the convention on opening day, 10,000 marched in a pro-ERA demonstration called by the National Organization for Women. The Spartacist League was the only left group with its own signs, including "Free Abortion on Demand" and a banner reading "Support to the ERA, Break with the Democrats and Republicans, Build a Workers Party." A contingent formed by the SL and the Rouge Militant Caucus of the United Auto Workers marched ahead of the main UAW group, many of whom took up the SL chant, "Break with the elephant, break with the ass! We want a party of the working class!"

The Republican platform and Reagan's campaign promises amount to a declaration of war against the poor, the working class and blacks. With a program like this, one suspects that what the Republican honchos really hope for in November is that enough black voters will boycott the election in disgust to throw the victory to *their* right-wing racist and not the Democrats'. Gerry Ford lost in '76 because 94 percent of black voters went for Carter. The black bloc vote gave the key states of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and with them the presidency, to the Democrats.

Holding the Republican convention in Detroit was part of that party's strategy to steal black and working-class votes from Carter. Black Democratic mayor Coleman Young rolled out the red carpet for the GOP, but the convention proceedings revealed the Republicans' real attitude toward the blacks whose votes they hope to win. The convention's token black secretary was the first black Republican convention officer since 1884. Even after the media flap caused by Reagan's failure to attend the NAACP convention in Miami, the delegates were prepared to do it again. NAACP head Benjamin Hooks, one of the country's only influential black Republicans, was denied speaking time at the convention until the few black delegates threatened to walk out in protest!

"I Am Not Trigger Happy"

Ronald Reagan has been trying to soft-pedal his right-wing image, knowing that he can blow the election by

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Auto Workers Reduced to Welfare

WV Photos

Dodge Main shut down for good. Unemployment lines in Detroit. One third of laid-off auto workers have exhausted unemployment insurance.

For some time now, white workers have been conditioned to regard welfare as a liberal handout for black women with ten children. As little as a year ago a relatively well-paid industrial worker would have thought it impossible that he, too, could be forced onto welfare. Yet that is just what is in store for (and already happening to) hundreds of thousands of unemployed auto workers. And the current depression is still in its early stages.

A recent *Business Week* (14 July) carries an article, "Auto Workers Head for the Welfare Rolls":

> "Hundreds of thousands of laid-off auto workers will be running out of their various unemployment benefits by late summer and could find themselves on welfare rolls this winter—a fate they largely managed to avoid in the severe 1974-75 recession."

Auto workers, the core of the better-paid unionized industrial working class, are now reduced to the minimal protection this society offers against actually starving to death as happened to unemployed workers in the nineteenth century.

When the company-funded supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB) program was negotiated the United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy hailed it as the realization of Walter Reuther's long-heralded guaranteed annual wage. Since 1970 workers laid off in the perpetual boom-bust cycle—particularly pronounced in auto—could receive 95 percent of take-home pay. This illusion didn't survive even one economic downturn. Designed to cover seasonal layoffs, the SUB funds ran out during the major 1974-75 slump. Hundreds of thousands of jobless auto workers had to scrape by on one-half their regular wage provided by government unemployment compensation.

For the half million auto and related workers now laid off the situation is even worse than five years ago. Once again the SUB funds are kaput, or fast becoming so. Near-bankrupt Chrysler has long since halted SUB pay for workers with less than ten years' seniority. Ford, too, has announced SUB cutbacks for less-than-ten-year workers. And General Motors is slated to restrict payouts come September.

But now the government unemployment insurance back-up is being pulled out as well. In 1974-75 unemployment benefits were extended to 52 weeks and 65 in areas of high joblessness. Not now! Today *one-third* of all laid-off auto workers have *already exhausted* their unemployment compensation. With Democrats and Republicans competing over who can best slash "welfare state" expenditures, extensions of unemployment compensation are an obvious target for "fiscally responsible" budget slashers. Recently the Labor Department raised the "trigger" unemployment rate for extending the benefit period beyond 26 weeks, an act which disqualified 50,000 jobless workers in New Jersey. So it's literally welfare or starve.

The wretched Fraser leadership in Solidarity House has done nothing to fight the mass layoffs, and it hasn't even done anything to prevent hundreds of thousands of auto workers from being reduced to welfare—the poorest of the poor. What is desperately needed is mass union action centering on nationwide strikes/sitdowns demanding *at the minimum* full and unlimited SUB pay guaranteed by the government. Welfare, unemployment insurance and supplemental benefits programs should be rolled into a single federal fund for all, with benefits paid at the highest rate and no cut-off point.

Just how rapidly the capitalist system can throw them into poverty should convince many workers that narrow business unionism cannot protect their livelihoods. The UAW's SUB funds are the best protection available under American capitalism, and they have failed miserably. This should also convince many white workers that their fate is bound up with that of the black masses. Auto workers: the Carters, Reagans and Kennedys are forcing you onto the welfare rolls! Answer them with powerful class struggle, uniting black and white to fight for a workers government which alone can institute socialist economic planning to abolish unemployment *forever*! ■

An Honorable Weatherwoman

Drop Charges Against Cathy Wilkerson!

Cathy Wilkerson gave herself up last week. The Weatherman activist had been in hiding ever since March 1970 when a dynamite bomb accidentally exploded in the basement of her father's Greenwich Village town house, reducing the house to rubble and killing three people. The victims were Diana Oughton, Ted Gold and Terry Robbins, also members of Weatherman, an offshoot of the New Left Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Charged with illegal possession of dynamite and criminally negligent homicide, Wilkerson disappeared.

Surrendering before the Manhattan Criminal Court on July 8, Wilkerson vowed to continue the political struggle she had begun more than a decade ago. "The conditions are the same and I have the same commitment to struggle against them," she said (*New York Times*, 9 July). On July 18 she pleaded guilty to the dynamite possession charge, remaining free on $10,000 bail pending sentencing in October. Explaining why she had not sought a jury trial, Wilkerson said she did not want to discuss her own "deep regrets over the deaths of three beloved comrades" and that she wished to spare her family and political associates the harassment of a sensationalist trial.

Cathy Wilkerson has conducted herself honorably. And that stands in sharp contrast to several of the radical New Left fugitives who have surfaced in recent years. Mark Rudd, leader of the 1968 Columbia University student revolt, for instance. When he gave up in 1977, his father told the press, "He's 30 now. You get too old to be a revolutionary. It's time to start something new." As if to prove it, Rudd trekked up to Columbia for a chat and a widely publicized hug with one of the cops who clubbed and arrested his fellow students. Worse, the traitor Jane Alpert, New Leftist turned feminist who, turning herself in on bomb-conspiracy charges, denounced her "radical left past" and turned state's evidence.

The Spartacist League has long insisted on the elementary class duty of defense of the Weathermen against bourgeois repression. We took this stand when most of the left was shrinking from this task in the case of the isolated, middle-class white New Lefters, as opposed to the Black Panthers, who were then popular with large segments of the left-liberal bourgeoisie. At the time we criticized Weatherman confrontations, street tactics and terror threats. Having written off the "white working class" and therefore working-class power generally, the Weatherman organization tried in vain to substitute its own frenzied forces for the conscious working-class movement. Often their symbolic gestures demonstrated their hatred of capitalist society. But their blind identification of white working people as "the enemy" led them into politically destructive actions, sometimes self-destructive ones. Unlike the rest of the left, however, we were not about to look the other way or read Weatherman out of the left as the bourgeois state laid out its dragnet for them. But we do have one question for Miss Wilkerson. The *Times* reported that "antipersonnel bombs" were being constructed in the town house. Who were they intended for?

In 1970 we wrote in their defense:

> "As with the Panthers, it is the class duty of all radicals and militants to defend Weatherman. Class issues are not dependent upon what is currently popular with the liberals. One may disagree with 'outbreaks' tactically; one is bound to advise militants—including Black militants—against adventurism. But this much must be clear: once the battle has been joined, we must have a side—the side of the oppressed, outraged and exploited (ghetto 'rioters' against the cops, strikers against scabs, the Panthers and Chicago 'Conspiracy' against bourgeois 'justice') against the ruling class and its state....
>
> "The real crime vis-a-vis terror politics and heroic individualism is that it allows the revolutionary energies of some of the movement's most talented, dedicated people to be channeled into futile and self-destructive action. It is our job to seek to redirect these energies into genuinely revolutionary directions."
>
> —"Terrorism and Communism," *Spartacist*, August-September 1970 ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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SWP Still Faithful to Murderous Khomeini

Iran: The Allah that Failed

A half million packed the streets of Teheran on July 4 to roar approval for Ayatollah Khomeini's new manifesto. Here loud and clear was the message of the "Islamic Revolution"—more "Islamification," more veils, more murderous attacks on the left, more stonings of "sinners" of all sorts, and more troops for the Persian-chauvinist jihad against the Kurds and other oppressed minorities.

It was only last month that armed thugs "following the line of the imam" attacked the guerrillaist Islamic Mujahedeen. Now the Khomeiniite demonstrators demanded the dissolution of the Mujahedeen as well as the radical leftist Fedayeen. And in the sea of turbans and black chadors armed gangs of *hezbollahi* ("followers of allah's party") and *pasdaran* ("revolutionary guards"), who have acted as shock troops carrying out Khomeini's savage holy war against the "satanic communists."

Khomeini's "Islamic Manifesto" proclaimed that women—particularly government employees—cannot escape *hejab*, the traditional seclusion of women symbolized by the wearing of the oppressive *chador*, or veil. The next day 2,000 women risked their lives to protest the order to wear "Islamic dress." In the first such protest since March 1979, the women lined sidewalks leading to the offices of President Bani Sadr chanting, "We haven't carried out a revolution to go backward" (*Washington Post*, 6 July). They were met by more than 2,000 clerical thugs and armed "revolutionary guards," as well as a few chador-covered women, who baited them as "prostitutes" and "shah supporters" and threatened to "kick them out" of their jobs. After the confrontation, official radio warned that a "small minority" were "still thinking about a sinful life" and threatened, "These parasites will be taken off the body of the nation."

The punishment for leading a "sinful life" in the mullahs' Iran no doubt was on the minds of the women who protested the forced wearing of the chador as well as those who stayed away out of fear. Just two days before, in the southern town of Kerman, one of the most barbaric acts in modern judicial history took place. Four people, including two middle-aged women, convicted of "sexual crimes" were ritualistically stoned to death in the traditional Islamic manner. The four victims were sacramentally washed by the clergy, clothed in white garments and "hoods of death," buried in the ground up to their chests, and then stoned for fifteen minutes until they died, with the presiding judge casting the first rock. Yet the Khomeiniite demonstration on July 4 called for even more severity from the "revolutionary" courts.

Even before Khomeini came to power, the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was alone in warning that a Shi'ite theocracy would be just as reactionary as the justly hated Pahlavi monarchy. We warned that Khomeini was dead serious in his fanatical determination to enforce Islamic "purity," including such atrocities as public stonings. But this obvious truth was branded as heresy by all the opportunists who hailed the "Islamic Revolution." Intoxicated by the sight of "the masses in motion," virtually the entire left internationally has lied and alibied for Khomeini as Kurdish villages were bombed to rubble, women were forced under the veil, "fornicators" executed in the streets, and even the Muslim guerrillas bloodied and killed.

SWP supports Islamic "cult of personality." Burnett/Contact

Executions and lashings throughout the land have increased dramatically since May. The notorious "hanging ayatollah" Khalkhali has sent hundreds of so-called "sex offenders" "drug dealers" to die up against the walls of crowded public streets. Even playing Western music has been declared illegal by the "Center for the Campaign Against Sin." The universities, the main bastion of the left, have been closed in an Islamic "cultural revolution." And the hundreds arrested last month for allegedly plotting a military coup may go before the firing squads at any time. Elements of the military of course may have been planning a coup in collusion with the CIA, but the mullahs brand all their opponents as "U.S. agents." So the Fedayeen are denounced as *American* leftists, women who resist the veil are vilified as *American* "prostitutes."

The hard facts of life in the "Islamic Republic" are so reactionary, bloody and cruel that many on the left are waking up with a bad political hangover. Some felt queasy when the *pasdaran* militias butchered Kurdish villagers. But now it's the Iranian left that's under the gun in a fight for its life against the mullahs. Driven out of their headquarters by reactionary mobilizations last August, driven from their university bases in May, the Fedayeen and Mujahedeen have learned the hard way that the "Islamic Revolution" which they'd so avidly supported isn't unfolding ever-forward in an anti-imperialist direction. It's not just the Kurds, the Bahais and hapless homosexuals, but their own comrades who lie dead in the streets.

It Wasn't God that Failed

In the May issue of the British journal *Issues* Iranian leftist Azar Tabari authored a scathing critique of "year one of the Islamic republic." A supporter of the Mandelite International Marxist Group (IMG) in Britain, Tabari had contributed a similar critique, as a kind of minority document, to the IMG's *Socialist Challenge* (see "Iranian USecers Having Second Thoughts About Khomeini," *WV* No. 254, 18 April). Tabari castigates the left for simply enthusing over the mullah-led movement and turning a blind eye to "any unpleasant observations about its goals or leadership":

> "It was often simply denied that the Islamic hierarchy genuinely commanded mass allegiance. Alternatively, those who were unable to convince themselves that Islam was secondary or irrelevant, fastened their gaze in another direction. Perhaps the mullahs did stand in the forefront of the movement, but if so, it was primarily because of their intransigent opposition to the shah, and not *because* they were mullahs. Those who adopted this attitude viewed the 'Islamic Republic' as camouflage, and they complained bitterly that the 'bourgeois press' was 'trying to portray Khomeini as a religious fanatic.' The implication was that masses of people could not possibly be drawn into action around a mystical or backward-looking programme. Or if they were temporarily so moved, their consciousness would automatically undergo a progressive evolution as the struggle unfolded.
>
> "In fact, there is no reason, logically or sociologically, why the oppressed cannot be mobilized in a sustained fight for reactionary objectives."

As for the seizure of the American embassy in Teheran, hailed by the fake left as a great "anti-imperialist" act, Tabari correctly characterizes it as a diversion which:

> "...far from impelling these struggles forward, acted as a brake on them, simultaneously diverting attention from the real issues facing Iran and serving as a rallying cry for the most typical obscurantist appeals to 'national unity,' overlaid with the Islamic cast that renders this time-honored reactionary appeal even more retrogressive."

All this is quite true. But in her criticism of the left Tabari avoids the central point: namely, it wasn't just a matter of "unpleasant observations" about Khomeini's movement but a question of revolutionary program. Tabari nowhere mentions what slogans and strategies should have been put forward in Iran. To call for a break with the mullahs, even in hindsight, means coming to grips with the revolutionary, Trotskyist program put forward by the iSt, which was unique in fighting for the slogan "Down with the shah, down with the mullahs—for workers revolution in Iran!" Instead, Tabari prefers to play the role of left cover for the IMG, which hailed Khomeini as a "progressive," chanted "Allah akbar" (god is great) and still regards the embassy seizure as "anti-imperialist."

Another such critique of the Khomeini regime was recently made by Fred Halliday, a noted left-wing journalist covering Middle Eastern affairs and an early supporter of the "Islamic Revolution," appearing in the American social-democratic *In These Times* (21-27 May). This was itself a telling sign of the growing recognition in radical circles that something is rotten in the state of the mullahs. An honest observer of the accomplished fact, Halliday also regards the embassy/hostage seizure as "profoundly negative for the Iranian people," a diversion which has "given the clerical right their chance to attack the left using spurious anti-imperialist rhetoric." Halliday criticizes the left for siding with the clerical demagogues in their intra-Islamic power struggle with the Islamic lay politicians such as Bani Sadr:

> "The main enemy in Iran is not the liberal camp, nor, given its present weakness, U.S. imperialism. Rather it is the clerical right with its policies of intolerance and its mania for bogus anti-imperialism."

But Halliday is still a partisan (although a critical one) of the "Islamic Revolution" and fears the loss of "all that was achieved" (?) by Khomeini's victory over the shah. He regards Bani Sadr and other "liberals" in the Islamic camp as "potential allies of the left." This kind of popular-front politics is especially stupid. In reality, Bani Sadr is an inept and humbling stooge of Khomeini, a point that Halliday seems to recognize when he quotes an Iranian source saying, "Bani-Sadr has as much political power as a junior minister of housing under the shah." Halliday's critique thus has a "god that failed" quality—if only the secular liberal politicians hadn't been so indecisive, if

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Reagan...

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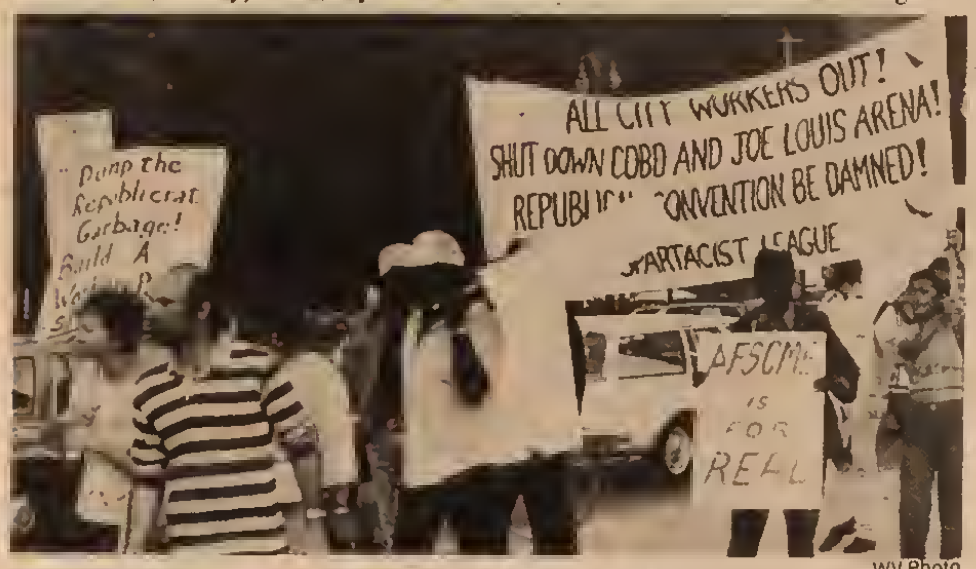
being Goldwatered. But it is no cause for comfort that the world's most powerful imperialist government may soon be led by a candidate who feels compelled to say to campaign audiences, "I am not trigger happy." Everybody knows he is—and out of deep conviction.

He berates Carter for allowing Soviet troops in Cuba and in Afghanistan in the first place. Last winter Reagan called for a blockade of Cuba in response to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. When North Korea took the American spy ship *Pueblo* in 1968, he declared that the U.S. should threaten, "Send our ship and our men out within six hours or we're coming in to get them; and we'll use planes, guns, torpedoes, whatever it takes" (*New York Times*, 17 July). Well, anyone who remembers North Korea's performance on the battlefield in 1950-53 can easily figure out what it would take. No wonder even the leaders of the U.S.' European imperialist allies are worried about the prospect of this itchy trigger finger on the nuclear button.



WV Photo

SL contingent in striking city workers demonstration outside Cobo Hall, July 9.

Reagan said of the Panama Canal during the treaty debates: "We bought it, we paid for it, we built it and we intend to keep it" (*Wall Street Journal*, 29 April 1976). And just how would he have done that? Reagan seems to want to play Teddy Roosevelt with the White House as a stage. But, he's not in the movies anymore and today's big sticks have nuclear warheads. Reagan has opportunistically backed down from his Panama Canal stance but "No More Vietnams," "No More Taiwans," no more "betrayals" of U.S. "friends" is still the refrain of his standard campaign speech.

There are those who try to treat Ronald Reagan as a bad joke or a media phenomenon, recalling that only a few decades ago he was upstaged by a chimpanzee in the movie *Bedtime for Bonzo*. But this convert from New Deal liberalism is a deadly dangerous man, a lot more dangerous even than he sounds at present, as he tries to get elected as the candidate of a minority party. Simply put, he is an anti-Communist fanatic, and has been one since he converted from Rooseveltian liberalism in time for the Cold War. As president of the Screen Actors Guild he was a witch-hunter fighting what he believed was a Communist plot to take over the movies.

Reagan's inflamed anti-Communist rhetoric could all too easily become reality should he be elected. And he will not just crusade against the Russians abroad. He will also look for an opportunity to make scapegoats of the left at home, unhampered by his image as a "human rights" violator. On a recent TV interview, Reagan complained about Carter's slaps on the wrist of governments like Pinochet's Chile and Videla's Argentina. Sure they may have committed "excesses" in fighting "terrorism, subversion, communism" and the like, he said, but they're still "better than Russia." Any leftist, unionist or black who doesn't think Reagan in the White House is a threat is living in a fool's paradise.

Looking Out for Number Two

The debates and backroom brawls over choosing the vice-presidential candidate were part of the Republican image-makers' attempts to create a "moderate" look for Reagan's ticket. Good ol' bumbling Jerry Ford, who is now the most popular politician in the country (!), volunteered to take the number two spot "under certain conditions." Why would the former president consider taking the vice presidency from Reagan, a former political rival who refused to help him in 1976? Ford talked about a shared responsibility, sort of a co-presidency with Henry Kissinger firmly in control of foreign policy. Reagan's men eventually panicked at a Kissinger coup. So the deal for the "dream ticket" came unstuck.

But they still needed a "moderate" to balance the ticket. It is a measure of just how reactionary the current Republican mood is that the candidate they came up with after the Kissinger "coup" misfired was George Bush. Far from being a "moderate" (in four years in Congress, Bush's ADA rating for liberalism ranged from 0 to 12 percent), Bush is in fact the CIA's own candidate for president. During the Vietnam War, this "moderate" was one of the loudest hawks, urging expanded U.S. aggression against Cambodia. His record at "the company" includes covering for the Chilean secret police assassins who murdered Orlando Letelier in the streets of Washington (see accompanying article in this issue). And throughout the primary campaigns, Bush was a tireless campaigner for more CIA power.

When the Association of Former Intelligence Officers held its annual meeting last October, 180 of the 240 who came in from the cold to attend sported Bush campaign buttons. High in the Bush entourage is Ray Cline, a 20-year higher-up in the CIA. Cline explains that the volunteers have worked on a very "informal basis" but that, "when the right time comes, I'd like to organize something like one of my old CIA staffs." Looking out for number two, the sinister Bush has declined the protective offers of the Secret Service. Instead he relies on the bodyguard services of ex-CIA operatives.

Growth and Taxes

Only Jimmy Carter could allow Ronald Reagan and the Republicans to appear as the saviors of the economy and the working man. The GOP pitch is—as expected—to get rid of "big government" and happy days will be here again. But they cannot simply say they are the party of big business and expect the vote of the common man. So they have proclaimed themselves the party of *growth*. They say they will increase military expenses dramatically, decrease taxes by 30 percent and balance the budget. How will it all be done? Through growth! But there is really no mystery at all: the Pentagon will get what it wants and the "supply side" economists will get to play with their fantastical statistical "Laffer curves."

Reagan hopes to restore the days of the robber barons. The logic runs something like this: during the days of big growth Vanderbilt and Astor didn't have to pay income taxes and they got rich. Wasn't everything better in the old days? Let's restore those days with "tax incentives." The idea of seeing the world through tax cuts gives the Republicans a popular answer to every problem associated with the decline of U.S. imperialism. Energy? Industry? Trouble with allies? Becoming a second-rate power? Having a problem with continued growth? Reagan has the answer: grow! This is like prescribing "life" to a dying man or "sleep" to an insomniac.

How will Reagan and the Republicans get the U.S. growing again? During prior Republican campaigns this used to be called the "trickle down" theory of economics. Dewey, Eisenhower and Goldwater were really quite expert at making their fingers simulate falling rain as they dramatized how, if big business was doing well, then like gentle drops from economic heaven, the wealth would come trickling down to the workers and even to the poor. "What's good for General Motors is good for the country," remember? All the talk about "supply side" is just a matter of a new package for "trickle down."

Despite all the hullabaloo about tax cuts, taxes are *not* going to be cut. Next January Social Security taxes are scheduled to increase significantly. And double-digit inflation this year has pushed most people into higher income tax brackets. The proposed Republican "tax cut" of 10 percent will leave the average level of personal taxation pretty much unchanged, and the Democrats' proposed "tax cut" actually means the level of taxation will be *raised*. As for the Republicans' promise to cut taxes by 30 percent over the next three years, this is sheer electoral rhetoric.

The Post-Vietnam Presidency

Neither candidate can re-industrialize America, revive decaying capitalism or regain U.S. imperialist hegemony as it was at the finish of World War II. Today we are given the "choice" between Carter/Brzezinski and Reagan/Bush. Some choice! Brzezinski is hard to distinguish from the worst of Reagan's nuclear mega-death brain-trusters. In the absence of much recent class struggle in the U.S., and with the help of social-patriotic union leaders, Carter's Cold War against the USSR paved the way for Reagan's bellicose militarism. Carter's "human rights" campaign was the bridge between the post-Vietnam era defeatist mood and Reagan's call for "military superiority" over the Soviet Union. This may prove to be Carter's greatest crime of all.

Reagan promises a return to the anti-Communist glory of yesteryear when America could use nuclear blackmail against the whole world. And he will try. But the fact is that U.S. imperialism *is* weaker. The USSR is not about to allow the U.S. to regain decisive "military superiority." And the U.S.' imperialist allies have their own national interests, different from the interests of the U.S. He may find them harder to deal with than the Russians. At home it will also not be so easy to put his right-wing solutions into practice. Even if Reagan wins the election, he will still head a minority faction of a minority party, trying to move a Democratic Congress and an elephantine bureaucracy. Nixon's bonapartist appetite to use the IRS as his personal political creature bumped into the stubborn fact that the IRS has a life of its own.

There is a perilous continuity between the increased growth and visibility of fringe fascism represented by the KKK and the Nazis and this development of right-wing populism. Reagan represents right-wing Republicanism, a mainstream political party of the bourgeoisie based on parliamentary rule. Reagan is no fascist. He is not even running a far-right campaign in the style of the 1968 George Wallace/Curtis Le May ticket, which was closely identified with extra-legal racist terror. The Wallace backlash was isolated, yet it is alarming to realize that Reagan's brand of "respectable" right-wing populism has become a mainstream of American life. At times he sounds like a Cold War ayatollah, but he really can't have people buried up to their chests in the ground and stoned to death. He *can* nuke millions.

The working class must break politically from both bosses' parties. From a class perspective there is no "lesser evil." But for a long time the twin parties of capitalism have had different constituencies. The Democratic Party has been the preferred vehicle of the American version of the popular front, with the treacherous union misleaders tying the workers to their bosses' political machine. Now the grand coalition is coming apart—but there is nothing to take its place. So, many workers will even consider voting for Ronald Reagan. But there will be no new labor alliance with the Republicans. The future party of the workers will be formed in the heat of the class struggle, primarily in a break with the Democrats.

Most importantly, what Reagan can get away with as president depends on the class struggle. He will surely launch a capitalist class offensive, not for "growth" in itself, but for profit—with the unions as the chief target. Although the unions have suffered some important defeats, they are by no means defeated. Reagan certainly intends to step up the class war, but he may be in for a surprise when the smoke clears.

With as much cynicism and hypocrisy as Jimmy Carter could ever muster, Reagan the reactionary not only told black people that his party is the "party of Lincoln," he also quoted in his acceptance speech at the convention the great American revolutionary Tom Paine, who said of the 18th century revolution: "We have it in our power to begin the world over again." The re-industrialization of America requires the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie and smashing the capitalist fetters on the growth of the productive forces of society. It is not Ronald Reagan, who represents a decayed class that may yet blow up the world, who has inherited Paine's revolutionary spirit. The revolutionary working class alone has the power and the historic mission to "begin the world over again." ■

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Detroit Loves a Good Strike

DETROIT—With all the media in town to cover the Republican convention, Mayor Coleman Young was determined to show off a "Renaissance City" of race and class peace. Young got his exposure with a welcoming address, and the news magazines published pictures of the gleaming Ren Cen complex. (See our rather different shot on this page.) Thousands of cops swarmed through the thin rebuilt strip along the river making sure that delegates didn't accidentally wander into the wrong part of town and that the slum population didn't penetrate the convention area. But for the last several weeks Detroit has been "strike city," and the confrontation between picketers and Republicans which the Democratic mayor so dreaded very nearly took place.

A week before the convention opened Young had threatened that "hell will freeze over" before he would meet the demands of the municipal unions. The next day, July 9, 800 demonstrators marched around the City-County Building to show solidarity with the strike by AFSCME Council 25. A picket sign reading "Coleman Young Sucks Sludge" reflected the anger that the predominantly black city workers now hold for the phony "progressive" black mayor. A Spartacist League banner, "All City Workers Out! Shut Down Cobo and Joe Louis Arena! Republican Convention Be Damned!" was well received and photos of it appeared in newspapers around the country.

Unfortunately, the jubilation at this display of labor solidarity was extended to the Detroit Police Officers Association. Cops are not part of the workers movement but strikebreaking thugs. In fact, for the previous week the police showed where their solidarity lies by daily escorting scabs through the city workers' picket lines. One of those scabs was none other than "Marxist" city councilman Ken Cockrel, who gave us the finger as we photographed him crossing the lines.

WV Photo

"Marxist" city councilman Ken Cockrel crosses picket line, an obscene gesture.

But AFSCME chief negotiator Lloyd Simpson had no intention of embarrassing Coleman Young by continuing the strike during the Republican convention. On Saturday, two days before the opening gavel came down, Simpson called a ratification meeting to ram through a contract on the mayor's terms. Most of the 9,000 strikers didn't even know about the 9 a.m. meeting which was announced the night before on the 11 p.m. news. About 1,500 AFSCME members milled around for 90 minutes before Simpson walked in and announced he had "won" a straight 6 percent wage increase (no COLA) for the next three years. As the settlement was rammed through with a quick vote and instant adjournment, several dozen workers stood at the center of Cobo Hall chanting, "Sold out!"

Young barely had time to breathe a sigh of relief before 550 newspaper deliverers of Teamster Local 372 shut down the *Detroit Free Press* on July 12. Unable to cross the picket lines, the publishers flew out the plates for their special convention issue by helicopter to have it printed by their rival, the *Detroit News*. But while the employers stood together, Local 372 drivers at the *News* delivered the scab edition of the *Free Press*! (Actually the contract was turned down by the *News* drivers a month ago by a 60-40 margin, but the bureaucracy's rigged voting requires a two-thirds vote to reject.) Roving pickets managed to stop most of the papers anyway, so the *News* and *Free Press* bosses decided to put out a joint edition under a double masthead. This scab paper must be stopped!

The publishers, who signed "me too" clauses in contracts negotiated with the other press unions last month, are geared up for a fight against the drivers' demand for a full COLA. The Teamster bureaucracy justifies its divisive "strategy" by pointing to the *Free Press* strike in 1967 when the *News* locked out its employees for nine months and the unions went down to defeat. But the powerful labor movement in Detroit could easily prevent the publishing of scab papers and fill the city's need for news by publishing its own labor daily. Against the bosses' strikebreaking front it will take broad labor solidarity to beat the union-busting offensive. ■

WV Photo

Detroit's Ren Cen: Coleman Young's Renaissance in one building.

George Bush and the Letelier Assassination

In nominating the certified reactionary Reagan, the Republicans decided to balance their ticket with a "moderate" and so chose George Bush, former head of the CIA. This fact speaks volumes about what the GOP has in store, for the Agency is the dirtiest, most murderous imperialist spy outfit in the business, always up to its neck in assassinating leftists, overthrowing elected governments and the like. In the case of Bush, facts have recently come to light about his role in the events surrounding the 1976 bomb assassination of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier.

In the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* of 9 July, columnist Jeffrey Hart exclaims: "Hold Everything: A Skeleton in Bush's Closet?" He asks, "Is there material that would invite the interpretation that George Bush had some foreknowledge of the Letelier assassination?" His questions are based on evidence in a book released to the public last month, *Assassination on Embassy Row* by John Dinges and Saul Landau, two researchers from the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies.

The basic facts of the Letelier assassination are well known to our readers. One-time ambassador to the U.S. and a cabinet minister in Allende's Unidad Popular government (1970-73), Orlando Letelier was driving to work on 21 September 1976 when his car was blown to smithereens in broad daylight in downtown Washington, just a few blocks from the Chilean embassy. As we denounced in several articles, for more than a year the U.S. government investigation was deliberately turned away from the obvious leads to the secret police of the bloody Pinochet dictatorship, the hated DINA.

Though an American fascist bomb expert, Michael Townley, was eventually tried on lesser charges—in a judicial deal making him eligible for parole as early as October 1981—and three Cuban gusano terrorists are doing time, it was proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the orders for Letelier's murder came straight from Santiago. For this the Pinochet dictatorship got a slap on the wrist. And *none* of the many leads pointing to obvious U.S. complicity in the assassination and subsequent cover-up were ever tracked down.

Most of the documents are still held by the CIA, FBI, State Department and other government agencies. But *Assassination on Embassy Row* does reveal one important fact: on 28 July 1976 the American ambassador to Paraguay, George Landau, sent a cable to Washington reporting that he had been asked to grant visas for two Chilean army officers, "Juan Williams" and "Alejandro Romeral," on an intelligence mission which required the use of Paraguayan passports. Romeral and Williams were the aliases being used by Townley and DINA officer Armando Fernández in this murder mission.

AP

Former CIA directors Bush, Colby.

John Dinges and Saul Landau report: "[*Ambassador*] *Landau's cable and the pictures went, in* [*CIA Deputy Director General Vernon*] *Walters' absence, to CIA director George Bush.... Walters and Bush conferred during that week about the matter." A second copy of the cable went to the office of Secretary of State Kissinger.* Ambassador Landau subsequently ordered that the fake Paraguayan passports be retrieved and that all U.S. ports of entry be alerted to arrest the two men should they attempt to enter.

A "Romeral" and "Williams" did in fact enter on August 22 and were not arrested. But not through oversight. U.S. authorities at Miami International Airport detected their arrival and reported it to the State Department. Furthermore, when the pair arrived in Washington they alerted the CIA to their presence by having a Chilean embassy employee call General Walters' office at the CIA's Langley headquarters. Yet nothing was done to stop the DINA agents. Authors Dinges and Landau make the obvious point:

> "It is quite beyond belief that the CIA is so lax in its counterespionage functions that it would simply have ignored a clandestine operation by a foreign intelligence service in Washington, D.C., or anywhere in the United States."

In October of 1976, George Bush briefed Justice Department officials investigating the Letelier assassination, but "did not say a word about the Romeral and Williams pictures and the Paraguay incident. Nor did Bush, Walters, or anyone else from the CIA subsequently volunteer their information about Chile's undercover mission to [*Assistant U.S. Attorney General*] *Proper or the FBI."*

The reason for U.S. complicity in the Letelier affair is obvious. Allende's popular front government in Chile had been a thorn in the side of the Nixon regime, and it has been amply documented how the U.S. did everything in its power to bring it down. And the DINA hardly has a monopoly on assassinations of high government officials on capital streets. In October 1970 the head of the Chilean armed forces, General René Schneider, was shot to death in Santiago by ultra-rightist army plotters whose arms were furnished by...the CIA.

The full truth of the CIA's role in the Letelier assassination may never be known. But we can be sure that it was not the dirtiest plot that crossed Bush's desk in his year as director of the Agency. He had come to the CIA as "Mr. Clean," part of the streamlining cover-up that passed for reform in the post-Watergate shake-up. But capitalism's secret police, espionage and provocation agencies can't be cleaned up. And George Bush has been a good company man ever since. ■

At Bay Area Debate on April 19 Demos

Maoists Admit: "Fear of Confrontation with Na

WV Photo

CWP's Nelson Johnson addresses ANCAN San Francisco anti-Nazi rally. April 19.

The undeniable success of the Spartacist League's united-front mobilization that stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco April 19 has caused some division and "self-criticism" among the Bay Area Stalinist groups whose "Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition" rally that day was a failure. That is why a debate took place in Oakland July 12 among the Trotsky-hating groups that made up the "Coalition" and why they had to invite the Spartacist League (SL) to address it. (See accompanying text of SL spokesman Al Nelson's remarks.)

The event was brokered by the East Bay Communist Group (EBCG), an obscure circle of Albania-lovers, as a debate with their principal partners in the Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition: the National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee (NAROC), a front group for Irwin Silber's National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs, and the Communist Workers Party (CWP). The ghost of their April 19 defeat hung over the proceedings, and the SL intervention provoked an anguished and revealing post-mortem of April 19 by the Coalition partners.

Every one of the 200-odd radicals in the audience knew that the Spartacist League played a leading role in the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) which mobilized a labor-centered demonstration of over 1,200 unionists, minorities, socialists, gays and Jewish organizations at the same time and place where the Nazis had threatened to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday. This successful united-front demonstration, endorsed by 35 Bay Area union leaders and nine local unions, contrasted sharply with the Maoist-dominated Coalition rally a quarter mile away which drew 350, mainly themselves.

It wasn't chance that made the difference that day: the SL's success flowed directly from our Marxist analysis and program and the Stalinists' miserable showing resulted from their lack of it. They sold out for nothing. The Spartacist League strategy was to initiate a genuine united front based on two points of agreement: 1) to mobilize the labor movement for the forces to build a mass demonstration, not to rely on the state, and 2) to stop the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday.

The Maoist coalition in contrast was based on a fundamental pessimism about the possibility of mobilizing the working class. They looked to the good offices of city hall to dispatch the Nazis and directed most of their efforts to lobbying the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to revoke the Nazis' permit and endorse their rally instead. And in case the Nazis appeared anyway, the Maoist coalition *foreswore in advance* any confrontation under any circumstance! They termed theirs an "educational rally" and held it in UN Plaza blocks away from the Civic Center.

Many of the Stalinists had their confidence shattered that day as they saw the hated Trotskyists do what they said couldn't be done. Their confusion and vacillation was apparent at the debate. Although the event was called explicitly to discuss "various questions and differences [that] arose in the Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition as to the best tactics to beat back the rise of the Klan/Nazis," the speakers spent the first two hours nervously avoiding April 19 altogether, leaving the subject to the question and answer period. Even so, there appeared to be some appetite for answers from their members as shown by the unanimous vote of the audience to forego viewing a video tape of the Greensboro massacre to have more discussion time.

Maoists Seized by Fear

The three main speakers gave abstract analyses of fascism, veering, as these Mao-Stalinists do in practice, between "Third Period" adventurism and the class collaboration of Dimitrov's Popular Front. The CWP speaker managed to embrace both simultaneously. This apocalyptic view that the bourgeoisie is trying to impose fascism right here and now was effectively ridiculed by both NAROC and the EBCG. Just as easily the CWP exposed NAROC/EBCG's appetites for an on-going popular front formation as a substitute for constructing a Leninist vanguard party. NAROC in turn was attacked by the CWP and

Revolution in 2, 3, 5 Years Says Frenzied Mao Cult

CWP Careens into the '80s

Jerry Tung, would-be "Great Helmsman" of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), is steering his highly unstable and eclectic Maoist-Stalinist sect straight for disaster. Kicking off a national tour on "Which Way Forward in the 80's" in New York City on June 27, the General Secretary delivered a two-and-a-half hour monotonic, rambling discourse promising great things. In the next "two, three, five years a nationwide spontaneous revolutionary situation may develop at any time," he claimed. We're supposedly already in a pre-revolutionary situation with the bourgeoisie trying to impose fascism. As "proof" that revolution is around the corner, Tung points to the recent anti-cop ghetto outburst in Miami and white motorists' attack on gas stations in Levittown, Pennsylvania during last summer's contrived "oil shortage."

Even though the meeting hall was draped with banners hailing the "CWP Five" martyred by the Klan in Greensboro, Tung's presentation was no memorial to these fallen comrades. Instead he sought with emotional hype to rally a membership disoriented by the CWP's wild zigzags between adventurism and rotten liberalism. "Run the line from morning to evening," Tung exhorted the membership, we're in a "fire framework, so we have to start the fires now." And it doesn't matter if the masses don't understand communism, all they need to make the revolution is to see the CWP in action.

The CWP's recent "actions" have had a bizarre schizophrenic quality. Compare their rotten liberal, timid legalistic San Francisco anti-Klan rally to what they did in Kokomo, Indiana a few months ago. Last May the KKK held a much publicized march in downtown Kokomo, heavily protected by riot-equipped cops, with police sharpshooters on building roofs and a helicopter overhead. *After* the Klan left, a CWP car careened into town, where the Maoists proceeded to get into a scuffle directly with the cops. Not a blow was struck against the Klan. "Kokomo Defines Class Struggle of the 80's," declared the CWP's *Workers View-*

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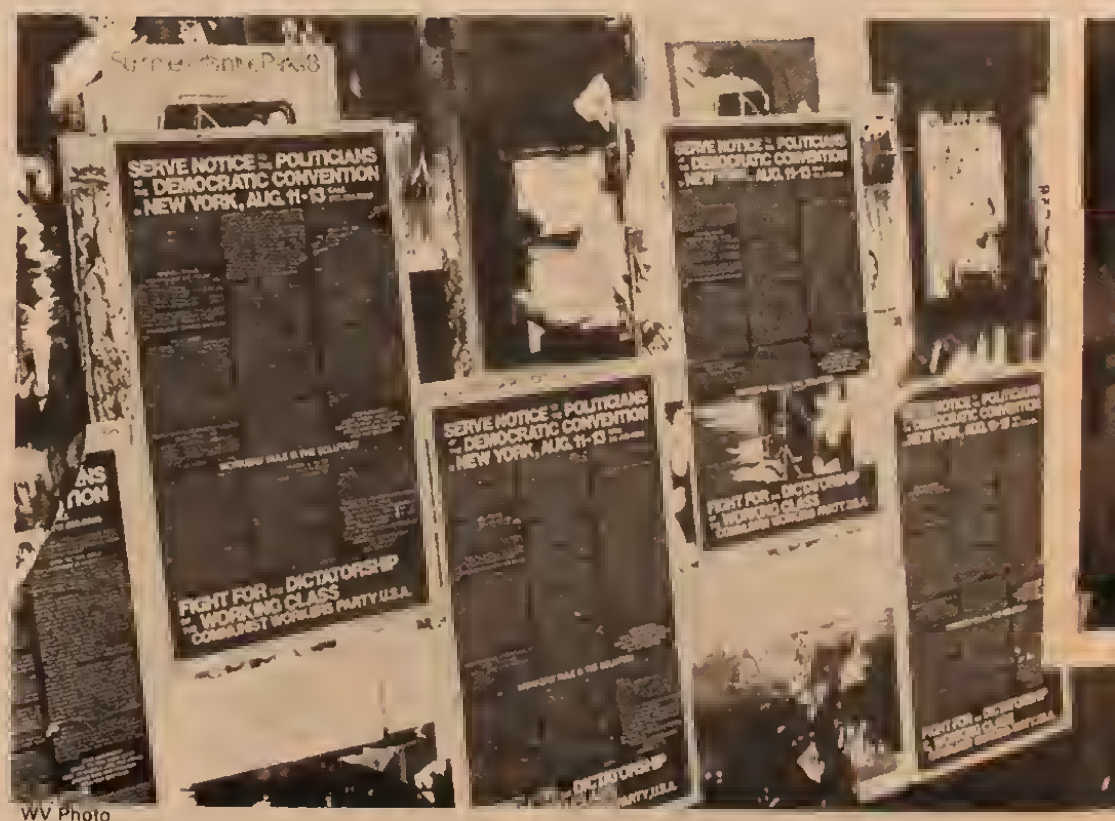

WV Photo

azis"

the EBCG for its rightist legalism in refusing ever to mobilize to stop the fascists and relying on the state to "ban the Klan."

NAROC is currently trying to "unite" the Democratic Party against Klan leader Tom Metzger who recently won the Democratic Party nomination in the country's largest Congressional district in southern California. They demonstrate in front of Democratic Party headquarters with chants like "Democratic Party, open your eyes—Don't be fooled by the Klan's disguise" and "Democratic Party, take a side against the right-wing tide"!

What the three debaters could not "grasp correctly" is that the united front is a tactic by which the vanguard party attempts to unite centrally *working-class* organizations around immediate tasks in defense of the workers' interests. If you don't believe the working class can do it, you turn to other forces: either to yourselves alone (substitutionism, adventurism) or to alien class forces. When the Stalinists "united front" with representatives of the bourgeoisie and adjust their program to suit them, that is class collaboration. It's called a popular front. And this is what the Maoists did in San Francisco April 19—refusing to confront the Nazis in hopes of making a class-collaborationist political deal with capitalist politicians.

The main presentations were followed by a break while the chairman sorted through the written questions submitted from the audience. While the first four questions marked time, everyone knew there was one question that couldn't be avoided. Hesitating and indecisive, the chairman finally got to it.

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Workers Viewpoint

Jerry Tung and his posters.

Sensational Revelation: Treasury Agent in Klan Hood

Expose G-Man in Greensboro Massacre

GREENSBORO, North Carolina—Last week a bombshell was dropped into the impending trial of six Nazis and Ku Klux Klansmen charged in the murder of five leftists and labor organizers here last fall. It is now revealed that an undercover federal agent in the Nazi/KKK group knew in advance of the murderous attack, participated in the planning meetings, even advised the killers in the transport of the weapons to the site! The infiltration/provocation role of agent Bernard Butkovich of the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) was exposed in the *Greensboro Record* following a five-week investigation by reporter Martha Woodall into accusations made by local Nazis. The *New York Times* (15 July) picked up the story, reporting that Butkovich's presence was confirmed by a Treasury Department spokesman.

That the government is up to its neck in the hideous crime is clear. Yet even now the cover-up of its involvement proceeds apace. "We found nothing inappropriate in his role as an undercover agent," the same spokesman insisted. And North Carolina Treasury bureau chief John Westra refused to provide further details of Butkovich's role: "In view of the pending trial, it would be improper to discuss anything he was working on at the time. It is very possible he might have played a role and might be considered by some factors to be a witness" (*New York Times*, 15 July). Reporter Woodall told *WV*:

> "On Tuesday [July 15] the district attorney, Michael Schlosser, admitted, made public at any rate, that he had learned a day or two after the shootings that there was an ATF undercover agent working in the Nazis.... Butkovich gave the police and the district attorney a detailed report about his involvement in the Nazis."

Despite the fact that local authorities knew about Butkovich early on, his name does not appear on the list of 273 probable prosecution witnesses. And on Saturday the KKK/Nazi defense announced it was calling the ATF infiltrator to bolster *its* case.

From the very beginning the bourgeois media and the authorities have taken the tack of equating the killers and their victims. Everyone from local papers to the liberal *New York Times* reported the November 3 massacre as a "shootout" between two "violence-prone extremist groups." Now the *Times* refers to the Klan/Nazi death squad as a "counterdemonstration." And in Greensboro's Guilford County Courthouse, the state is preparing its twin trials, both with the same purpose—one to let the Nazi killers off the hook, the other to throw the book at supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) who survived the attack which cut down five of their comrades. These trials are a license to kill for the nightriders and stormtroopers, an invitation to terrorize blacks and labor with their crosses, swastikas and guns.

In the KKK/Nazi trial, out of a pool of 2,500 the jury of twelve has now been chosen, all of them white. The CWPers have been arraigned and jury selection in their case is pending. And in mid-August more CWP supporters will go before the court for protesting the ban on entry to the courtrooms where the

Davis/Greensboro Daily News

Unidentified | Jack Wilson Fowler (Nazi) | Roland Wayne Wood (Nazi) | Lawrence Gene Morgan (KKK) | Jerry Paul Smith (KKK)

Nazi/KKK murderers are to be tried.

Workers Vanguard reporters attended the court hearings in early July where they got a first-hand taste of the "even-handed" justice meted out in "right to work" North Carolina, home of the runaway shop and kangaroo court. Here in Greensboro all except one of the KKK killers are walking the streets, required to return behind bars only on weekdays. Klansmen and their cohorts cavort in the corridors between sessions, playing "Dixie" on mouth harps. Inside the courtroom, the pews are almost empty, except for reporters and a handful of KKK supporters, including the Grand Klud of South Carolina. The proceedings begin as the KKK/Nazi scum sit confidently in cushioned chairs, staring intently at the prospective jurors being cross-examined. They smirk as their lawyer asks one black man, "Do you think the Ku Klux Klan is a good or bad organization?"

A typical interview: Defense lawyer asks a black prospective juror to confirm her address. She tries to be vague as all six defendants look as if they're committing her answers to memory. The defense "excuses" the black woman, in part because she used to work at Cone Mills Revolution Plant where several of the CWPers had organized before they were murdered. The *New York Times* (14 July) reported:

> "Enmity between Communists and the Klan goes back more than 50 years, to 1919, when a white mill worker and union organizer was shot to death by Klansmen on her way to a Cone Mills strike rally of a Communist Party union.
>
> "In view of the animosity between the Klan and blacks, the defense has systematically excluded blacks as jurors."

And the "prosecution" let them get away with it.

The whole affair is a travesty. The defense weeds out every juror likely to be "prejudiced" against the Nazis and the KKK. This includes a lot of people: if you saw on TV the racists gun down the leftists in cold blood, you're excused. Fought in World War II and hate Nazis? Excused. The only college graduate chosen is Octavio Mandulay, a former factory owner who fled Cuba in 1960 for Miami where he was active in the counterrevolutionary gusano "20th of May" organization as well as working for the U.S. Army. Others of the jurors selected include a white male supervisor at Western Electric, a white wife of a deputy sheriff, a white Vietnam vet truck driver, a white male fire safety instructor.

The proceedings in Greensboro have about as much to do with "justice" as the sham trials of cops for murdering blacks. In Greensboro the court-appointed defense represents the fascist killers, the "prosecution" the racist North Carolina state, whose death row, overwhelmingly black, is the largest in the country. No one represents the victims. Just look at the legal staff for both sides. *WV* found out that Michael Schlosser, Guilford County D.A., is the cousin of Steve Schlosser, defense attorney for one of the KKK/Nazis. Steve Schlosser's brother, Jim Schlosser, a local reporter for the *Greensboro Record*, did *his* job for the bourgeois state when, handling the pre-trial coverage, he labeled the massacre a "shootout."

Federal Infiltrator/Provocateur

It was just before noon on 3 November 1979 when the Nazi/KKK killers drove up to the black Morningside housing project in Greensboro, opened the trunks of their cars, took out pistols and rifles and gunned down five supporters of the CWP who were assembling there for a rally against the Klan. According to the reports, the ATF agent, Butkovich, had absented himself that morning. But he was there on November 1 in the home of Winston-Salem Nazi leader Roland Wayne Wood where plans for the massacre were made. He was present for another planning meeting the evening of November 2, hours before the murder. And on the afternoon of November 3, Butkovich visited arrested Nazi leader Wood in Guilford County Jail where, according to Wood, he offered to act as liaison with several fugitive Nazi killers awaiting instructions.

The Nazis say Butkovich offered to

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Greensboro G-Man...

(continued from page 7)

train them in such activities as making pipe bombs and fire bombs, offering to help them obtain such explosives as hand grenades, encouraging them to arm themselves illegally with automatic weapons, offering to help hide fugitives after the shooting. It is obvious that the defense intends to use these allegations to let the KKK/Nazis off the hook. Trying to tap into populist hatred of big government, they will portray themselves as victims of federal provocation by Northern city slickers from Washington. But the fact that federal agents may have egged them on simply illustrates the point that Marxists have always made—the fascist race-terrorists with hoods and swastikas spread their program of death with the connivance of the capitalist state.

The role of these government provocateurs who are "keeping an eye on the Klan" has long been known by the left and was given wide exposure in the wake of Watergate. The most famous case is that of Gary Thomas Rowe who, while on the payroll as the FBI's chief informer inside the Birmingham Klan, assisted in the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in September 1963 in which four black girls were killed. Rowe was the principal organizer of the May 1961 attack on freedom riders by 1,000 Klansmen which left the bus terminals strewn with demonstrators lying in pools of blood. In 1965 Rowe was involved in the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, shot to death on a highway outside Selma.

These facts about Rowe came to light in 1978, a result of a 14-year-delayed state investigation into the 16th Street Church bombing. Since then there has been much talk among the liberals about a "new FBI" which doesn't do things like that anymore. But in February of this year reports were leaked that Rowe may actually have been the triggerman in the Liuzzo murder. Even so the government is still refusing to release a special report on the grounds that it may "affect the trial" of Rowe—that is, lead to a conviction. It was also revealed that J. Edgar Hoover personally held up the investigation for those 14 years in order to block prosecution of four Ku Klux Klansmen involved in the church bombing. And last week it came out that a Birmingham sheriff was tipped off about the bomb in the Baptist church two hours before it exploded but never got around to searching for it!

Moreover the revelations of a federal agent involved in the planning of the fascists last November is only the latest evidence of government complicity in the Greensboro murders. It was earlier reported how the city police provided the KKK with the time and location of the anti-Klan demonstrators' unpublicized meeting point. And an extensive article by Blanche McCrary Boyd in the 26 May *Village Voice* details how Greensboro detective Jerry Cooper followed the cavalcade of death from a ramp on Interstate 85 all the way to the murder site; that he then called in to report that the fascists had arrived, that just at this point the Greensboro TAC squad was sent out to get sandwiches! And how did the cops know all this? They didn't need to rely on G-man Butkovich, because they had their *own* man in the Nazi/KKK group! Of course the overlap between sheriff/police departments and the Klan in the South is notorious.

So now the CWP supporters are on trial for "felony rioting"—because they were there and got shot at. All conspiracy charges against the KKK and Nazis were dropped—thus making it necessary to prove which of the fascists shot which of the anti-Klan demonstrators, and furthermore letting the rest of the 40 to 50 armed racists who participated in the murder expedition get off scot-free! Here is a genuine conspiracy on the part of the racist killers and the capitalist state, revealing fundamental facts about the nature of class justice. The frame-up charges against the CWP and the "even-handed" equation of killer and victim are a sinister threat to anyone who would stand up for the rights of labor and minorities in racist, capitalist America. The response of socialists, labor unionists and all concerned with democratic rights must be to denounce these sham trials and demand, "Put *all* the killer Klansmen away! Drop all charges against the Greensboro CWPers!" ■

Allah that Failed...

(continued from page 3)

only Khomeini hadn't been so ruthless, if only...

Allah Is Alive and "Red" for SWP

Although some on the left are voicing criticism of Khomeini and his "mass movement" of mullahs, there are still plenty (without turbans) who uncritically "praise the imam's line" and scrape before his "anti-imperialist" demagogy. Among the most consistent of these fake-left camp followers of Khomeini is, of course, the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Thus, after Halliday's article appeared, the SWP felt obliged to defend the Iranian clerical reactionaries against him in the June issue of its *International Socialist Review*.

The SWP tries to cover up for the repression unleashed by the clerical right, using Bani Sadr and the "liberals" as the scapegoats. The method of "argument" is familiar to those who have followed the SWP's "Pollyanna Goes to Teheran" coverage of Iran: see no evil, speak no truth. In the name of "getting out the truth about Iran," the SWP resorts time and again to the Big Lie. And when the SWP doesn't simply deny reality, it tries to pin every admitted massacre of Kurds, every attack on the left on Bani Sadr and anonymous "Iranian capitalists."

As for Halliday's belated recognition of the embassy seizure as bad news for the left, the SWP asserts, "Common sense would suggest the opposite." Well, it's *non*sense to think that the Iranian left has benefited from the fake "anti-imperialist" crusade. What about the corpses of all the leftist students killed in the great "anti-imperialist" attacks to "purify" the universities? Why, the SWP and its Iranian cothinkers of the HKE hailed the "Islamification" of the universities and denounced the Fedayeen and Mujahedeen for fighting the Islamic thugs! The SWP/HKE even echoed the mullahs' call for students to enroll in "Camps for Rallying Our Forces" sponsored by the "Jihad for Organizing the Country." According to the HKE, these camps will not teach subversive subjects such as history or Marxism but will provide training "in such fields as electricity, agriculture, veterinary medicine, motor repair, civil engineering, welfare work, the teaching of reading, and so on" (*Intercontinental Press*, 23 June). Down on the farm fixing tractors and doctoring sheep the youth of Iran will, the mullahs hope, be free of "evil" secular influence.

Asserting that Halliday is wrong to call the clerical leaders the main enemy, the SWP fatuously argues, "Most Iranian workers, peasants, and urban poor see the issue differently," and cites a statement by an Islamic factory committee to back this up. How philistine can you get! Plenty of backward Indonesia peasants and petty bourgeois could be found who supported the right-wing coup in Jakarta in 1965 and the mullah-led massacres of the Communist Party. As for Iran, the Fedayeen, who were the chief target of the March attacks on campuses by the *hezbollahi* and *pasdaran*, "see the issue differently"—and, far more correctly than the SWP/HKE. At the time of the attacks, the Fedayeen stated, "Today, the conscious people know that the Islamic Republican Party and its agents have turned the recent days, all over Iran, into a scene of attacks on the universities and of murdering of revolutionary students" (*Kar* [Labor], 30 April).

Kelari/Sygma

SWP echoes Khomeini's call for "an army of 20,000,000" reactionaries.

The Islamic Repuhlican Party and its agents, the lumpen *hezbollahi*, were also behind the June 12 attack on the Mujahedeen rally in Teheran. But the SWP/HKE went to absurd lengths to dissociate the *hezbollahi*, whom they *hailed* as "anti-imperialist" Muslim students when they attacked the campuses last March, from the *pasdaran* and Khomeini. Although even the official Pars news agency admitted that *pasdaran* had fired into the Mujahedeen crowd, the HKE issued a statement denouncing this as "poisonous rumors" and solidarizing with "our brother *pasdaran*."

Bogus Anti-Imperialism

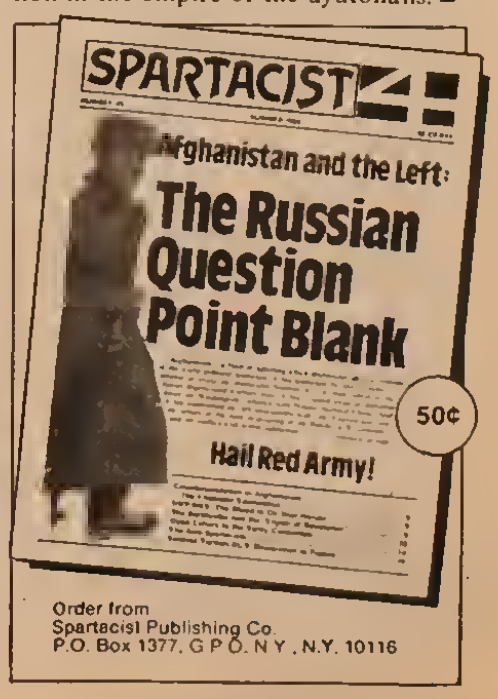
The SWP tries to give their apologies for the mullahs a "left" face by issuing strenuous denunciations of "Iranian capitalists" and portraying the clerical-ists as enemies of the bourgeoisie. In fact, many of Iran's mullahs are themselves large landlords, with private and mosque-owned holdings. Ayatollah Beheshti is said to own a fortune in real estate and sits on the board of directors of a construction firm that did profitable business with the shah's regime. The Society of Employees of the Central Bank of Iran, who regularly exposed financial plunder by the shah, has issued a statement showing that Beheshti, in the grand Pahlavi style, has sent $12,350,000 out of the country since the Islamic revolution!

The old Pahlavi system of graft, corruption and privilege has given way to the new "mullah system." Ayatollahood—a status gained by manipulation in the *ulema* establishment—has become such a good investment these days that the 22 recognized ayatollahs from before the revolution have now been joined by an estimated 1,000 "self-proclaimed" or "popularly acclaimed" colleagues.

There's nothing new about using "anti-imperialism" as a cover for class-collaborationism or capitulation to petty-bourgeois nationalism in the backward countries. The essence of the Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution" (first a bourgeois-democratic one, then someday a socialist sequel) is that there exists an "anti-imperialist" section of the bourgeoisie. But the pseudo-Trotskyist SWP has gone the Stalinists one better, by discovering an "anti-imperialist" feudalist caste—namely, the Persian Shi'ite clergy! The heart of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution is that there is no "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie, or "anti-imperialist" revolution as such. Liberation from imperialist domination requires a proletarian revolution that expropriates the native propertied classes as well as the foreign capitalists.

The burning need of the hour in Iran is the forging of an authentic Trotskyist party. That task has been enormously set back by the despicable betrayals of the HKE, who will go down history as the "Trotskyists" who cheered the Islamic thugs for their attack on the Fedayeen's university strongholds. The Fedayeen have finally been forced to oppose the mullahs, but have drawn no fundamental theoretical/programmatic conclusions from their experience under the Islamic reaction. They remain "two-stage" revolutionists; it's just that they want a better "first" stage than they got. That is the view of Fred Halliday as well.

However, while the mullahs have done much to consolidate their rule politically (with the aid of the opportunist left), it is not yet accomplished. The left, the minorities and many workers remain armed, while the army is not yet fully reforged as a reliable instrument of the mullahs' rule. Subjective revolutionaries in Iran must break with the bankrupt politics of the guerrillas and fight for a Trotskyist perspective, the only road forward for socialist revolution in the empire of the ayatollahs. ■



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800 Votes for Inland Steel Militants

CHICAGO—Two steel worker militants, offering a forthright class-struggle alternative to the disastrous do-nothingism of their union leadership, racked up an impressive total of over 800 votes each in July 10 elections here for delegate to the upcoming United Steelworkers of America (USWA) convention.

Though not elected, Sam Hunt and Milly Leonard of USWA Local 1010 at Inland Steel Co. received an encouraging 819 and 808 votes respectively, about 13 percent of the total vote each, on their record of defending the right to honor picket lines as members of the Keith Anwar Defense Committee. Their program also called for plant occupations to stop shutdowns, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, no government interference in the union movement, a workers party to fight for a workers government, and opposition to both chauvinist protectionism and Carter's reactionary war drive over Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

The two militants, both running for office for the first time at Inland, received the highest vote totals among independent candidates. Most of the delegates elected were from the slate of the Rank and File Caucus (RFC) of USWA District 31 director Jim Balanoff, a vehicle for supporters of the so-called progressive Ed Sadlowski. The RFC has long dominated Local 1010. But the heavy vote for Leonard and Hunt indicates that steel workers are fed up with those union leaders, even phony "progressives," who sit by whining for the bosses' government to save them while the guts are ripped out of workers' livelihoods by rampant layoffs and closures.

The RFC is still strong enough to sweep the delegate elections at Inland. But the Sadlowski/Balanoff gang has been running District 31 for years now—and the result is 20,000 steel workers on layoff in the area, several plants closed for good, and several more threatened with closure. Balanoff's response has been to sound more and more like USWA International president Lloyd McBride, and the last Local 1010 election in the spring of 1979 showed an erosion of support for the "progressives." The McBride forces, who offer nothing but a more unabashed pro-company orientation, are actually making headway off steel workers' despair.

What stands out about the Hunt/Leonard campaign is that it offered for the first time ever at Inland a *class-struggle* alternative to the increasingly discredited Sadlowskiites. These candidates opposed the latest disastrous contract, unlike supporters of McBride and Sadlowski/Balanoff. And 800 steel workers grabbed the chance to vote for a program of real solutions to their burning needs. This is especially a breakthrough in a local where all ostensible left-wing oppositions have always been absorbed into the RFC.

Steel militants Sam Hunt and Milly Leonard at Inland plant gate. WV Photo

Defend Picket Lines!

Hunt and Leonard are respected at Inland for upholding the principle that "picket lines mean don't cross," stemming from their work on the Keith Anwar defense case. Anwar, a Local 1010 member, was fired in May of 1979 for his refusal to cross the picket lines of another USWA local at the plant.

While hundreds of rank-and-filers, and even some local officials who supported the defense, realized that what's at stake here is not just a job but the very ability of the union to defend itself against company attack, the McBride and Balanoff bureaucracies did everything they could to derail the case. Balanoff, who sat on the Anwar grievance for months while he and McBride each claimed the other was "responsible," only agreed to take it to arbitration after two locals passed pro-Anwar resolutions and some members of the RFC made clear their intention to support a floor fight at the June District 31 Conference. When Balanoff backed down it was a real victory for union democracy and the rank and file, a victory won by Anwar supporters like Leonard and Hunt through mobilization of the union ranks and without running to the capitalist state as the bureaucracy often does.

McBride and Balanoff hate the Keith Anwar case because it's not just another instance of the cheap militant talk so common in "progressive" District 31. A man put his job on the line to defend the labor movement, and this fact accounts for the impact of the case and the authority earned by Hunt and Leonard through their work with the defense committee. This authority clearly raised their impressive vote totals.

800 Votes for the Picket Line

In an interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Leonard and Hunt said they felt that the Anwar campaign produced genuine votes on the picket line question. "That was 800 votes for the picket line," Hunt said, "800 votes that recognized that there's something wrong with the Rank and File Caucus. The RFC didn't believe it was possible to run on a class-struggle program and still get votes. In fact, one of their candidates bet us $5 we wouldn't break 200 votes. Jim Balanoff almost bet me $50 I wouldn't get 200. Their favorite excuse is that the union ranks aren't ready. But some of the ranks not only voted for us, they stopped to discuss our program at the polls."

Leonard described her surprise on learning that two conservative, older white workers from her department had voted for her. "When I asked them why, they said, 'Because you'll stick it to the company.' Another worker, an ex-Marine, said 'I don't agree with you. I voted for you because you defend the union.' So our hard class-struggle campaign undercut right-wing social attitudes in the plant."

"Some RFC members thought we'd be better off joining their slate," Hunt said. "But there's no way in hell I'm going to join a caucus that continually supports the Democratic Party, allows its members to cross picket lines, and hasn't lifted a finger to break the no-strike ENA stranglehold on our union. What our union needs, with this economy and this war drive that Carter's pushing now, are policies which do anything necessary to protect the steel worker ranks. If the companies are going to shut down plants, we shouldn't beg crumbs from the government—we've got to seize those plants and private property be damned."

Leonard pointed out that the USWA must also "break that alliance with the Democratic Party which does nothing, absolutely nothing, but throw away good union money after bad by supporting anti-labor politicians. It's about time labor fought politically for what it needs. We need our own party based on the trade unions, and we need it so that we can fight for a working-class-run government to end the unemployment and war brought on by capitalism."

"We said all this in our campaign literature," she added. "We also called for labor mobilizations against the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. This was a very impressive part of our program for a section of the union ranks. We opposed the protectionism which is so popular now with both wings of our union bureaucracy, pointing out that this only makes scapegoats of foreign workers for the companies' failure to rebuild those outdated rattle-trap plants. And it will lead to supporting shooting wars and steel workers will be sent to die to protect the bosses' profits. We also came right out and told workers not to be taken in by Jimmy Carter's war hysteria against the Soviet Union."

"So people may not agree with everything we say," Hunt added, "but they know what we did to defend trade unionism. Our campaign was the first militant trade-union alternative to Sadlowski. With five independents in the race, it's significant that we finished first and second. We were the people running on a program that is independent of both the International and the District bureaucracies." He cited the case of Dave Vance, supported by the tiny Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League, who ran as an "independent" but campaigned with the line, "Save one vote for me, then vote RFC"!

Significantly, Hunt and Leonard made a forthright defense of the Soviet workers state during their campaign. On the subject of the hysterical anti-communism cooked up by the American government after the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan, their campaign leaflet states:

> "The fact is the Soviets stand on the side of social progress in Afghanistan. The Muslim fanatics Carter backs...want to buy and sell women like cattle, flog beer drinkers, and kill school teachers who want women to read and write. Carter hates the Soviet Union for the same reason he hates unions—both stand in the way of corporate profits. Like our union bureaucrats, the Soviet leaders are only out for themselves...but we are far better off with a misled union than no union at all. Soviet workers are better off having kicked out their capitalists and organizing a planned economy...we stand with the Soviet workers against 'open shop' Carter."

The Sadlowski Connection

While the Hunt/Leonard campaign called for a break with the Democrats to form a workers party and came out in defense of the Soviet Union, supporters of the Communist Party/Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) cling to their Democratic Party "friends" and consistently dodge the Russian issue. In fact, these traitors called in the cops on Keith Anwar Defense Committee supporters, including Leonard and Hunt, who attempted to pass out literature at a TUAD conference held June 20-22 in Gary—while bringing in Democratic mayor Richard Hatcher for the opening address. Not only TUAD, but the entire ostensible left in District 31 has always tailed the Sadlowski forces and abandoned the struggle to win steel workers to an independent class-struggle program.

The Leonard/Hunt campaign cut through the fraudulent "choice" between the pro-capitalist Sadlowski and the pro-capitalist McBride, to pose a genuine militant alternative for steel workers. They earned votes and respect on the basis of actually doing something, through their work in the Anwar Defense Committee to defend trade unionism against company attacks. Steel workers must understand that their livelihoods will be ultimately defended only by a leadership which rejects the bankrupt policies of both McBride *and* Sadlowski/Balanoff wings of the bureaucracy. Steel workers who want to "stick it to the companies" should join with militants like Leonard and Hunt to start building that leadership now. ■

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SL Spokesman Al Nelson at Maoist Debate

Smash Fascism with Class Struggle!

My name is Al Nelson speaking for the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the international Spartacist tendency.

The fight against fascism is inseparable from a struggle to mobilize the proletariat for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. In times of social crisis, when the struggle of the proletariat is no longer controllable by bourgeois democracy and the official police and army, the ruling class resorts to fascism. The parties of counterrevolutionary despair, whose direct aim is agitating the petty bourgeoisie into a white heat, are directing its atomized hatred and despair against the revolutionary proletariat. When the mass parties of the working class prove incapable of leading the preletariat to state power, the proletariat pays in blood under the armed fist of fascism. This was the case in Italy and in Germany.

In this country the very serious threat posed by the growth of the Nazis and the Klan must be seen in its international context. It reflects a tendency under conditions of degenerating American capitalism for a popular mobilization for World War III against the Soviet Union. The Klan/Nazis are the far-right fascistic fringe of this augmented war threat from Carter and the crazy Brzezinski. While mainly based in rural areas where they seldom confront the organized labor movement, the Klan/Nazis when emboldened threaten to go to the major proletarian centers—where we can interdict them and crush the fascists in the egg. Therefore our anti-fascist strategy is an attempt to deprive the bourgeoisie of the rabid constituency unashamedly for war against the Soviet Union, which still retains the economic and social conquests of the October Revolution despite the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy that seized political power from the Soviet working class.

We are a small revolutionary organization which seeks to mobilize the power of organized labor against this dangerous fascist fringe—thereby retarding the mobilization of general sentiment against the USSR. "Détente" is the utopian international version of Stalin and Dimitrov's popular front—peaceful coexistence with so-called "progressive democracies," class collaboration at the expense of revolution. This is the policy of all wings of Stalinism from Moscow to Peking to Albania. Mao called it the bloc of four classes. The crucial connection is this: the Klan/Nazis are the petty-bourgeois fascist fringe mobilization of anti-détente, U.S. foreign and domestic policy—guns not butter.

The Spartacist League attempts to organize the working class based on its own class interests, not the interests of the so-called "progressive wing" of the bourgeoisie. The struggle against fascism is not legal or electoral but will take place in the streets based on the centrality of a labor/black/Chicano mobilization. The Klan/Nazis are fascist-terrorist action groups—not racist ideologues claimed at least by NAROC. Our strategy was the basis for the successful anti-fascist mobilizations of 500 mainly black auto workers in Detroit on November 10, following the Greensboro massacre, and in San Francisco on April 19, that prevented the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday—both initiated and built by the Spartacist League in conjunction with trade-union militants.

On April 19th we sought to mobilize a demonstration at the same time and the same place as the Nazis to stop them. This strategy was opposed by every other organization taking part in this debate tonight. You all said go build your own demonstration—so we did. There were two demonstrations on April 19th—the ANCAN demonstration at the Civic Center was a success, 1,200 people joined, mainly from the labor movement and minorities, [and] came to stop the Nazis. The demonstration was endorsed by 35 union officials and nine union locals.

The Anti-Nazi Coalition, dominated principally by the CWP, held a rally of several hundred a quarter of a mile away at UN Plaza which was a failure. The policy of that coalition was based on the premise that the working-class and minority communities were not ready for independent action. Instead the coalition went begging to Mayor Feinstein and the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to ban the Nazis, and foreswore in advance any attempt to physically confront the Nazis. Lenin said that the basis of all opportunism is an underestimation of the revolutionary capacity of the working class.

As long as the choices of the discussion remain popular frontism or [the] "Third Period" these discussions of these various organizations are going to continue to result in splits and more discussions and obliteration. Except for the Spartacist League, no other group speaking here tonight has either the program or the strategy for combating and ousting the present misleadership of the working class. We stand on the program that led to the Russian Revolution in October 1917. Only the revolutionary program of Trotskyism embodied in the Spartacist League can build a party that will lead the working class in the fight against fascism and the overthrow of capitalism internationally.

Maoists...

(continued from page 7)

"All right,...this'll be the last question. We're going to try to get out of here within ten to fifteen minutes or so. Much as I don't like to, I'll read this: 'In light of the Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition's decision in advance not to try to physically confront the Nazis, in light of the ability of the Spartacist League and militant unionists to successfully build a rally of 1,200 unionists, socialists, minorities, etc. explicitly committed to stopping the Nazis, what self-criticism would members of the Coalition make?'"

That really blew the lid off. The EBCG speaker responded: "We upheld initially that there should be an agitational rally at the site of the Nazis, while they were there and then an educational rally. That was defeated. Our main purpose for seeing it as an agitational rally and not as a purposefully aggressive, physical confrontation was that we thought the only people who would come to that were basically the people who may be in this room and a few others.... Now, we may have been wrong...we did not bring a lot of mass elements to our rally, it was mostly communists and communist supporters. That in my view is an honest report of it. We did have some struggle inside [the Coalition] where the rightist line of a *fear of any confrontation with the Nazis* convinced people to stay far enough away. That was a rightist line that we all fell to, and that's got to be an honest self-criticism" (our emphasis).

In response to the SL's charge that the Maoist coalition accommodated to the liberal, pacifist and Democratic Party politicians they tried to bloc with, the CWP spokesman said, "We had a broad united front. We worked long hours getting endorsements of church groups, etc. The reason for going to UN Plaza originally was to maintain that united front, to build the thing as broad as possible.... Now we don't expect church people, people coming from sections of the Democratic Party, who we work with...Wilson Riles, Jr. [Oakland city council member] was honorary co-chairman of that coalition, and we reaffirmed that as the Communist Workers Party."

In a frenzied denial of reality the speakers then tried to paint the SL as errant members of *their* coalition and accused us of "splitting and wrecking." The CWP speaker said, "After it was clear the Nazis weren't going to march we were open to efforts to unite...." What really happened was quite different.

Who Were the Splitters?

When the Spartacist League learned in early March that the Nazis planned to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday in the SF Civic Center, we immediately began contacting militant trade unionists with a proposal to build a labor-centered united front to prevent that rally. As the CWP well knew from having attended meetings of the ILWU-sponsored "Labor/Community Alert Against Fascism" militants from the longshore-warehouse union and other unions were arguing inside that group for a policy of stopping the Nazis on April 19.

When we learned of the existence of the Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition several SL members and trade unionists attended their first public meeting, explicitly as observers. Our supporters spoke out strongly for militant labor action to stop the Nazi rally and against the Coalition policy of relying on city officials to revoke the Nazi permit. The Coalition affirmed the Board of Supervisors strategy in a motion at their next meeting, on March 27, and in addition voted "as a coalition, we agree not to attack the Nazis." At that meeting the SL again made it clear we intended to carry through on mobilizing to prevent the Nazi rally. When we attempted to attend a meeting of the Coalition a third time, we were physically excluded.

On April 10 the SF police chief held a press conference to announce that he was revoking the Nazi permit because he expected 5,000 protesters and feared the police would not be able to protect the Nazis. The pending ANCAN permit for Civic Center was then granted. Now that the Nazis were not expected to show, the Maoist coalition tried to get a permit to demonstrate in the Civic Center and was refused because ANCAN had already gotten one. When ANCAN learned of this, we called them up to ask if they were trying to contact us and they said, "No!" ANCAN representatives then called a number of members of the Coalition steering committee stating that we wanted to meet and discuss a united rally. A number of them expressed surprise that we had not been contacted already by the Coalition. They said that the last meeting of the steering committee had voted to contact ANCAN about a united demonstration. On April 13 we finally received a call requesting a meeting.

Coalition representatives presented us with a list of "conditions" for joining the demonstration: 1) that the Coalition and principally the CWP would have complete control of security for the demonstration; 2) that there be essentially separate rallies, ANCAN from 11 a.m. to 12:30 and then when the Coalition arrived from a march from Dolores Park, they would take over with their own chairman and program; and 3) that of the many endorsers of ANCAN, only the Spartacist League would get a speaker on the Coalition's program.

This was not a serious proposal, and it was not meant to be. When the proposed conditions were taken back to the major endorsers of the rally, particularly militant union leaders, we got the following kinds of responses: "Who are they? We haven't seen any of their leaflets." "They didn't even want to stop the Nazi rally, why should we turn over the rally to them?" and "Who do they represent anyway?"

Faced with a successful united front committed to stopping the Nazis through militant action endorsed by dozens of union leaders and labor organizations, did the CWP and its allies suppose they could simply move in and take over? Most likely they didn't suppose it at all; they were making a deliberately unacceptable proposal to soothe the qualms of their fellow Coalition members. But the results came in on April 19. More than 1,200 unionists, blacks and socialists at the ANCAN rally occupied the site where the fascists threatened to stage their race-hate provocation. No Nazis showed their face that day. And the Maoists' Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition didn't even get their Democratic Party honorary co-chairman.

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CWP...

(continued from page 6)

point, describing themselves heroically as leading an action "unprecedented in the glorious revolutionary history of the U.S."

As for Tung's "Apocalypse Now" scenario, to describe it as wildly out of whack with reality is merely to state the obvious. The CWP telescopes the long-term decay of U.S. capitalism with the present sharp conjunctural downturn to project an immediate collapse. No capitalist economic crisis is "terminal" in and of itself. The proletariat must be organized under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The CWP cannot explain how a "pre-revolutionary" situation can exist when what has characterized the present period is the absence of a militant class-struggle response to runaway inflation and the onset of a depression leading to mass unemployment.

The main result of the CWP's "fire framework" is not even a serious perspective of trying to break the working class from its current misleaders. Rather it has embarked on a series

of publicity stunts, recalling the Avakianite RCP. (In fact, the RCP is so incensed that a recent issue of its *Revolutionary Worker* complained about the numerous ways the CWP is copying it.) Under the slogan of "putting the politicians on notice—no business as usual," the CWP has gone into a frenzy of disrupting bourgeois political-electoral events, usually resulting mainly in the arrest of its own members.

In recent weeks this campaign has included attempting to disrupt a Democratic Party fundraiser hosted by Rosalynn Carter by egg-throwing, trying to chant down Jimmy Carter at a National Education Association convention in Los Angeles, throwing a five-pound bolt through a plate glass window at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York while picketing Ronald Reagan, spray-painting walls of Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti's office (numerous articles on how to spray-paint and poster professionally appear in the CWP press). And the grand finale: the CWP intends to "crash the garden party" at the Democratic convention in August.

A significant part of Tung's tour speech is devoted to denouncing "electoralism": "...anytime they mention electoral politics, the CWP is on the opposite side." Pretty categorical. Meanwhile, Nelson Johnson, the CWP leader wounded in the Greensboro massacre, is running for governor of North Carolina. It's interesting, too, that from November until May stories focusing on Nelson Johnson appeared in almost every issue of *Workers Viewpoint* and his picture was frequently on the front page. Since May, however, there has regularly appeared a photo of Tung flanked by two Chinese bureaucrats and there has been a noticeable downgrading of attention paid to Johnson. The 12 May issue explains that they had skipped an issue because of "evaluation of the form and content of the newspaper.... The deep significance of the present decade...has not been reflected in the pages of the WV [*Workers Viewpoint*] in the last few issues."

Some internal dissidence in the CWP? Whatever is going on, though, it certainly is not a serious search for Marxist clarity or a Leninist program. Eventual exhaustion from zigzagging between adventurist stunts and chasing after bourgeois allies may help convince some CWP cadres that the road to the American proletariat does not lie in crisis-mongering and substitutionism. Surprisingly, the CWP is making a show of "debating" politics with Trotskyists—Tung's meeting was billed as a debate open to other tendencies. But no one should be lulled into believing that this is anything but a temporary unstable exercise, probably born of Tung's overweaning egotism. The CWP's normal practice is to beat up its left-wing opponents.

Nonetheless, supporters of the Spartacist League at the meeting made a sharp impact on the audience. Particularly powerful was the intervention of a black auto worker, recently laid off from the big Ford plant in Mahwah, New Jersey after ten years on the production line, who is a long-time spokesman for the Militant Solidarity Caucus there. He spoke of his experiences growing up in the South and the need for union-organized defense guards to stop racist and fascist attacks. He counterposed to the CWP's substitutionism the successful strategy of the SL in building mass labor-centered rallies to stop the Klan, like the one which drew 500 mainly black workers in Detroit in the wake of the Greensboro massacre. And he attacked the CWP's abstention from a similar SL-initiated and backed trade-union rally that stopped the Nazis in San Francisco April 19.

Workers Viewpoint (5 July) devoted most of its report on Tung's speech and the "great debate" to a polemic against the "Trotskyites" (meaning the Spartacist League), which might well be termed "In Defense of Revolutionary Phrasemongering":

> "The Trotskyites, flowing from their view that revolution is far away, do not see the immediate need to give a communist solution to every American.... The Trotskyites are locked into the reformist framework of chasing after immediate issues, thinking that these are the workers' main concern."

Typical of New Left Maoists, Tung dismisses concern for the material interests and needs of the working masses as mere reformism and projects revolution as an apocalypse having no relation to the *actual* life and struggles of the proletariat. It's as if he takes the fairy tales of the Peking Opera under Chiang Ch'ing as the real thing.

Conversely, when the CWP does involve itself in what it considers "immediate issues," its practice is sub-economist penny-ante reformism laced with large doses of liberal class collaboration. Only the Trotskyist Transitional Program, linking the present struggles of the working class to the seizure of state power, offers a way out of the polar dead ends of adventurism/phrasemongering and economism/class collaboration which characterize Tung's CWP. Imprisoned by the straitjacket of Stalinism, it is doomed to go the way of other frenzied Maoist sects—Progressive Labor and now Avakian's RCP—toward irrelevance and oblivion, spinning off burnt-out and cynical ex-members with its apocalyptic play-acting. ■

L.A. Port Shutdown...

(continued from page 12)

Machinists' picket lines were not "legitimate" since the picket lines were not confined to the areas where IAM mechanics work. After every one of these scab-herding rulings, Local president Pandora ordered longshoremen to cross the lines. Longshoremen persistently refused.

Bureaucratic Backstabbing

From the first day of the strike on Tuesday, July 1 through Thursday there was much confusion in the ranks of Local 13, the largest longshore local on the West Coast. Since no union bulletins were issued or meetings called by Local 13 officials, information was confined to word of mouth. President Pandora appeared at the hiring halls at dispatch time ordering longshoremen to cross picket lines.

Wednesday the picket lines came down while IAM mechanics held a meeting called to adopt a proposed contract. Pickets reported that IAM Business Agent Tom Burniston was greeted with cries of "fink!" when he tried to sell a contract allowing mechanics helpers to do mechanics' work at less pay. They also said that when the proposed contract was overwhelmingly rejected, the mechanics then also shouted down a proposal to work without a contract while negotiations continued.

By Thursday, July 3 picket lines sprang up at even more piers than before and again longshoremen refused to cross. Earlier that day ILWU International President Jimmy Herman sent a telegram instructing the three locals to work behind the picket lines. This backstabbing action is particularly ironic given the leading role of the ILWU and IAM in the Progressive Alliance, a reformist pressure group of unions and community groups dedicated to lobbying liberal Democrats for legislative reforms. Apparently in response to objections within the union, Herman sent a second telegram to Local 13 at 4 p.m., just before their local meeting, reversing his earlier instructions and advising the local to observe the IAM picket lines.

At a stormy meeting of Local 13 on the night of July 3, the local's president, secretary-treasurer and two business agents advocated crossing the lines and working the ships, which by then were anchored all over the harbor. Angry longshoremen prevented the officers' scabbing proposal from even coming to a vote.

As the meeting drew to a stormy conclusion, former International Executive Board member "Chick" Loveridge put forth a motion that carried to observe the picket lines and that only the local executive board could change that policy. As soon as the meeting ended; Pandora convened an emergency meeting of the executive board to get them to reverse the membership decision. This attempt failed when the executive board voted at 3 a.m. to let stand the membership motion to stay out. However, the board tried to buttress its position legalistically by authorizing a letter to the PMA blaming the employers association for keeping the port shut down by not allowing the IAM to picket their immediate work sites within the harbor area. This motion completely ignored the fact that it was the ILWU solidarity action, in stopping the loading of ships on piers where IAM mechanics work, that put the maximum economic pressure on the employers.

The next day, Friday, Pandora got on the microphone at the hiring hall and told longshoremen, "You can go through the picket lines and go to work!" Waterfront employers threatened them with individual reprisals such as suspension of their dispatch rights unless they went to work behind the lines. Again longshoremen stood firm, and that day only automobile ships and some perishables were moved while the port was almost totally closed.

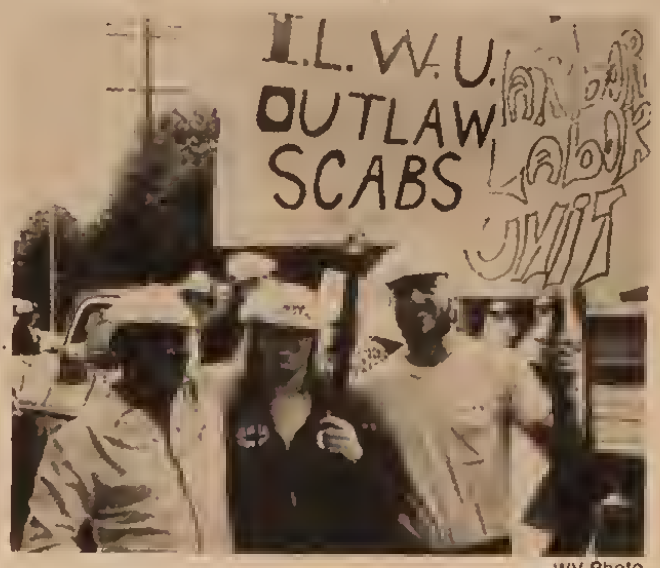
Labor Solidarity

There was a complete press blackout during the strike. Ships and cargo were diverted to other ports, mainly Oakland-San Francisco where local union officials kept the lid on news that Los Angeles longshoremen had shut down the port. Local 13 officials in L.A. had failed to send pickets to the Bay Area piers to stop diverted cargo from being worked.

Los Angeles longshoremen have bitter memories of how their resistance to waterfront employers' encroachment on work rules was crushed by lockouts during the 1950s and '60s. During those lockouts ILWU International president Harry Bridges forced San Francisco longshoremen to work diverted cargo until L.A. longshoremen capitulated. The worst of these defeats resulted in Local 13 signing the infamous "yellow dog contract" which provided that any longshoreman found guilty of taking part in an "illegal work stoppage" would not be dispatched to that company until his case had gone all the way through the grievance procedure, a process that might take weeks or months.

Los Angeles longshoremen have a long history of support to other unions. Most recently, in March of this year the ILWU led all ten harbor unions in a one-day port shutdown in support of striking oil workers (see *WV* No. 251, 7 March for a report on that strike).

Acts of working-class solidarity as expressed on the picket line have always been a part of longshoremen's struggles on the West Coast because of their unique concentration of economic power. In 1919 the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce organized employers to smash the longshore union largely because dock workers' refusal to work struck or picketed cargo was giving impetus to trade unions in manufacturing, warehousing and transportation. Without the support of the Seamen and Teamsters, longshoremen on the West Coast would not have been able to resist massive government strikebreaking in 1934. In that year workers solidarity actions culminated in the great San Francisco general strike, which gave birth to what later became the ILWU.



Longshoremen also shut down port of L.A. last March to back oil strikers.

WV Photo

Beginning in 1936 with the organization of the dockside warehouses, longshoremen's resistance to handling struck cargo gave decisive support in organizing what was to become the warehouse division of the ILWU. Official Teamster histories credit longshoremen's refusal to touch cargo for scab trucking firms with their success in organizing the long haul truck drivers in the late 1930s.

This tradition of workers solidarity came under government attack in 1947 when the Taft-Hartley Act prohibited "secondary boycotts" and hot-cargoing. However, longshoremen still continued to observe picket lines in most cases until 1960. At that time Harry Bridges imposed a scab-herding program euphemistically entitled "performance and conformance." ILWU International officers sided with employers in forcing longshoremen to comply with arbitrators' orders characterizing job actions or refusal to cross picket lines as an "illegal work stoppage."

The recent events in Los Angeles show that neither employer threats nor the urgings of class-collaborationist union leaders have killed the principle among waterfront workers that picket lines mean "don't cross." This principle is something that latter-day scabs like Andrew Pulley, presidential candidate of the reformist Socialist Workers Party, can't understand. They take as their standard the eroded and corrupted state of business trade unionism today, with its disastrous practices of unions suing each other and scabbing on each others' strikes.

It is clear the bureaucracy at all levels of the ILWU needs to be turned out by the membership. One opposition force in the union intends to do this. Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, executive board members of ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco and publishers of the "Longshore Militant" newsletter, represent an opposition to the class-collaborationist politics of the bureaucracy. They have consistently called for workers solidarity actions and extend it to a program for working-class independence from the bosses' government agencies, courts, cops and political parties. The solid port shutdowns in Los Angeles are a confirmation that the ILWU membership is receptive to a program of militant class struggle, to mobilize the power of this union and arm it with a leadership that knows how to use it on behalf of the entire labor movement. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Solidarity Forces Bosses to Back Down

Los Angeles Port Shutdown

The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) will think twice the next time about picking on the little (308-member) International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1484. The mechanics repair and maintain the giant cranes and advanced cargo-moving machinery in the Los Angeles harbor. When their contract expired, the employers demanded that the new agreement allow mechanics helpers to do mechanics' work at 30 percent less pay, so the mechanics went on strike July 1.

Key to the success of the strike was the refusal of ILWU longshoremen, ship clerks and walking bosses to work behind picket lines thrown up by the striking mechanics—resulting in the nearly total shutdown of the Port of Los Angeles-Long Beach for ten days. On July 10 the IAM mechanics accepted a new three-year pact by a vote of 163 to 74. The agreement includes wage increases of at least $3.75 an hour, new fringe benefits and no use of lower-paid workers to do mechanics' jobs. The big business press moaned:

> "The settlement appeared to be a victory for the machinists who were solidly supported by both the Teamsters and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, while management was badly split during the dispute.
>
> "There were 48 ships idle in the two harbors Thursday when the strike ended, and losses to the strike stemmed mostly from the estimated $20,000 to $40,000 a day it costs to keep a ship idle in port...."
>
> —*Los Angeles Times*, 11 July

The *San Pedro News Pilot* (11 July) reported that IAM Local 1484 business agent Tom Burniston praised the ILWU and "some 35 other waterfront labor groups, which refused to dispatch workers across the machinists' picket lines."

At the start of the strike, IAM pickets were prevented by port authorities from picketing their immediate work sites within the port, so they set up pickets at the gates of all the terminals where they were employed. Longshoremen, ship clerks and walking bosses in the ILWU as well as Teamsters refused to cross the picket lines, and this brought the loading and unloading of ships to a complete halt in most of the entire massive complex of piers in Long Beach, Terminal Island, Wilmington and San Pedro.

The executive board of ILWU Local 63 (ship clerks) which was in the process of negotiating a new contract for terminal office workers employed by six shipping lines was reported to have voted unanimously not to work behind IAM picket lines regardless of expected arbitrator's orders to cross. Longshoremen report that the walking bosses' local took similar action.

In spite of the failure of IAM officials to address an appeal to ILWU harbor workers for support, longshoremen told *Workers Vanguard* that not one ILWU member crossed or worked behind the mechanics' picket lines. This spontaneous act of workers solidarity is all the more remarkable in view of constant attempts throughout the ten-day strike by all four of the ILWU Local 13 full-time officials to force longshoremen to cross and work behind the IAM lines. John Pandora, current Local 13 president and a long-time reformist critic of retired ILWU president Harry Bridges, argued vehemently that failure to cross the picket lines would jeopardize the jurisdictional claims of the longshoremen's local which is locked in a bitter contest with the IAM local for port mechanics' jobs.

IAM officials have taken the ILWU to court contesting jurisdiction over jobs at one of the three terminals where ILWU mechanics perform the maintenance and repair work. Pandora's argument that longshoremen should work behind the lines as long as no scabs took over the jobs of striking mechanics was rejected by longshoremen. They respected picket lines wherever they appeared.

Machinist picket honored by Longshoremen.

Mudrick/San Pedro News Pilot

The PMA, the employers association representing stevedoring and shipping lines on the West Coast, claimed that ILWU harbor workers were in violation of the no-strike provisions of their contracts and that the picket lines were not "legitimate" under contract language that permits the ILWU to observe some picket lines of other workers. The bosses' claims were upheld repeatedly by the area arbitrator's rulings that the

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40 Strikers Arrested–Drop the Charges!

Victory to S.F. Hotel Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO—When the Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union Local 2 struck a dozen luxury hotels July 17 at the height of San Francisco's tourist season, the Hotel Employers Association (HEA) responded by locking out union members from the remaining 26 member hotels. Except for two hotels, including the Hilton, which closed down, the others are attempting to remain open for business with some imported live-in scab labor. A total of 6,000 hotel workers are off the job in this strike/lockout.

Early in the strike a special 128-man force was set up by the police department to patrol the area. On Sunday, July 20 a Burns security guard at one hotel assaulted four pickets, breaking a woman's arm and teeth. In response to police attempts to halt pickets from "making noise" on the lines (pots and pans, drums and horns have been used to encourage guests to check out), the union called for beefed-up picket lines on Tuesday morning at the posh Hyatt Regency Hotel. In response, San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein (herself a hotel owner) sent the Tactical Squad.

As about 500 strikers marched, chanting "Local 2 on strike!" and brought out their noisemakers, the riot-equipped cops attacked, dragging off Local president Charles Lamb and a number of strikers. When pickets surrounded the paddy wagon and sat down in the street chanting "Let them go!" the Tac Squad charged again. Altogether about 40 union members were arrested, including Local 2 secretary treasurer Sherry Chisea, International union official Vincent Sirabella, a number of business agents and militants.

The maids, waiters, waitresses, bellmen, etc., who are paid $3.50 to $4.50 an hour to clean and service $100-a-day rooms, have thrown up some of the most spirited picket lines seen around here in some time. Filipino, Chinese, black, white, old and young—these behind-the-scenes service workers are obviously enjoying the chance to get back at the scabs and those hotel guests who refuse to check out, making them run a gauntlet of colorful and richly deserved vituperation. Union officials have for the most part been attempting to restrain the pickets' enthusiasm for stopping foot traffic at the hotel entrances and vehicle traffic at the service entrances.

Key to the success of this strike will be support from other unions. The San Francisco Central Labor Council has given formal sanction to the strike, but many unionized desk clerks, stationary engineers and delivery truck drivers are forcing their way through the lines daily. The SF labor movement must respond to the cop attacks and scabherding by sending organized union contingents to join the picket lines and shut the hotels down tight. All out to defend Local 2! Victory to the hotel workers! ■

WV Photo

"Check out! Don't check in!"

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 262 8 August 1980

Carter, Reagan, Kennedy, Anderson, etc.

Dump 'Em All!

Break With the Bosses Parties!

AUGUST 3—"Billygate" gets the headlines, but it's "Jimmygate" that has panicked the Democrats now slouching toward Madison Square Garden. "Billy Liar" blares the front page, but the unhappy Democrats read about Billy's brother who has reached an all-time low in presidential popularity polls, bottoming out even below Richard Nixon's Watergate levels. He is trailing Ronald Reagan by a whopping 27 percent, and according to Louis Harris if the election were held today Carter would only "show"—coming in behind John Anderson.

So the Billy/Libya "revelations" are followed by the call for an "open convention" coming from a growing number of desperate Democratic pols trying to dump Carter so his nomination doesn't get *them* dumped at the polls. They hope that by washing their hands of Jimmy Carter the Democratic Party can escape blame for the misery caused by the inflation/depression-wracked capitalist economy. But millions of Americans are sickened by the dangerous warmakers and strikebreakers offered by the bosses' parties. Our headline last issue captured a popular gut reaction: "Carter, Reagan? Oh Shit!"

In better times for Democrats, the Billy business would have made good copy but hardly monumental news. The escapades of the president's buffoonish younger brother—court jester and general figure of fun with his "good ole boy" stunts—would be laughed off. Who could forget "Billy Beer," or the spectacle of brother Billy looking like a sullen, grossly overweight munchkin squeezed into a chain mail suit of beer can pop-tops? But the Democrats aren't laughing any more as the get-rich-quick schemes with the Libyans engulfed "the leader of the free world," president of the United States James Earl Carter in yet another disastrous episode of mean-minded, short-sighted incompetence.

Carter denied any wrongdoing, of course. In his nationally televised press conference August 2 he did a version of Nixon's "Checkers speech" ("I love my brother and my brother loves me.") He denied "illegalities," "improprieties" or even "bad judgment." A news reporter asked the obvious question: "How then did you get into this mess?"

It is easy to see why Nixonians and Republicans generally relish a "gate" or two for the Democrats: the Koreagate and Abscam investigations of Congressional corruption can't hurt at the polls. It is also seen as an opportunity to dump Carter by Democratic "open conventioneers" who think his bandwagon is whistling Dixie on the deck of the Titanic. The Democratic reformers who have reformed themselves into a corner explain that convention rules bind the delegates like robots to the choice of the spring primaries. This makes it impossible to respond to new events, say the dumpers: what if Carter were to get caught with a political "smoking gun" in hand, like Nixon? Hence the billowing "Billygate" smoke.

But so far, at least, there is not much fire. "Billygate" is small potatoes. The sordid little story of the president's younger brother oiled at the pump of Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi, involved in failed "hostage diplomacy" with Zbigniew Brzezinski, being tipped off by the White House that the Justice Department is on his tail (while the president is covered by the attorney general). A few lies. Some not very important cables. One-third truth white papers. A flurry of investigations. All pretty mild by Washington standards: influence peddling and secret big-money deals with butchers like Qaddafi is business as usual. The only injunction is, don't get caught.

The crimes of Carter and the Democrats are far more serious than

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Billygate

Der Spiegel

All in the family. Miz Lillian says: "Just get what you can, honey."

Miami, Chattanooga, Orlando

Blacks Explode Over Racist Injustice

Pemberton/Florida Times-Union

Miami blows again: Cops' racist dragnet terrorizes blacks.

On July 22 an all-white jury in Chattanooga, Tennessee acquitted two KKK nightriders who "celebrated Hitler's birthday" last April 19 by blasting shotguns into a group of black people walking down the street. A third Klansman, who *admitted* firing the shots which wounded four elderly black women, got off with a minimum sentence for assault and battery and was released on bond with the other two. The triggerman said they returned to the black section of town and opened fire on the women after no one had paid attention to the crosses they had burned there earlier in the day.

If blacks had shot down four white ladies they'd have been lynched before they ever made it to the courthouse, one of the Klan victims said on national TV. And with the court's display of racist "justice," Chattanooga's Alto Park ghetto exploded in outrage. The cops then moved in to terrorize the black community. They barricaded streets, stopped and interrogated people trying to reach their homes and ordered blacks off their porches in the sweltering heat. They also arrested 80 blacks and injured 40, including one pregnant woman who made the mistake of trying to ask directions from some rioting cops. But Chattanooga's black community wasn't just taking it. The police took some casualties too. In three days of street fighting eight of Chattanooga's racist terrorists in blue were wounded by shotgun fire.

Chattanooga was not an isolated event. Two months earlier the Miami ghetto erupted when a jury freed four cops indicted for beating to death a black businessman, Arthur McDuffie, after arresting him for speeding. A week after the Chattanooga ghetto rebellion,

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Stop the Daily Mail Witchhunt!

"Newsman" Pulls Gun on Thornett

Expel Gunman Cramp from the NUJ!

On July 9, a right-wing London newspaper photographer pulled a gun on Alan Thornett, leader of the British Workers Socialist League (WSL). This outrageous provocation—in a country where even the cops aren't armed!—took place in Oxford, England, when Thornett sought to take the camera away from this hired thug who was sneaking photographs of him and his home. For well over a month the arch-Tory *Daily Mail* has witchhunted the WSL, with sensationalist front pages and centerfolds full of lies about supposed links to terrorist organizations and dire warnings that under the WSL, "Life in Britain would assume... the horror of Cambodia."

The *Daily Mail* slander campaign has gone far beyond scurrilous nonsense with its use of gunmen to intimidate Thornett and his comrades. According to the WSL's *Socialist Press* (16 July), regular harassment and surveillance of WSL members and supporters is standard practice for this right-wing rag, which yelled "hurrah for the Blackshirts" (the British fascists) in the 1930s. For the *Daily Mail*, even Labour Party bureaucrat Tony Benn is a "dangerous subversive," particularly given his recent appeal for all "left-wingers" to join the Labour Party. The centrist, fake-Trotskyist WSL, with its perspective of pressuring the Labour "lefts" to "fight" and its defense of scabbing on strikes, hardly poses the threat to the bourgeois order painted by the *Mail*. The aim of this "reds under the bed" yellow journalism is to whip up anti-communist hysteria and embarrass the Labour "lefts," as is also the case with the semi-annual "exposure" of the very staid "Militant" group's "Trotskyist infiltration" of the Labour Party.

This onslaught—and especially the pulling of a revolver on Thornett—is a vicious attack on the entire left and workers movement and must be vehemently denounced! The Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) immediately informed the WSL of its solidarity and readiness to participate in united-front actions to counter the *Daily Mail*'s terroristic witchhunt. SL/B supporters in the Magazine Branch of the National Union of Journalists raised a motion at the July branch meeting to condemn the anti-working-class attack and to initiate expulsion proceedings against the gunman, Charles Cramp. Although WSL and Workers Party supporters joined in fighting for the motion against an ultimately successful move to rule it out of order, supporters of the International Marxist Group scandalously *left the meeting early*, fully aware that the motion would come up later.

While the IMG and WSL press has been full of angry rebuttals and photos of the gunman, it was left to the SL/B to take concrete action to counter the right-wing threat. The WSL, disgustingly, has even taken advantage of its "security" situation to continue its own campaign of slander and intimidation against the SL/B. At a recent meeting the WSL first forbade our comrades to sell outside because of the *Mail* threat, then when we offered to sell inside, WSL leader John Lister claimed the SL/B's very presence was a "security risk." Why? Lister cited our (standard Comintern) practice of accurately reporting political interventions and sending them "around the world"!

Socialist Challenge

Right-wing gun thug Charles Cramp.

This is of a piece with the WSL's charge three months ago that exposure of scabbing by IMG supporters in the British Leylands Rover strike was a "provocation." We ask you, was our defense of the WSL at the NUJ meeting a "provocation"? And why did WSL supporters back our motion to expel Cramp?

Such vile innuendo has a purpose—to seal off the WSL membership from the Spartacist League's revolutionary Trotskyist politics. Thornett has lost two cadre-rich oppositions to the Spartacist tendency already and is trying by any underhanded means his limited creative capacities allow to fend off a third. Thus the international Spartacist tendency was refused speaking time (even from the floor) at the WSL-sponsored "Trotskyist International Liaison Committee" meeting in London July 23, although both the United Secretariat and its recent split-off Parity Committee were invited to address it. At the end of the meeting, the WSL's Italian bloc partners even launched a physical attack on SL supporters who were pointing out Thornett's own scabbing.

We will not stand idly by in the face of this witchhunt by the capitalist press (and its gun thugs) against the WSL. But neither will Thornett & Co. prevent us by slanders and intimidation from exposing their travesty of genuine Trotskyism. We look forward to the acquisition of still more cadres disgusted with the repulsive antics of the WSL, who will find in both the actions and program of the Spartacist League/Britain the authentic expression of working-class, Trotskyist politics. ■

Black Rage...

(continued from page 1)

blacks in Orlando, Florida battled the cops for three days after police barged into a ghetto bar and dragged a woman out.

For the first time since the 1960s this summer has seen a series of ghetto outbursts as blacks—fed up, driven to desperation by mounting racist atrocities—lash out in misdirected violence. While Marxists seek to transcend such elemental responses by a program to draw the ghetto masses into social struggle, we stand for defense of the black population against police terror. And it is a measure of the despair of black America that blacks respond to racist injustice by putting the ghettos to the torch, even if this means getting shot, beaten and arrested by the cops. Some respectable local black leaders seek to use these spontaneous ghetto outbursts as a pressure tactic, provided they can keep matters under control and do the negotiating with the white powers-that-be. As one Chattanooga clergyman put it: "You may not see my choo-choo train, but you are sure as hell going to see my smoke."

So far the ghetto outbursts have occurred in Southern cities, where the Klan is strong and growing and the old racist local power structure remains unchanged. But no one thinks that Chicago's South Side, New York's Harlem or Detroit is immune. Economically, conditions are desperate. One out of every four black family heads is now unemployed; for black teenage youth the rate is closer to three out of four. Blacks' hard-won democratic rights, especially in the area of school integration, have been rolled back. Already racial tensions neared the flashpoint in Boston after a 14-year-old black was killed allegedly resisting arrest. And in Detroit, Nazis have again reared their heads, this time threatening to hold a race-hate march in the Motor City on August 23. With massive layoffs in auto the fascists smell the opportunity to pit white against black, using any provocation to foment race war.

For the past few years the American ruling class has been openly contemptuous of the official black leaders (witness Carter's dumping of Andrew Young). But now they see a certain need for them again. Since Miami first erupted in May, black bourgeois leaders have headed south in droves to "cool it down." But in Miami blacks didn't want to hear the old routine, and Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson and the NAACP's Ben Hooks were met with boos. Carter tried it too, but got his limousine pelted with bottles. A month later Hooks brought the NAACP's national convention to Miami, but really blew it by hosting Carter, who actually joined hands with him in singing "We Shall Overcome." After that fiasco, Hooks headed north to hit a new low by playing the role of token Uncle Tom at the Republican convention in Detroit. Shortly thereafter, the largest Klan organization in the South endorsed Reagan and said his platform "reads as if it were written by a Klansman" (*New York Times*, 31 July).

Black establishment leaders, like Chicago "black capitalist" demagogue Jesse Jackson, had better luck in Chattanooga than in Miami. Jackson has been praised in the bourgeois media for arranging a deal by which the cops would be put on temporary standby while police functions were handled by black volunteer patrols. Predictably the reformist-legalist Socialist Workers Party also hailed Jackson for giving Chattanooga's blacks a "valuable three-day experience" (*Militant*, 8 August). But Jackson's patrols had nothing to do with black self-defense against racist terror. They had but one aim: to get blacks off the streets and curb the "troublemakers." They did the cops' work for them and then dissolved themselves so that the police could resume upholding "law and order." Jackson didn't even try to force city authorities to release the victims of the racist dragnet.

Blacks know they are the last hired and first fired. They know they cannot move into white neighborhoods, and if they do they are likely to be burned out, or worse. They know that school integration is by now a dead letter. But many believe that the unprovoked murder of blacks by white men is still against the law in this country and will be punished. After all, the U.S. is not supposed to be South Africa.

The final straw in Miami and Chattanooga was the courts. After two murderous racist attacks—one by the cops, the other by the Klan—the "justice" meted out was a license to kill for the white-sheeted terrorists and their brothers in blue. Often they are the same people—like the Treasury agent who helped plan the Greensboro massacre last November and the police informer who drove the first car in the KKK caravan of death! The lesson that it is open season on blacks and communists in Jimmy Carter/Ronald Reagan's America will be further driven home in Greensboro next week when the sham trial of the KKK killers finally begins.

It is understandable that many blacks have illusions in bourgeois legality, in government officials, judges and courts, if not in the cops. This is the message pounded home by every "black elected official," preacher and poverty pimp that one can name. And almost the entire ostensibly Marxist left also fostered the "rely on the government" line in fighting racist oppression and violence. Just to take one recent example: in Detroit a "Coalition Against Racism and Unemployment" has been formed, promoted by the eclectic Stalinoid Workers World Party of Sam Marcy. They propose to counter the Nazis' threatened August 23 march by asking city authorities to declare that day "anti-fascist day." As if fascist terrorists could be warded off by a local ordinance!

It was against these self-defeating liberal strategies that the Spartacist League (SL) joined militant auto workers from Detroit's River Rouge plant to organize a labor/black anti-fascist rally last November 10 when the KKK threatened to march there following the Greensboro massacre. More than 500 predominantly black protesters from plants all over the city came out to say that the Klan would not ride in that black and union town! Again, on April 19, the SL and militant trade unionists mobilized the San Francisco Bay Area labor movement to come out in force and make the Nazis back down from their threat to "celebrate Hitler's birthday" with a rally in downtown San Francisco. While Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein proposed an "anti-fascist day" of indoor educationals, she was unsuccessful in her scheme to channel support away from the SL-initiated, broadly endorsed coalition that brought out 1,200 unionists, blacks and socialists in a militant anti-Nazi demonstration.

A mobilization of the power of labor is what is needed to stop the fascists in their tracks. On April 19 the KKK killers in Chattanooga carried out their night ride of bullets and death. But that very same day in San Francisco the Nazis did not dare to show their faces! A mobilization of the oppressed black ghettos linked to the power of the labor movement offers an alternative to the spontaneous outbursts of rage in Miami and Chattanooga, where blacks take almost all the losses. This is the perspective of revolutionary overthrow of the Jim Crow capitalist system and winning justice against the racist killers who maintain it. ■

Cops arrest 46 strikers at Hyatt Regency on July 22 (left); on August 2 over 2,000 hotel workers and supporters, including Spartacist League contingent (right) rally, chanting "On Strike, Shut It Down!" WV Photos

Bay Area Labor: Man the Picket Lines!

Stop Scabs to Win S.F. Hotel Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO—Six thousand hotel maids, waiters, cooks and bellmen have been on strike/lockout at three dozen of San Francisco's highest-priced hotels since July 17. They are waging a tough contract fight against 59 management-proposed takeaways and for an increase in their $3.50-4.50/hour wages. The strike has been marked by the great vigor and fighting spirit of the mainly minority and women strikers who have kept up picket lines 24 hours a day since the strike began. What it lacks is a leadership with a militant program to stop the scabs and bring out all SF labor to back the strikers against brutal cop attacks.

The members of Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union Local 2 are up against the hard-lining Hotel Employers Association (HEA), which has kept the hotels operating throughout the strike and just re-opened the Hilton and prime tourist spot Top of the Mark after an initial shutdown. The HEA has recruited scabs from as far away as Hawaii and Florida (Local 2 reports that a number are "Castro's castouts") and is housing them at the hotels. Others are escorted through the picket lines by the special 128-man police force in SWAT-style uniforms assigned to the strike by hotel owner Mayor Dianne Feinstein.

On July 22 the TAC squad arrested 46 strikers at the Hyatt Regency including the local union president. Two days earlier a hotel security guard attacked four picketers and broke one woman's arm and teeth. On July 24 the HEA sought and was quickly granted a temporary restraining order making numerous restrictions against the picketers and their noise level. Mayor Feinstein is now trying to get the strikers back to work leaving dozens of key issues to be settled *after* the strike by a "professional arbitrator"!

The valiant picketers must not be left alone to fight off these combined attacks. They desperately need the aid of the powerful San Francisco labor movement to win this strike! Organized union contingents must shut down the hotels by stopping the scabs and blocking the delivery of food, laundry and supplies. The SF Central Labor Council (CLC) gave formal sanction to the strike but has done nothing about the unions that have left their members open to company reprisal for respecting the picket lines. As a result, unionized desk clerks, stationary engineers and delivery truck drivers have been giving the hotels the manpower and supplies they need to stay open. This scabbing must be *stopped!*

In the docks union, "Longshore Militant" editor and ILWU Local 10 Executive Board member Stan Gow introduced a motion that points the direction for organized labor: "In view of last Tuesday's mass police arrests of pickets, Local 10 will offer to help out striking hotel workers on the picket lines." This motion passed the Local 10 Executive Board unanimously but remains to be put into practice. ILWU Local 34, however, has set up a group of ship clerks to walk the hotel picket lines. This is the type of support that must be carried out on a large scale if the strike is to succeed.

In the interests of the tourist industry the city is putting the arm on the union to end the strike. By the CLC's political support to Feinstein and other Democratic politicians at election time and Local 2's agreement to the Feinstein arbitration scheme, the labor tops bear

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Courts Out of the Unions!

Fraser Strips Fremont UAW Rights

FREMONT, California—At the United Auto Workers (UAW) international convention in Los Angeles in early June, the only even half-hearted opposition to UAW chief Doug Fraser's "hate the Japanese, love the companies" protectionism was a brief demonstration by the "California Network." With hundreds of thousands of auto workers jobless, did they raise such demands for militant action, drawn from the UAW's own history, as sit-down strikes against layoffs? No, the answer of these "realistic" oppositionists was to call for laying off by voluntary inverse seniority and the ludicrous "demand" of two years' advance notice of plant closings. Nevertheless, despite its sub-reformist program, the Network got in hot water with the Fraser regime, which doesn't have room even for a house opposition.

The California Network is a careerist lash-up of in- and out-of-office bureaucrats from several West Coast locals, backed by various Maoist groups, which came together in an unsuccessful bid to oust Fraser-backed UAW Regional Director Jerry Whipple. Their candidate was Harold Dunne, a 16-year appointed official and hatchet man for the International. When it became apparent that Dunne didn't have enough votes to win, the Network called on him to drop out in favor of Bob Berghoff, from aerospace Local 148. Berghoff's proposed solution to unemployment in the UAW is to "organize a job council of the laid-off to picket imported car dealers"!

While Dunne and Berghoff represent no more of an answer to the loss of members' jobs than the "Buy American" policies of the International, Fraser took very seriously the rebellion against his Mr. Whipple. No sooner did Whipple win the election and the convention end than a hailstorm of repression came down from Solidarity House: Harold Dunne was fired, Local 1364 (Fremont GM) where the opposition was centered was slapped under an administratorship, and officials from other locals who have been active in the Network found themselves removed from office or under attack.

The pretext for the trusteeship slapped on Local 1364 was the International's charge that Local officials had used union funds to hire an outside accounting firm to decide a dispute between rival bureaucratic factions over vote counting for convention delegates. Considering that Doug Fraser sits on the Chrysler board of directors, this charge of undermining union independence reeks of hypocrisy. But the Fremont officials of the United Independent caucus soon confirmed the charge by dragging the union into court. Citing the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act as their precedent, lawyers for the Local pleaded for government intervention to lift the trusteeship.

But the judge wasn't interested, no doubt in part because the Fraser regime is correctly regarded as a loyal ally of the bosses' government. Luckily for the workers movement, and no thanks to the local bureaucrats and their left hangers-on, there was no court intervention in internal union affairs—this time. Class-struggle militants must sharply oppose the treacherous "tactic" of suing the unions—the capitalist government has no right to decide who the union's officials are. The UAW must clean its own house!

The "Left-Center Coalition" Trap

The Fremont General Motors assembly plant has a history of militancy and opposition activity. It was the home of a sizable but short-lived Black Panther Caucus in 1970, and the Local 1364 membership responded with

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 262 8 August 1980

Only Workers Revolution Will Sweep Away the Generals

Bolivia: Break the Cycle of Coups and Popular Fronts!

It came as a surprise to no one on July 17 when the Bolivian military seized the seat of government, the Palacio Quemado (literally, the "Burnt Palace") in La Paz. After all, it was something like the 189th military coup in Bolivia's 155-year history. Since 1966 no popularly elected president had been allowed to assume office, and Hernán Siles Zuazo was no exception. For the third time in two years he won a plurality of the popular vote, and for the third time the army moved again before Congress could install him in office.

Issuing the traditional *pronunciamiento*, General Luis Garcia Meza declared, "There will be no more electoral adventures in this country," and proclaimed himself president, vowing to hold power for "five, ten, or twenty years" until the "Marxist cancer" was eradicated from Bolivia. Acting president Lydia Gueiler Tejada was arrested, martial law declared, a dusk-to-dawn curfew put into effect, all union activity outlawed, a total press blackout imposed, and troops and tanks moved in to occupy the universities. It was politics as usual in Bolivia, many thought.

But this time things turned ugly. Observers commented on the deliberate ferocity and drew ominous parallels with Chile in 1973, Argentina in 1976. Just as the army was taking over, gunmen burst into the headquarters of the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB) labor federation, where leaders of the major parties and trade-union officials were meeting to plan resistance to the coup. Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, leader of the Partido Socialista Uno (PS-1) was dragged off and murdered. COB lider máximo Juan Lechín Oquendo and Simón Reyes, secretary-general of the miners' union and a prominent member of the Communist Party (PCB), were abducted along with some 30 other labor and political leaders.

Many observers are referring to the recent military action as the "*cocagolpe*" (cocaine coup) because of the overlapping interests of the rich drug smugglers in the eastern city of Santa Cruz and the rightist politicians and generals who also have their stronghold there. The trade appears to rival mining in the revenue it provides and is evidently a prime source of wealth among the highly corrupt military officialdom. Earlier this year a plane loaded with 1,540 pounds of pure cocaine, worth many millions of dollars at the retail level, was seized by the Bolivian police. It was found to belong to a former aide of rightist strongman Hugo Banzer, who ruled the country from 1971 to 1978. Significantly, coup victim Quiroga had been the most insistent in the Congress in calling for a parliamentary trial of Banzer for malfeasance in office.

Workers' Resistance

The Bolivian working class mounted immediate resistance to the coup. In response to a call by the COB and the politicians, barricades were thrown up in the streets of La Paz and a completely effective general strike paralyzed manufacturing and transport. But the strongest response as usual was centered in the mountainous mining region southeast of the capital, where thousands of tin miners armed with dynamite occupied the mineshafts. They undercut the press blackout with their own network of clandestine radio transmitters, rallying

Resistance to coup: La Paz masses erect street barricades UPI

resistance to the generals. On July 23 at Catavi, a traditional center of militancy, miners and peasants stormed the army barracks with shotguns and homemade dynamite grenades, fighting for five hours before they were driven off. And there are reports of wide-scale desertions among troops in the mining districts.

The army sealed off the mining districts in an effort to starve out the miners and sent jets to strafe their homes and families. In an effort to break the resistance, the military produced Lechín on television, alive if battered, who told the miners to end their strike and return to work. The government has announced repeatedly that the miners are back at work, agreements have reportedly been signed, the miners' radio stations smashed. Over 50 miners have been killed, 300 captured. But the miners stand firm and continue the strike.

They are conscious of their power: last November they were critical in toppling the short-lived military regime of Colonel Natusch Busch. His coup had been met by a general strike also, which Lechín called off after a week when Busch agreed to negotiate with Congress for a return to civilian rule. But the miners defied Lechín's back-to-work order, refusing to return to work for a full 16 days until Busch stepped down. Central to Bolivia's economy, the miners produce over 70 percent of the country's reported export earnings, and the dictatorship cannot stabilize its stranglehold so long as they stay out.

But the courage and determination of the miners are not enough to break the deadly cycle of murderous military dictatorships in Bolivia. The general strike has become the standard answer of the workers movement (and of the bourgeois opposition, for that matter) to perennial military coups d'état. It is so much a tradition that the coup/strike/elections/coup cycle has assumed the character of a ritual dance, where the workers struggle heroically only to have their victory handed over to the "democratic" bourgeois politicians who in turn cede power to the military. The general strike under Bolivian conditions is used as a pressure tactic: in the hands of a consummate class betrayer such as Lechín, at best it culminates in a "workers' coup" which installs in power a leftist general (Torres in 1970) or bourgeois nationalist (Paz Estenssoro in 1952) who establishes a bonapartist populist regime that undertakes certain radical measures (nationalizations, land reform) to win support from the working class and peasantry. But after the masses are demobilized the army eventually returns—at a cost of thousands of lives. This is no abstract question, for already on three occasions in recent memory the Bolivian working class has seized control of the factories, mines and streets only to hand power over to bourgeois populists: in 1952, 1970 and 1979.

The Bolivian Left and the Popular Front

The revolution of 1952 was a mass popular uprising which led to the destruction of the army, a radical land reform and nationalization of the tin mines. But because it placed in power the nationalist MNR of Víctor Paz Estenssoro rather than a workers and peasants government, a new army was eventually reconstituted (with substantial U.S. financial "aid" and training). After 14 years of MNR rule, in which the workers' conquests were gradually whittled away, the civilian populists were overthrown by the new army which established a "military-peasant bloc" under General Barrientos. Although most of the left (both Stalinist and ostensibly Trotskyist) gave implicit/explicit support to the coup, a year later Barrientos mobilized the peasantry in support of a massacre in the Altiplano tin mines.

In 1970 another general strike placed in power the leftish general Juan José Torres, backed by the Political Command of the COB (headed by the perennial Lechín). Although a short-lived "People's Assembly" appeared, it never became the "first Soviet of the Americas" which its pseudo-Trotskyist apologists claimed. And after nine months, the "left" general Torres was ousted by the very right-wing Banzer. Where Barrientos was able to maintain a modicum of popular support, however, Banzer ruled exclusively through terror and imperialist loans (hence the country's present astronomical indebtedness of $3.5 billion).

After the military rulers had become hopelessly discredited through rampant corruption, an attempt was made to substitute sham elections. However, the moderate leftist Siles Zuazo (a former MNR president, 1956-60) was sufficient to frighten the generals, resulting in the Natusch Busch coup last November. The leadership of opposition to the *golpistas* was in the hands of a super-popular front, the CONADE (Comité Nacional de Defensa de la Democracia), including all wings of the bourgeoisie except the far-right generals and fascist Falange. Again in July the CONADE was the body which issued the call for a general strike against the military takeover. And criminally, this organ of bourgeois domination has been accepted by the bulk of the Bolivian left.

This can be seen by their position toward the Natusch Busch coup. Longtime ostensible Trotskyist Guillermo Lora has published a brochure analyzing the "tragic week" (*Enseñanzas de la semana trágica*, November 1979) in which he complains that the CONADE was "invaded by bourgeois fronts" (precisely what it was designed for!). Instead of breaking with it, Lora's POR "fought for [the CONADE] to add to its name the term anti-fascist, to give it a greater breadth of perspective, although of course this did not precisely express the Trotskyist idea." Hardly. Lora also discovered that divisions which appeared in the military "opened up the possibility that some sectors of the military could act as a transmission belt for the will of the exploited."

The Bolivian Stalinists of the PCB have such a sorry record of class betrayal that for years they were utterly discredited among Bolivian workers. In the post-war period they supported the murderous government of the *rosca*, the rapacious mining and land-owning bourgeoisie which was overthrown in 1952. Their treachery toward the guerrilla adventure of Che Guevara in 1967 is infamous. And in recent years the PCB has been a pillar of Siles Zuazo's UDP. In a symmetrical betrayal, the Maoist PC-ML is submerged in a very unpopular front backing Siles' main rival, MNR leader Paz Estenssoro.

The July coup by García Meza found most of the self-proclaimed Trotskyist left snugly in the back pocket of COB leader Lechín and his political vehicle, the PRIN (Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left, a 1964 split-off from the MNR). Three groups affiliated with the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) of Ernest Mandel with the Morenoite OST joined the PRIN to form a popular-frontist bloc backing Lechín for president. This bloc, the PRIN-Alianza, included in its founding document a call for "defending and extending" the CONADE popular front (*Intercontinental Press*, 16 June). This is the same Lechín who called off the general strike last November and signed a treacherous non-aggression pact with the military in April. Despite the USec's claim that this was an "independent working-class alternative," Lechín, true to form, withdrew his candidacy in mid-campaign.

It is necessary to break the vicious cycle of coups and popular fronts. The Bolivian masses have had enough of the acting president, the minister ad interim, the limited surgical intervention to extirpate the Marxist cancer, Institutional Act No. 1, and the reestablishment of the constitution of 1967 (or the 16 that preceded it)! But to do this it is necessary to break with all forms of class collaboration, whether civilian popular fronts or "critical support" to the supposed "anti-imperialist" generals. The tragedy of Trotskyism in Bolivia is the gap between the revolutionary aspirations of a combative working class and the inveterate tailism of those who falsely claim the program of Trotsky and actually follow the tortured path of a Lechín. For workers revolution to smash the generals' coup in Bolivia! ■

My Imam, Right or Wrong!

USec "Chador Socialist" on Tour

SYDNEY, Australia—Who on the left could defend the barbaric stonings in Khomeini's Iran? The murdering attacks against the leftists by clerical fanatics? The genocidal destruction of Kurdish villages by Persian chauvinism in turban? The social suffocation of women under the head-to-toe veil, the chador? Yet, even as convicted "adulterers," "homosexuals" and other "sex criminals" were buried in the ground up to their chests to be battered to death by traditional stoning, an Iranian Khomeiniite calling herself a socialist did step forward to defend "our traditions" and the "imam" against growing criticism and embarrassment on the left.

The Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKE, sister party of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party [SWP]) sent its spokesman Fatima Fallahi to Australia last month to defend the "Islamic Revolution" to those of little faith. The Australian tour was meant as a public relations job for Khomeini's clerical-reactionary rule, but when Fallahi met the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ), she got more than she bargained for. The SL/ANZ thoroughly exposed this "chador socialist" as the political stooge of the mullahs' bloody right-wing terror, and it wasn't long before she packed her bags and headed back to allah's revolution in Teheran.

Not that the Australian SWP which was touring Fallahi didn't try to escape political confrontation with the SL/ANZ. At the Sydney Trade Union Club they simply banned the SL/ANZ from the meeting. At Sydney University, where there has been an active Spartacist Club for years they couldn't get away with that, so they tried to get the campus cops (the "grey men") to stop SL/ANZ leaflets from being distributed. In Melbourne SWP members distributed leaflets with the outrageous lie that the SL/ANZ "promised physical disruption" of Fallahi's meetings, and the lone SWP supporter at LaTrobe University was caught tearing Spartacist Club posters off the campus walls. (He promised in writing never to do it again.)

But the SWP failed to stop SL/ANZ members and supporters from telling the truth about the mullah-loving fraud they were touting as a "revolutionary socialist." A Spartacist leaflet, "Fatima Fallahi: Answer These Questions!" was well received. At meetings in Sydney and Melbourne SL/ANZ members and sympathizers confronted Fallahi with picket lines and protests denouncing her as an apologist for Islamic reaction. She was consistently hit with questions, many from independents in the audience, which she couldn't answer—offering instead blatant lies and articles

THE MILITANT

Contrary to U.S. media reports of successful right-wing crackdown in Iran, deepening revolutionary ferment has created atmosphere open to debate of different viewpoints. Recent release from prison of two members of Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) is one example of democratic gains. With headline "Victory for the revolution, a blow against American imperialism," April 15 issue of HKE newspaper 'Kargar' features release of Fatima Fallahi (right) and Mahsa Hashemi from Evin prison April 14. All fourteen HKE members imprisoned last June for expressing their socialist ideas are now free.

Australasian Spartacist

Iranian HKE member Fallahi (above) released from prison, supported Khomeini's attack on left. Two days after Militant (9 May) hailed "atmosphere open to debate," Islamic gangs "purified" universities. SL/ANZ demonstrates in Melbourne on July 17 (right) against Fallahi's campaign of lies.

of clerical faith in defence of her "imam."

At the Sydney Trade Union Club, even ordinary liberals walked out of the 11 July Fallahi meeting, revolted by her apologies for clerical-reactionary terror. A Spartacist supporter who managed to get past the SWP goon squad took the floor during the discussion and challenged Fallahi:

> "Why have you made no mention of the slaughter of the left on the campuses? Why is your organization the only one that can freely operate? Why is your newspaper published and 48 others suppressed? Why were you released just a few days before the killings on campuses? There is no room in a Trotskyist program for a religious reactionary regime of mullahs...."

Fallahi could not even try to answer the questions. In Melbourne the SL/ANZ successfully organized 50 people to protest Fallahi's citywide talk, chanting slogans such as "Down with the Mullahs! The workers must rule Iran!" "Smash Persian chauvinism—send Khomeini to the Kurds!" and "No to the veil—smash Islamic reaction!" True to form, the SWP appealed, unsuccessfully, to the cops to clear away the picket line.

Ayatollah Infallibility?

What Fallahi *didn't* say in her speeches was just as revealing as her near-ecstatic rhapsody about the Islamic revolution. Nowhere did she volunteer any comment on the attacks on women, leftists or national minorities. When pressed by questions from the floor, Fallahi first cynically lied, denying the existence of repression in Iran, then openly solidarized with Khomeini's attempts to mow down anyone he considers a threat to his rule. So when someone at the Sydney University forum asked, "I am not a Spartacist, but is it true that homosexuals are being stoned to death in Iran?" Fallahi replied:

> "Well, it is not true.... We are opposed, as socialists, to any execution of anything. But the things is, the homosexuality in Iran is different from Europe and the United States.... In Iran, those people that were executed—and here the press is saying they were homosexuals—they were not homosexuals. These people, they were rap[ing] the kids, or gave the money to the kids to have a sexual life with them. That was why they execute[d] them.... The majority of the Iranian people, they don't know what the homosexuality is."

When this drew a derisive laugh from the audience, Fallahi shamefacedly added that if Iranians wanted "to have it [homosexuality], they can have it at home." So here is a self-styled "socialist," even "Trotskyist," saying that the homosexuals who were executed were really "child molesters"; that, really, these "child rapists" got what they deserved! Trying to explain away the persecution of sex "criminals," both homosexuals and "immoral" women, Fallahi told listeners at the Sydney Trade Union Club a few days earlier, "You must understand that these are our traditions. Out of revolution comes evolution."

For the HKE, which politically supports the mullah dictatorship, even the defence of elementary democratic rights is off limits if it conflicts with the revival by the Khomeiniites of such quaint Islamic "traditions" as the flogging of women for wearing "immodest" bathing suits. The traditions which Fallahi claims as her own have nothing to do with the traditions of even the bourgeois revolution, let alone of the communist movement. The status of women in seventeenth-century London was probably better than in present-day Teheran. Then, at least, it was an actionable offence to call a woman a whore and wife-beating was outlawed. Yet for the mullahs, *all* women are whores if they show their faces in public without wearing a chador, and they openly sanction the most barbaric treatment of women.

But for Fallahi the veil is not a symbol of oppression. It is "beautiful," something "we're proud of," a "symbol to fight against U.S. imperialism and about the capitalism inside the country." Contrary to all the reports of women being forced out of jobs for not wearing the veil, Fallahi asserted that women "are participating more in the social life than ever before." What sort of "social life" this is can best be gleaned from her comments about her own daily routine at home, made at a meeting in the Sydney Trade Union Club:

> "I wear my chador, go to the mosque at 5 o'clock, join prayers and after prayers sit down and talk politics. And they know I'm a socialist and they respect me."

"Respect?" At best the mullahs may tolerate Fallahi and the HKE because they have shown that they are no threat to Khomeini's bloody rule. But genuine socialists and advocates of women's liberation should have nothing but contempt for this "revolutionary" in a chador.

At meeting after meeting, Fallahi justified or excused every action by the mullahs against the working class, minorities, women and the left. Her advance billing as "an anti-Shah activist and fighter for women's rights and for Iran's oppressed national minorities" was shown to be both a lie and an outrageous insult to Iran's oppressed. "Our revolution is a progressive revolution and one of the beautiful revolutions in the whole world history," she proudly told her audience at Sydney University on 14 July. Ignoring the banning of most left-wing papers and Khomeini's call to dissolve left-wing parties, Fallahi insisted that "Now there is freedom of press, freedom of political activity, freedom of all those groups" outlawed under the shah. Fallahi tried to blame the Iranian left for its own persecution, claiming that the "imam" had permitted free discussion in the media but that the leftists' own "sectarianism" had turned the people of Iran against them and isolated their groups. As for Khomeini himself, "The imam has been right before, he never compromises, and he is right now."

"Trotskyist" Following the Imam's Line

But her song of praise was not exclusively for the aging religious bigot

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For Revolutionary Reunification

Germany and Carter's Cold War

Thomann/Stern

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Bremen, 7 May—Bundeswehr ceremony for NATO's 25th anniversary (above) provoked major anti-militarist demonstration (below). Anarcho-spontaneists battled cops throughout the night.

A significant political shift has taken place in West Germany. For many years, anti-Sovietism found greater popular support in the "federal republic" than anywhere else in West Europe. In the 1950s and '60s, Bonn was the most loyal, most virulently anti-Russian of Washington's NATO allies. Now the renewed Cold War drive emanating from the U.S. is meeting a widespread essentially pacifistic resistance. Under the double-edged slogan of "Security for the '80s," Helmut Schmidt's Social Democratic Party (SPD) is presenting itself in the West German elections scheduled for next October as the party of "peace and détente" against the warmongering intrigues of the reactionary Christian Democratic leader Franz Josef Strauss. And in recent key Nordrhein-Westfalen state elections the SPD rode to victory on the coattails of its "*Friedenskanzler*" (peace chancellor).

The change in political climate is seen not only in a leftward shift at the electoral level, but in statements by the most powerful capitalist interests. "Berlin is worth more than Kabul" was the response of a leading Frankfurt newspaper, expressing a widespread opinion in bourgeois circles. The Schmidt-Strauss contest reflects tensions among the European bourgeoisies over what attitude to adopt toward the anti-Soviet hysteria of Carter/Brzezinski. Especially since the end of American postwar economic hegemony (symbolized by the ending of the dollar-exchange standard in August 1971), West Germany, like Japan, has become the dominant imperialist power in its region of the world. And, as the American *Business Week* (3 March) headlined a feature article, it is increasingly "Germany: The Reluctant Ally."

Bonn has begun to assert itself as an independent force in international imperialist politics, resulting in a number of disagreements with Washington: over Russia, Khomeini's Iran, the arms race. Carter's insulting warning (as if he were addressing the governor of Puerto Rico) didn't stop Schmidt from using the "Euromissiles" as bargaining chips in his recent trip to Moscow. And this was followed up by a state visit from Giscard d'Estaing in which the French president stressed a special relationship between the Bundeswehr, the largest armored force in West Europe, and the neutron-bomb-armed *force de frappe*. Behind the emergence of regional imperialist powers are growing inter-imperialist rivalries, which the Russian Stalinists hope to take advantage of in their illusory quest for "peaceful coexistence" with world capitalism.

For eleven years the SPD—a bourgeois workers party and agency of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement—ruling in coalition with the liberal capitalist Free Democratic Party (FDP), has presided over the revival of German imperialism. For if the SPD is the historic mass party of the German working class, it is also the party of wage freezes, of anti-left clauses in the trade unions, of strikebreaking; it is the party of "internal security," of witchhunts against terrorists—real or imagined—and against the entire left; it is the party of blacklisting professionals, of the Stammheim show trials of the Red Army Faction (the "Baader-Meinhof gang"); and it is more and more the party of deporting foreign workers. But in the upcoming elections it is presenting itself above all as the party of "peace and détente."

Masses' Fear of War

Washington's efforts to launch a new Cold War against the Soviet Union have frightened the West German masses. They regard Carter, and even more so Reagan, as just crazy enough to start a war with Russia over far-off Afghanistan and then seek to limit the battleground to Central Europe. Schmidt's SPD is seeking to exploit the new pacifistic mood. One of its posters in the recent state elections was titled "We want war no more" and consisted of rows of photos of women, each above a caption saying, "I don't want to lose my husband" or "my sons" or "my brothers." This kind of propaganda has succeeded not only against the rabid right-winger Strauss, Germany's Ronald Reagan, but also against the SPD's bourgeois-liberal coalition partners.

In the important Nordrhein-Westfalen vote, the Social Democrats won a majority of the seats while their FDP allies fell below the 5 percent minimum, thereby losing state parliamentary representation. This loss was commonly attributed to the fact that the Free Democrats were viewed as more pro-Washington than the SPD. In interviews shortly after the election, FDP leader and West German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher protested that he was second to none in championing détente:

> "No conflict in other areas of the world will be brought a step closer to solution if we deliberately bring the Cold War back to Europe. The opposite is necessary."

This hard pro-NATO bourgeois politician obviously believes he has to say such things to win votes. And recent public opinion polls bear him out. *Der Spiegel* magazine recently reported that the chancellor's office conducted a confidential poll in March showing that 45 percent of those questioned favored neutrality of both German states as a step toward peace in Europe (and only 34 opposed West German neutrality).

This widespread pacifistic mood has manifested itself not only in electoral politics, but also in militant action. In order to bring the army out of obscurity and place it in the public limelight, the government had scheduled a celebration of NATO's 25th anniversary with a public oath-taking ceremony for Bundeswehr soldiers in Bremen. However, local Social Democrats in the north German seaport objected to this revival of Prussian militarist display, resembling a *Feldgottesdienst* (military religious service) in the old Wilhelminian style. The result was an hours-long street battle on May 7 between police and protesters. In the end the army was able to bring off its sabre-rattling spectacle only by flying in ex-Nazi federal president Carstens, SPD and NATO bigwigs by helicopter.

Thousands of demonstrators had encircled the soccer stadium, and as police moved against the protesters they

were met with a hail of stones. The battle raged into the early morning hours with the cops reporting more than 250 of their number injured in the melee. This just expression of outrage at an obscene militarist provocation was not, however, limited to the anarcho-spontaneist groups whose attempt to storm the stadium was a dangerous adventure. The second, larger component of the Bremen demonstration consisted of liberal Protestants, members of the city government and Jusos (Young Socialists). But neither petty-bourgeois radical substitutionalism nor liberal pacifism can effectively combat resurgent German imperialist militarism. This can only be done through working-class mobilization.

Deutschmark Imperialism

> "The Germans...carried the superiority of the deutschmark on their features like dueling scars: national honour which had survived Belsen depended now on a rate of exchange."
> —Graham Greene, *Our Man in Havana*

Despite the SPD/FDP's present electoral propaganda, the West German government is hardly pacifistic. It commands the largest conventional army in Europe (outside of the USSR), is developing its own nuclear capacity through secret collaboration with South Africa and *is* allied to U.S. imperialism with its expanding nuclear arsenal. West Germany has taken responsibility for building up the military capacity of Turkey, its main strategic reserve of *Gastarbeiter* ("guest workers"), as a strong point to secure NATO's southern flank. (Naturally, this means strengthening the aspiring Turkish Pinochets, who are threatening a bloody coup at any minute to crush the left and workers movement.) And currently a formation of warships of the West German navy has joined the U.S. fleet circling around in the Indian Ocean.

At the same time, the West German ruling class recognizes that in a military confrontation with the USSR in the present period it can only lose. To be sure, German imperialism aspires to overthrow proletarian state power in the Soviet bloc no less than does the U.S., but it is pursuing different methods. Washington remains fixated on recapturing the nuclear first-strike capability it had in the 1950s and early '60s, a goal now openly written into the Republican electoral platform, which calls for "military superiority" over the USSR. West German ruling circles think in terms of gradually buying up East Germany, Poland, etc. and subordinating their economic plans to the interests of German capital. Of course, the notion of a gradual restoration of capitalism in East Europe through purely economic means is illusory. Nonetheless, the economic relationship of Bonn to the Soviet bloc is very different from that of the U.S.

Since the *Ostverträge* (treaties with East Europe) of 1970-72, West Germany's trade with the Soviet bloc has reached a point where it is almost as large as that with the United States (in 1979, $20 billion as against $24 billion). Moreover, much of this trade involves large, long-term construction projects for a few of the biggest firms like the steel giants Krupp and Mannesmann. It is no accident that Krupp boss Berthold Beitz, also head of the West German manufacturers association, was the most vocal ruling-class opponent of boycotting the Moscow Olympics. And while Bonn grudgingly acquiesced to Carter's Olympic boycott, it made it clear that economic sanctions against the Soviet bloc were out of the question. Speaking on national television in March, SPD vice chairman Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski condemned trade sanctions as hurting West Germany more than the USSR.

If the Cold War is the number one issue in West German politics today, the state of the economy is definitely number two. And they are related. While West Germany is one of the strongest economies in the world, it is critically dependent on exports. The sharp depression in the U.S. and economic difficulties in many of its other capitalist trading partners threatens to pull German capitalism into a general world slump. As it is, industrial production has been flat for some months, and the consensus among bourgeois economists is for zero growth and one million unemployed by next winter. Under these conditions, West German trade with the East becomes even more important. On the eve of Schmidt's recent visit to Moscow, Beitz sent the chancellor a telegram wishing him well on his mission, which included finalizing a 25-year trade accord in energy and minerals.

Stern

A pfennig for West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt's (left) thoughts. And this peanut farmer is really the head of the most powerful state on earth. Gott im Himmel!

Behind the SPD/FDP Coalition

The upcoming election has polarized West Germany. Strauss is hated and feared, not only as a warmonger but perhaps even more because the reactionary Bavarian demagogue, with his connections to neo-Nazi groups, is identified with police-state repression. The SPD has had no trouble drawing large numbers of workers into a series of "Stop Strauss" demonstrations. Significantly, this is the first time the Social-Democratic bureaucracy has mobilized its proletarian base in this manner since 1972, when the Christian Democrats unsuccessfully tried to bring down the Brandt government over its policy of normalizing relations with the Soviet bloc. And for the first time in eleven years, there is a possibility that the SPD will win an absolute parliamentary majority, while their FDP partners may fail to gain the 5 percent minimum.

The prospect of having to govern alone has given the SPD leadership the jitters, and worries its imperialist allies as well. On the night of the SPD electoral victory in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Schmidt telephoned local party leaders asking them plaintively to at least keep the FDP in the state government even if they were not represented in parliament. The Social Democrats cling to the coalition with an iron grip, invoking the need for it in forcing their working-class base to put up with the pro-capitalist policies required by German capital. For several years now the country has experienced significant strikes in printing, steel and the docks on a scale not seen since 1967. Governing without the Free Democrats, and in the midst of a slump besides, the SPD leadership would feel tremendous pressure from its trade-union base and a more militant left wing.

The behavior of the Social Democratic tops bears out the analysis of popular frontism put forward by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt): that such class-collaborationist coalitions serve to temporarily suppress the internal contradiction within bourgeois (reformist) workers parties in favor of the pro-capitalist elements. Even the mouthpieces of the big bourgeoisie can understand this, at least empirically, as shown in their commentary on the May

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WWIII in Germany

As the New Cold Warriors rev up the tank and missile factories preparing to "teach the Russians a bloody lesson," they dream of the days after World War II when they didn't have to put up with "selfish" allies and thanks to good old atomic blackmail America was riding high in the saddle. Carter and Reagan are already practicing their nuclear quick draw, and the Europeans are alarmed at what *Der Spiegel* (9 June) calls "the depressing alternatives" for U.S. president: "One candidate is a hypocritical amateur whose level of incompetence is unsurpassed in American history. The other is a played-out film actor, a prophet of yesteryear who nostalgically preaches a return to an America that never was, and who—with empty rhetoric—shoves aside the problems of today, many of which he doesn't even understand."

The Germans are more than "depressed." They are scared. In our article, "That Was the Détente That Was" (*WV* No. 253, 4 April) we attributed to "old-fashioned nationalism" a statement by a West German air force general objecting to use of tactical nuclear weapons: "I am firmly opposed to their use on our soil. I cannot favor a nuclear war on German territory while the superpowers observe safely at a distance." Actually, it's not just displaced Junker officers who worry about Germany becoming the battlefield for World War III. So do German working people. And they have good reason to worry.

Germany *is* targeted in the imperialists' war games and plans. There is even a recent best-selling novel on the subject. Written by retired British general John Hackett, in collaboration with other top-level NATO types, *The Third World War: August 1985* projects in fictionalized "documents" how the U.S./NATO defeat the USSR/Warsaw Pact during the space of a few weeks. In this "docu-fiction," which falls somewhere between a polemic against pro-détente liberals and a militarist wet dream, the Western allies come together under U.S. leadership just in the nick of time, while the Soviet bloc suffers a general political/military implosion of East European countries presumably yearning to be under the imperialist heel.

The book projects a swift but devastating high-technology land battle in Europe (mainly in Germany), a nuclear exchange (the Russians bomb Birmingham, the Americans take out Minsk), and the political destruction of the Soviet Union with the final end of "the Bolshevik nightmare begun in 1917." Of course, much of what is written in *The Third World War* is wildly absurd, politically and militarily, and laced with staggering hypocrisy. The American forces astride their white tanks are cast as defenders of humanity: "US policy had consistently been that US troops would retaliate in kind if attacked with chemical agents but would not use them otherwise." What about napalm, which turned the rice paddies and villages of Vietnam into a burning chemical hell?

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Business Week

Schmidt's SPD exploits pacifistic mood in West Germany. Election poster says: "We never want war again."

Cold War...

(continued from page 7)

state elections in Germany. The *New York Times* (19 May) wrote:

> "...there is doubt that Mr. Schmidt wants to have a Social Democratic majority. It would mean increased pressure on him from the left wing of the party in what could be his final term as Chancellor....
>
> "During his past six years in office Mr. Schmidt has often been able to hold the party's increasingly active leftists at arm's length by saying that whatever they are calling for is incompatible with running a coalition with the Free Democrats, a middle-of-the-road party. It is here that tactics come in, possibly overshadowing the issues. It has been suggested that the Social Democrats consider how they might 'lend' the Free Democrats votes—that is, have their members vote for Free Democratic candidates in areas where the Social Democrats are strong."

The kind of pressure the SPD tops are worried about was well illustrated at the party's conference in Essen at the end of May. After Schmidt and Wischnewski had scratched practically all social demands from the draft election platform, they were deluged with protests and hundreds of amendments from lower SPD bodies. As a result, at the party conference practically everything was written back in, including the demand for a 35-hour week, equal rights for women, pension increases, etc. Meanwhile, SPD Bundestag whip Herbert Wehner (a former Communist, who stirred up a hornet's nest last year by remarking that the Soviet military build-up was "defensive from its point of view") introduced a bill in parliament upholding *Mitbestimmung* ("co-determination") in the coal industry—a class-collaborationist scheme involving the unions in management, which, however, the steel bosses have been trying to dump.

'Dear friends, I have a list of boycotts and sanctions for your consideration . . . Er, friends and allies, er . . . Sanctions and boycotts against the Soviet . . . Friends, could I have your attention . . . Er . . .'

No to Lesser Evilism

The SPD is the traditional party of the German working class and since 1945 the only mass workers party in West Germany. That is why the attitude of an ostensibly revolutionary organization toward the SPD constitutes a crucial test. It is essential to the European revolution that the powerful German proletariat be broken from the hold of its treacherous leaders in the SPD and the social-democratic-led DGB trade-union federation. Because social democracy is a central obstacle to the development of revolutionary consciousness among the German working class, a revolutionary vanguard seeks to *split* the SPD's proletarian elements from its bourgeois elements.

If communists stand alongside the working class in struggle against the class enemy and have no interests apart from those of the workers as a whole, there is one experience which, as Trotsky said, the revolutionaries must never "share" with the masses: class collaboration. And the SPD/FDP coalition represents just that. As the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the iSt, wrote in a leaflet directed at the June congress of the revisionist Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM), section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat:

> "For revolutionary tactics toward the Social Democracy, yes! That could run from critical electoral support (like a rope supports a hanged man) up to short-term entry of communists into an internally polarized Social Democracy. But in the present elections, to vote for the SPD, which rules in coalition with a bourgeois party and which has pushed policies openly hostile to the workers during the last period, would only mean strengthening reformist illusions."

The West German "far left" is dominated by Maoists and ex-Maoist organizations, today in deep crisis, undergoing splits and self-liquidation. As for the self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" groups, they have either defined the Social Democrats as a "bourgeois party," though "based on the working class" (like the workerist wing of the GIM and the Spartacusbund), or simply capitulated to the SPD like the Mandelite wing of the GIM. Not to mention the German Lambertists, buried deeply in the SPD and Jusos and in some respects standing to the *right* of Helmut Schmidt! The organizational chaos and unprincipled maneuvers of the GIM leadership have resulted in losing one-third of its forces in the past year and a half. Even Ernest Mandel had to say: "All that can be done for the GIM is to pray." The sorry spectacle presented by the GIM over the elections bears eloquent witness to this.

At their national conference in February, the GIM voted by a bare majority against electoral support to the Social Democrats. But only a few days later, the membership could read on the front page of a leading bourgeois newspaper, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (5 May), how USec and GIM leaders like Mandel and former trade-union bureaucrat Jakob Moneta called on the workers to vote SPD. Given the refusal of the new workerist-dominated "majority" to assume control of the political bureau, the leading body of the organization, or even its newspaper *Was Tun*, it was a simple matter for Mandel & Co. to get matters back in hand. A little pressure here, a few expulsions there and voilà! A second GIM conference was held at the end of June, and *Was Tun* (17 July) headlined its report: "Vote SPD! For a Socialist Answer to Schmidt!"

So now the pro-USec half of the GIM is participating in the "Stop Strauss" committees which act as a device for recapturing "left" votes for the SPD. In an important "Trade Unionists Against the Right" anti-Strauss demonstration in Berlin May 19, the anti-SPD half of the GIM's local marched without banners or slogans while the Mandelites distributed a leaflet "explaining" that "the Social Democracy, because of the social base of its electorate and its ties to the trade unions, is not in a position to lead frontal assaults against the workers." Perhaps Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht could be called to the witness stand? Any argument goes, it seems, in justifying a vote for the party of Scheidemann and Noske. Thus the remnants of the German New Left, faced with the threat of Strauss, turn back to the arms of the SPD out of which they emerged a dozen years ago. And the Antiparliamentary Opposition is once again swimming in the swamp of parliamentary cretinism.

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Germany

Because the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy has dominated and oppressed a section of the German nation, the national question plays a far more important role in Germany than elsewhere in West Europe outside of Northern Ireland and Spain. Moreover, it is strategic for the European revolution. The present political conjuncture makes particularly powerful the TLD/iSt's unique program for revolutionary reunification of Germany: it addresses the West German masses' fear of being drawn into a U.S.-instigated war against the Soviet Union, legitimate national consciousness and justified hostility toward Stalinist bureaucratic rule in East Germany. But by unconditionally defending the Soviet bloc against NATO—including over that lightning rod of imperialist "human rights" propaganda, the Berlin Wall—it also draws the line sharply against anti-Communism.

The strength of Maoism in West Germany was in large part the consequence of Kremlin domination of the DDR. Today as the Peking bureaucracy aggressively calls for NATO to arm against the USSR, the Maoists have become isolated, standing well to the right of the majority of the working masses. Their "natural" ally is now Strauss, who has been fêted more than once in the Great Hall of the Peoples. As a result, only the insignificant MLD remains truly loyal to the Chinese line, while the rest of the erstwhile Maoist organizations are utterly confused and shaken by crises. The KBW calls for a Social Democratic victory in the elections; but while demanding "West Germany out of NATO," in the next breath it concludes that the federal republic must be defended against the "superpowers," the U.S. and USSR. The once thousands-strong KPD drew the logical conclusion this spring by formally liquidating itself.

As for the pseudo-Trotskyists, the reformist ISA, internationally affiliated to the French OCI of Pierre Lambert, calls for the "unconditional" reunification of Germany and for the extension of the SPD and its trade-union federation into the DDR. In this nation divided into two states, one capitalist, the other a deformed workers state; in this country where "the Russian question" is posed in daily life through thousands of historical, personal and family ties, this call amounts to demanding the reunification of Germany under the auspices of the Social Democracy: i.e., for *capitalist* reunification of Germany. The restoration of capitalism in East Germany would be a massive *defeat* for the European working class. In contrast, the iSt has been unique in defending the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism, a task made even more urgent by Washington's new Cold War offensive.

Today working people in West Germany see themselves as potential helpless victims of the "superpower" conflict. Yet the powerful German proletariat holds its fate in its own hands. The economic strength of both West and East Germany is such that a revolutionary reunification would mark an end to the postwar division of Europe and an end to the global polarization between Russian Stalinism and American imperialism. A proletarian revolution in West Germany could reach across the Berlin Wall to spark the political revolution in East Germany and likewise lead to political revolution in the Soviet Union as well as the overthrow of capitalism in the rest of West Europe. Far more than in France, Britain or Italy, for example, West German workers have the power to determine the future of the planet.

Revolutionary reunification of Germany—that is the real perspective for the German proletariat, not the pacifistic hopes in détente now so widespread among the German populace. Forward to the construction of a German Trotskyist party, section of a reforged Fourth International! ■

WW III...

(continued from page 7)

But one point is surely true: they do intend to fight their war over and in Germany. Just before the war begins, the fictional NATO commander in chief and head of U.S. forces in Europe addresses a briefing of high-ranking officers in Heidelberg on prospects for the coming war. "The Vietnam experience is out of our system. We are rejuvenated and modernized." Discussing the tactical "unanimity" between U.S. and German forces, he ends his statement by noting "differences...some small, some not so small": "The greatest difference, whose significance only battle will reveal, is that a war here will be fought among Germans in Germany." It is this not so small difference that has many present-day real-life Germans worried.

The Third World War is a "literary" offshoot of the drive for moral and military rearmament of Western, particularly U.S. imperialism. The authors are arguing the same "peace through strength" line of Ronald Reagan—that with a huge armaments build-up ("defensive," of course) they can achieve military superiority over the Russians. The NATO generals' book is meant to browbeat squeamish liberals and scare reluctant allies into joining the U.S. war drive at full throttle. Their fictional counterparts speculate:

> "If the crisis of 1985 had occurred in 1977, say, or even in 1978, it is as we have seen, scarcely conceivable that the Soviet plan for an advance to the Rhine, the dismemberment of the Alliance and the total destruction of the Federal Republic of Germany could have failed given the state of preparedness of the Allies at that time."

But Germans worried about survival and marches to the Rhine act as though they have more to fear from a Carter or Reagan. They are right. The missile-mad generals, their Dr. Strangelove "national security advisors" and presidents with itchy fingers on the nuclear trigger fully intend to *use* their arsenal, neutron bombs and all. A General John Hackett is of a piece with the British air force chief of staff who in February 1942 issued instructions that henceforth terror bombing of the civilian population was the objective:

> "Re the new bombing directive: I suppose it is clear that the aiming points are to be the built-up areas, *not*, for instance, the dockyard or aircraft factories...."
>
> —David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden*

The result was the horrendous firebombing of Dresden in March 1945, where by conservative estimate at least 135,000 people were killed in a single night, almost double the number of dead at Hiroshima. *This* imperialist war crime has not been forgotten by the German masses, and with good reason. ■

What Is the ISO Afraid Of?

Reprinted below is a leaflet distributed by the Spartacist League at two supposedly public meetings of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) in Boston and New York. Although these meetings were advertised in the ISO's Socialist Worker, *the SL was physically excluded in both cities.*

The ISO originated three years ago in one of the several cliquist splits that devastated the Shachtmanite International Socialists (IS). But although these left-over New Leftists had the franchise of the IS' former international chums, the British Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff, times have changed and the ISO drifted aimlessly.

During the last year the remnants of the ISO have tried to stage a comeback by appealing to the politically naive with a simple-simon socialism and adapting to whatever is "in motion." But their all-sided tailism offers no perspective to serious would-be revolutionaries, and they become frenzied when confronted by the "purist" SL which has mobilized many hundreds of black and white unionists against the fascists in Detroit and San Francisco.

So while these State Department socialists refuse to defend the Soviet Union against "democratic" imperialism, they have no more scruples than the Stalinists in using thuggery to try to silence the Trotskyists. The SL has not flinched from upholding workers democracy in the past, and the "tough guy" exclusionism of these mod social democrats will not be enough to keep their followers sealed off from communism.

The goon squad in front of the International Socialist Organization's (ISO) "public" 22 June forum, ostensibly a presentation on "Trotsky's Marxism," was not there to prevent cop harassment or right-wing attack. Its sole purpose was to bar entry to the real Trotskyists—the Spartacist League. In fact anyone who so much as spoke to the SL comrades was suspect. Two people who simply purchased copies of *Workers Vanguard* were initially kept out, and all Spartacist comrades were physically excluded. Exclusion coupled with threats of violence is the recourse of political cowards and must be protested!

Tonight's topic is "Revolutionary Feminism." First of all, Marxists, unlike feminists, see capitalism, rather than men, as the source of women's oppression. But apart from this, the ISO has a lot of nerve posing as defenders of women's rights. Although Ahmed Shawki, the ISO speaker last month, claimed that the "Iranian Revolution" was the greatest event in recent history, women in Khomeini's Iran have even fewer rights than under the bloody shah. Women who refuse to wear the chador (veil) have been repeatedly physically attacked by Islamic fanatics. Yet Barbara Winslow, a leading ISO spokesman, hailed the veil as a symbol of national liberation at a forum at Brown University last year. "Adulteresses" have been stoned, homosexuals executed, and hundreds of leftists and national minorities murdered. This is the "revolution" which the ISO supports. It was left to the international Spartacist tendency, even in the months before Khomeini came to power, to demand "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution in Iran!"

Real Trotskyists Defend the Soviet Union!

The ISO changes its political positions with every shift of the wind. But on one question these renegades from Marxism remain constant. The ISO hates Russia.

For Trotskyists, the defense of the USSR against imperialism is a matter of principle. In 1917, the Russian working class, led by the Bolshevik party, overthrew capitalist rule and established a workers state with a planned economy based on collectivized property forms. Despite the subsequent political degeneration, the basic economic gains of the 1917 revolution still exist today and must be defended. A capitalist reconquest of Russia, China, Cuba, and Eastern Europe would be a colossal defeat for the world working class. But to the ISO it doesn't matter. In the final political battle of his life, waged against the ideological forebears of the ISO, Leon Trotsky demanded that revolutionaries defend the Soviet Union while struggling for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats.

Ancient history? Hardly. Today, the Russian question is being fought out in Afghanistan. On one side stand reactionary Mullahs, who profit from the sale of women, Carter, the CIA—and the ISO. In January, *Socialist Worker* stated: "We totally condemn the Russian invasion of Afghanistan...No better than the American war against South Vietnam." By equating the imperialist butchers of Vietnam with the Soviets fighting Islamic reaction, the Stalinophobic ISO lined up with capitalism's top cop against working-class forces. The Spartacist League proudly proclaimed "Hail Red Army!" and called for extending the gains of the October revolution to Afghanistan.

In light of its virulent anti-Sovietism, the ISO's current opposition to the draft means next to nothing. The reimposition of the draft is part of Carter's war drive against the USSR. It is a small step from the ISO's "third camp" stance to outright support for U.S. imperialism in a war against the Soviets. During the Vietnam war the ISO's predecessor refused for years to call for the military victory of the Stalinist-led North Vietnamese and Vietcong! This position was changed only *after* the majority of the U.S. anti-war movement was clearly in favor of the defeat of the U.S. forces. The SL/SYL knows which side it's on. From the beginning of the Vietnam war, we called for military victory to the North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops. And today we demand: "Not a penny, not a man for the U.S. imperialist army! No to the draft!"

ISO—Old Garbage, New Pail

The ISO is trying to pass itself off as a new organization. Well, the name may be new, but the faces sure aren't. In 1977 the leaders of the ISO split from a politically indistinguishable outfit, the International Socialists (IS). The split did not take place over the IS' strategy of suing labor unions, or support to pro-capitalist union burcaucrats like Ed Sadlowski (steel workers) or Arnold Miller (coal miners), nor over its political support to an endless series of aspiring capitalist politicians like Robert Mugabe who promptly became a strikebreaker after coming to power in Zimbabwe. Everyone in the IS agreed on these questions. The split was a clique fight, an apolitical struggle over who would control the organization.

Isolated from the working class and devoid of any strategy for organizing inside the unions, the ISO cannot even tell the difference between a victory and a defeat. After the ghetto explosion in Miami in May, a three-day eruption born of rage and despair, which left 15 dead, 300 injured and more than 1,000 in jail, *Socialist Worker* cheered "It's About Time!" Most of the victims, however, and all of the dead after the first night were black, yet to the vicarious streetfighters in the ISO, Miami represented "a rebirth of revolutionary spirit in the United States." The ISO was so overcome with enthusiasm for the "rebellion" that they failed even to demand freedom for the hundreds of blacks arrested by the cops and National Guard.

In contrast to the defeatist ISO, the Spartacist League, along with militant trade unionists built *successful* demonstrations against the Nazis and the KKK in Detroit and San Francisco which kept the fascists off the streets. These were not accidental successes, but the products of years of principled struggle in the organized working class with a revolutionary program.

All those interested in investigating genuine Trotskyism should contact the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. Unlike the ISO, we are not afraid of political debate and will not bar our opponents from public meetings. ■

Fremont UAW...

(continued from page 3)

enthusiasm to the long national GM strike in that year. The UAW Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the Local whose activities have been covered by *WV* previously, found many members and local officials receptive to its call for a sit-down demonstration against layoffs in 1974. Again in April 1977 when Fremont struck over the firing of the entire UAW Local committee, the Militant Caucus got a sympathetic hearing for its demands that the plant be sealed off by mass pickets and the strike spread.

Fremont's "radical" reputation also stems from the presence of a half-dozen Maoist groups who have come in one after another with the idea that they can succeed where others have failed at making a "left-center coalition." They link up with a supposed lesser-evil wing of local officialdom, imagining that they can be pressured to the left. Instead the would-be radicals end up being waterboys for the bureaucracy. Over the past eight years Maoist organizations in the Bay Area have squandered dozens of cadres to corruption and demoralization by their policy of supporting first one, then another faction in the squabbling between competing cliques in the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, only to be sacrificed by their former "center" allies.

Now it has happened again. The California Network/United Independent officials of Local 1364 were particularly incensed to find that none other than Jerry Whipple, the man they tried to unseat as regional director, was made their administrator by the International. He, in turn, appointed the area representative to act in his place in controlling the activities of the local. And that person is one Earlie Mays, the former shop chairman in the plant. It is one of the ironies of this intra-burcaucratic war that the Maoists find their current "coalition" being clobbered by Brotherhood caucus founder Mays, whom they helped put in office in 1973.

Earlie Mays was elected brandishing slogans for "people's power" and vague anti-International rhetoric along with the support of the Avakian and Klonsky Maoists (now RCP and CP-ML respectively). Though Brotherhood leaders were never known to quarrel with the Democratic Party or the capitalist system, they could always use a little "fightback" Mao-talk as a left cover. And the Peking-line Stalinists did their best to provide it. This attempt at a "left-center coalition" ended ignominiously when the founders of the Brotherhood all took jobs with the International as a reward for breaking the 1977 strike in an orgy of redbaiting.

The Maoists (now supplemented by the LRS, CWP and other Stalinoids and Albania-lovers too numerous to mention) then switched to more or less open support for the United Independent slate of George Nano & Co. Providing Nano with militant-sounding paper resolutions for conventions and contract time, in return they were appointed to small-time committee posts and given space in the Local newsletter. At no time have these "militants" ever raised a program to fight layoffs. In fact, one group, the *Unity* supporters, went so far as to say in a plant leaflet, "You can't fight layoffs"! Now they, too, will get the ax as the old Brotherhood officials make common cause with the International against Nano's gang.

Fight for Jobs, Not Bureaucratic Influence

At a time when the UAW membership urgently needs a fight to defend their jobs as layoffs are killing the union, both Local and International factions are engaged in a squalid bureaucratic dogfight. The rule of thumb in such disputes is that most of what each side says about the other is true. The only difference between these factions is who's on top: the underdogs would do the same to their opponents given the chance. The imposition of this undemocratic administratorship, depriving the Local 1364 membership of its rights, must be opposed by all union militants. These are the methods invariably used to suppress strike militancy and remove combative leaders. But there can be no political support to "dissident" local leaders whose idea of unionism is appealing to the class enemy!

The United Auto Workers needs to clean out the present leadership from top to bottom. The bureaucrats will not reform themselves, and the federal government can be relied on to intervene on behalf of the bosses every time. Oppositionists in the UAW must rely on the union ranks in fighting to change the union's course, and they must present the membership with a class-struggle program to do it. No court suits against the unions! For sitdowns and nationwide strikes to stop mass layoffs and plant closings! Build a new class-struggle leadership in the UAW! ■

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S.F. Hotel Strike...

(continued from page 3)

responsibility for the anti-union strike-breaking policies of the bosses' politicians. Ironically, the only reason the strike continues is that the HEA is not satisfied with Feinstein's arbitration scheme!

Local 2 officials never had any intention of closing the hotels down, judging from an admission by President Charles Lamb at the July 28 Central Labor Council meeting. Satisfying a state regulation requiring the presence of stationary engineers for the hotels to operate, Lamb said, "From the beginning we reluctantly agreed to allow one stationary engineer to work each hotel...then we found five or six working." All along, the role of officials on the picket lines has been for the most part to restrain picketers from interfering with scab traffic.

Local 2 Leftists Paralyzed by Fear of Leading Class Struggle

One factor coloring the strike is the presence in the local of a hodgepodge of supposed leftists and a history of rank-and-file "union reform" activity. This fact has occasioned a stiffened resistance on the part of the employers and some redbaiting in the local bourgeois press. But are these would-be radicals capable of stirring the ranks and leading them to victory? The collection of New Leftists in Local 2 with their lowest-common-denominator programs and their practice of support to pro-capitalist bureaucrats has no intention of waging class struggle. They criticize the International union leadership and Lamb as a tool of the International, but not one of them has put forward any strategy for *winning* this strike. The bureaucrats' defeatist conduct of the hotel strike today is the fruit of the fake-militants' policy of "left-center coalition," whereby they imagine they acquire a base of "center" workers by supporting and "pressuring to the left" some out-bureaucrat on the make. However much any of the radical caucuses try now to distance themselves from Lamb, virtually every self-professed oppositionist in the local today supported Lamb for office in 1978 when he ran on the McDonald "Alliance for the Rank and File" slate! And they would do it all over again.

The Rank and File Coalition, a pan-union nursing home for stray Maoists, retired Shachtmanites and fake-Trotskyists, supports a Local 2 caucus called Workers for a Strong Union which says it won half the seats on the local contract negotiating committee. Five more seats were won by "Program for 1980," a caucus that doesn't have one. With a strong majority on the negotiating committee, numerous executive board and picket captain positions, what are the "radicals" doing to win this strike? Zero! Not one peep, not one leaflet proposing how the strike must be run to win. And bending to pressure from Lamb and the International, *this negotiating committee voted for Feinstein's arbitration plan!*

Rank and File Coalition leader Earl Gilman, who has a seat on the SF Central Labor Council as an officer of his social workers union, raised *no* proposal for CLC aid to the strike at the July 28 CLC meeting, but he did offer to help strikers collect welfare if they came down to his welfare office! This incident captures something of the quality of the politics of all the reformists in Local 2.

This strike needs a real fighting leadership that is prepared to act like one. Militant hotel workers can be won to a strategy for victory: Mobilize organized contingents from the labor unions to shut down the hotels tight! Demand the Teamsters and stationary engineers respect the picket lines! Drop the charges against the arrested strikers! Beat the HEA—Victory to Local 2! ■

As thousands of low-paid Asian American service workers, including many of Chinese extraction, battled hotel owners in San Francisco, one picketer reported seeing a trade delegation from the People's Republic of China (PRC) crossing the picket line at the Mark Hopkins Hotel. When asked how he could do this, one PRC representative replied with the standard Maoist justification of every dirty deal of Peking diplomacy: "state-to-state relations."

WV checked out the story by first calling a picket captain known to be sympathetic to the Peking-loyal Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). He refused to comment and hung up. So we called a Mr. Gao at the trade office of the Chinese consulate. After some delay, Mr. Gao admitted that a PRC delegation did indeed stay at the struck Mark Hopkins on July 17 and 18, but he added apologetically, "They didn't know what was wrong. If we know, we will advise them, OK?" Indeed, it is qoite possible that these Chinese Stalinist bureaucrats did not know what a picket line looks like. Bot to the striking workers this example of "state-to-state" relations looked like plain old class betrayal.

Dump 'Em All...

(continued from page 1)

this penny-ante nepotism that has the media so excited. Grinding austerity for working people, blacks and the poor under the aphorism of privilege, "life is unfair"; driving toward war with the Soviet Union; making the U.S. political climate "safe," indeed welcome, for Reagan as his logical successor to lead imperialist forces into nuclear holocaust. Now these are *real* crimes.

With Carter sounding like an incompetent Reagan, no wonder traditional Democratic liberals are in a petulant dither. A *New York Times* editorial called "None of the Above" the people's choice this year, while the *Washington Post* plumped for "Somebody Else" (in capital letters) as the favored candidate. New York senator Moynihan complains that the Republicans have stolen the Democrats' rhetorical thunder and stuck them with the old Republican baggage. But in fact both parties are pushing austerity and war no matter what they say. Russell Baker voiced the lament of many liberals when he observed in his column that the U.S. faces:

> "...a three-man competition among candidates whose conservatism is so impeccable that a generation ago any one of them would have been perfectly at home in the Republican Party quarrelling about whether Dwight Eisenhower or Robert Taft should be the party nominee."
>
> —*New York Times*, 12 July

This whining refrain, "where have all the liberals gone," is baloney. They have gone to the White House, to the Khyber Pass, to vote against school integration in Congress, to the Pentagon. But the frantic search for a "real liberal" is on. Supporters of Kennedy and Muskie talk about making the Democrats the party of the "common man." Reformist nostalgia for a new FDR, or even a JFK, haunts the "People's Convention" planned for the devastated South Bronx. At the Urban League convention Teddy Kennedy intoned that the Democrats must not be the party "that answers 'no, no, no' to the jobless, the homeless, the helpless and the hungry." But the whole gang of bourgeois politicians must all answer "no, no, no" as they preside over capitalism's economic crisis and war preparations. We say, "Dump 'Em All!"

Billy and the Carter Camarilla

The most striking thing about the "Billygate" affair is the long look it offers at the third-rate, bizarre personalities of those to whom decaying imperialism has entrusted power. Even the big bourgeoisie must be getting tired of the Nixons, Carters and Reagans, these "self-made" men with their small-time financial schemes and small-town moralism. They are the types who used to inhabit the books of Sinclair Lewis and for whom H.L. Mencken coined the term "boob-oisie."

Writing about the "leprous camarilla" (clique) of the tsar on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, Leon Trotsky noted "how frequently the 'distinguishing traits' of a person are merely individual scratches made by a higher law of development." As "the sun of the old society is finally declining to the west," he wrote:

> "The privileged classes are now changed from organisers of the national life into a parasitic growth; having lost their guiding function, they lose the consciousness of their mission and all confidence in their powers. Their dissatisfaction with themselves becomes a dissatisfaction with the monarchy; the dynasty becomes isolated; the circle of people loyal to the death narrows down; their level sinks lower; meanwhile the dangers grow; new forces are pushing up; the monarchy loses its capacity for any kind of creative initiative; it defends itself, it strikes back, it retreats; its activities acquire the automatism of mere reflexes."
>
> —*History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. I, Ch. 6, "The Death Agony of the Monarchy"

To extrapolate from the monarchy to imperialism, these social systems in their decline get the "first families" they deserve.

The "court" of the American empire's current "first family" is a study in Southern and Polish gothic, trailing its tangled Faulknerian family ties into the affairs of state. First there is Billy himself and the Carter peanut warehouse. During his famous 1979 trip to Libya a car in his motorcade ran over a man in the street (no concern to him or his bloody hosts, of course, for whom life in Libya and elsewhere is cheap). No matter, he did "a good job" in dry Libya, says Jimmy. Then there is the mother, "Miz Lillian," who told Billy when his brother was elected: "Get all you can honey." Then there is the faith-healing sister and hometown banker buddy Bert Lance, operating on the margins of government regulations. And now the limelight is on wife Rosalynn, who "had the idea" to use Billy on a diplomatic mission while the arch-courtier and Cold War Rasputin Brzezinski uses the Libyan connection to try to free U.S. hostages in Iran.

Sinister companions abound. The furtive figure of fugitive financier Robert Vesco, well-known corrupter of presidential brothers (poor Don Nixon actually had to decamp to the Bahamas with him) has emerged from the shadows to assert that he set Billy up with the Libyans just for "vengeance" against the Democratic administration. And there is Muammar Qaddafi himself. A more vicious, insane terrorist with state power is hard to find now that Idi Amin is out (he fled to Libya). But this connection normally wouldn't amount to "a hill of beans," as Jody Powell put it. After all, Billy wasn't the only one to get a free trip to Libya. Over 100 "prominent Americans" including Senator J. William Fulbright attended a "people to people" conference with Qaddafi in 1978 (presumably they were carefully segregated from celebrants of Healyite persuasion, who insist the bloody Libyan strongman is some kind of socialist revolutionary messiah).

Republicans "No Lesser Evil"?

Behind the "Billygate" hoopla, the "open convention" maneuver, the reformist "People's Convention" and even the Anderson candidacy lies the deep crisis of the Democratic Party. They have been so discredited that their traditional base has turned on them for the moment at least. Even the Republicans, traditional party of big business, are the beneficiary of a protest vote against Carter's Democrats; and this is true among industrial workers as well.

Andrew Young, who is himself an example of the contempt in which Carter holds black people, even his loyal black front men, explained the present Democrats' dilemma this way:

> "I think of the party as a coalition that has to be reorganized every four years. Certainly a party that encompasses Southern Conservatives, the urban centers, labor, intellectuals, blacks, farmers, environmentalists, and feminists needs realignment and a change of coalition members from time to time."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 4 August

Of course, the new "realignment" appeals only to Southern Dixiecrats, Eastern capitalists and Russian dissidents. But Andrew Young has been around for a while and he appeals to liberals and "progressives" to remain loyal to the Democrats. Worried about the upcoming convention, he pleads for "not Chicago in 1968" but what he calls the "compromise" of Atlantic City in 1964.

Young knows he can count on the labor bureaucrats, black misleaders and reformist left to follow this time-worn advice. All the "open convention" hot air has attracted wide support, not only from first-term Congressmen but from trade-union tops seeking to reassure their ranks that the Democrats are still "friends of labor." Some 35 heads of AFL-CIO unions have endorsed this Dump Carter ploy, and even self-proclaimed "socialist" Winpisinger of the IAM, formerly pledged to Barry Commoner's ecology party, has joined the rush.

Throngs of reformists, leftists, feminists, ecologists and "people" are expected to converge on the Democratic convention, all piping variations on the theme, "Bring back the liberals." The normal routine preferred by the Communist Party and petty-bourgeois radicals is to pressure the Democrats to "live up to their promises." Since the Dems haven't *made* any promises this year, the tactic is less useful. But a way has been found after all: the "People's Convention" comes to town, bedding itself down on straw on the rubble-strewn wasteland of Charlotte Street in the Bronx. Then they expect to attract thousands to march on the Garden to shame the Democrats into paying lip service to the masses. Some of the crazier Maoist sects have vowed to create "maximum chaos" on the streets (and get a lot of militants' heads busted uselessly), but to what end? "Let the people in," says the CWP—into the conclave of this capitalist party!

The fundamental task of working-class revolutionaries in the United States is not to pressure the Democrats but to *break* the ties that bind labor to the capitalist parties. Republicans, Democrats, "independents" and petty-bourgeois offshoots like the eco-faddists have *no answer* to the racism and economic misery endemic to bourgeois rule. The only real alternative is to fight for a workers party and a workers government, to expropriate the exploiters who live off the sweat of the working masses. And the struggle to forge a party of the working class, to lead all the oppressed, will not take place at the ballot box but on the battle lines of the class struggle. ■

Ma Bell...

(continued from page 12)

management isn't human (they certainly give every indication of that). But the machines don't yet run themselves; it has been management-scabs who have kept them running, waltzing through our picket lines to do our jobs. Many members remember that in 1968, after a token strike, the International forced us back to work with even less than the previous offer, and that in 1971 when New York locals refused to swallow sell-out contracts, they were left out on a limb by themselves. To win a strike against the phone company we must break from these policies of defeat.

The 700,000 unionized workers in the Bell System, mobilized in a solid, militant national strike, *with mass picket lines that nobody crosses*, can shut communications down tight, forcing Ma Bell to respect our union and the needs of our members. To build the strong union we need, we must bring these militant labor traditions into our union.

Watts: Carter's Man in the Union

CWA National President Glenn Watts told delegates at the national union convention last month that as a "responsible," not a "strike-happy" union leader he had the "respect" of the out-going chairman of the board of AT&T, John DeButts. Watts made it clear that he is opposed to a strike as typified by the fact that the one delegate (Cynthia Whetsell, Seattle) at the convention who called for the union to prepare for a "large national strike" had her remarks deleted from the official minutes!

Instead of planning a strike, Watts told the convention that CWA's main job this year is getting Jimmy ("Mr. Wage Freeze") Carter reelected. A strike would be a political hot potato for Carter, who already told CWA (in 1977) that he would issue a Taft-Hartley injunction against a national phone strike, as he did against the coal miners.

With inflation running as high as 18 percent, a strike for a full COLA would certainly be declared to be in violation of the government's 9 percent wage "guidelines" that Watts has pledged to uphold. Because of his support for Carter, Watts is in a real dilemma, between Ma Bell's push for a total take-away contract and the pressure from our members for a decent settlement.

In our local, the Imerzel majority on the Executive Board, including all top four officers, recently voted against a policy statement introduced by board member Margolis that our union not limit our contract demands and settlement to Carter's 9 percent guidelines. Two years ago the Imerzel group claimed they would break from the old business-as-usual policies of past local officials from Whitehouse on back: They said it was "Time for a Change." So far the membership, the backbone of a local, has not been educated, prepared, and organized for a strike to win against Ma Bell.

It will not only take militant tactics like a solid national strike and mass picket lines that *no one* crosses to beat the company. Major labor action like this is sure to bring our union into confrontation with the bosses' government. To take on this fight, organized labor must break from support to the capitalist parties, Democrats or Republicans, who offer nothing but austerity, wage-cuts and unemployment. More than ever, labor needs its own political party, a workers party, to win a fight against these attacks. We must break from the policies of the current union leadership that ties the union to the capitalists and their politicians and build a new leadership in CWA. We of the Militant Action Caucus have been working for ten years to unite our union around a class-struggle program to fight the company. We believe that the experience of this contract period will bring more members to a realization of the need to fight for that leadership. JOIN US!

For a Solid National Strike! For Mass Picket Lines at the Main C.O.'s! For Real Job Security—for a Shorter Work Week with No Loss in Pay! For a Wage Package to Top Inflation! Upgrade Traffic and Clerical! Narrow the Wage Gap! No Downgrading! No Layoffs! No Subcontracting! No Forced Overtime! End Absence Control! No Penalty for Being Sick! Stop Secret Monitoring! End the Harassment! Stop the Firings! No Contract—No Work!

Militant Action Caucus
P.O. Box 6571
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Fontana...

(continued from page 12)

read from the floor by local treasurer Nate Davis, who told the assembled delegates, "We're going to wipe out this type of vermin." Good sentiments. But this must be translated into action, not by appealing to sheriffs' departments infiltrated by the KKK, but by mobilizing the strength of the key integrated Fontana steel union, backed up by all L.A. labor and minorities!

A group of phone workers in Los Angeles has pointed out what is needed. The Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Communications Workers (CWA) Local 11502 put up a motion at their union meeting July 15, calling for their union to contribute $500 to the Howard family. They also called on their local to join with CWA Local 11513 in the Long Beach/San Bernardino area to organize a 24-hour defense guard of union brother Dovard Howard's home. The local passed the motion to send money, but 11502 bureaucrats amended it to include an investigation to see whether such a contribution was necessary! And the motion for defense guards was flatly "objected to consideration." This is an outrage—a union member is shot down off a telephone pole by the KKK and the CWA does nothing in his defense!

In San Francisco, at a July 8 executive board meeting of CWA Local 9410, board member and MAC spokesman Jane Margolis put forward a motion to send a support telegram and contribution to the Howards; that an appeal be published in the local's newspaper and a copy sent for publication in the national *CWA News*; and "we call on CWA locals in the area to join with other unions and black organizations to form a united defense...." Local secretary Joe McKenna, who has long been the object of members' complaints about his sick racial and sexual slurs, led the bureaucrats' charge in sabotaging the defense motion. McKenna claimed, "We don't know that the incident was racially motivated," adding the vile remark that Howard may have been shot by "an outraged father." But even the cops are linking the suspect to the KKK! Two weeks later, however, local officials were shamed into donating $500 to a Central Labor Council-established trust fund for the Howards.

Meanwhile, at an East Bay division meeting of ILWU warehouse Local 6 on July 17, members of the Militant Caucus put up a motion for labor defense against the KKK/Nazis and calling on unions in the Fontana area, including ILWU locals, to form defense guards to protect the Howard home. Before any of the Local 6 leaders could reply, a long-time supporter of the Communist Party's *People's World*, Joe Lindsay, was on his feet to separate out and defeat the call for defense guards. His argument: "We can't tell people 600 miles away what to do." The rest of the motion passed, but the heart was cut out of it. And although a second Militant Caucus motion for sending $500 to the Howards passed, at press time the local trustees (including Lindsay) were sitting on the money.

While their supporters in the unions sabotage any efforts to defend the Howards, CP candidates Gus Hall and Angela Davis used the Fontana shooting to bolster their demands on the government to "ban the Klan." The equally reformist, ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) joined with the NAACP and SCLC in calling for "an investigation of the shooting and the Klan by the newly-created state task force on civil rights" (*Militant*, 25 July). Maybe while they're at it, the Howards should write a letter to their Congressman (as the CP always suggests)—especially if KKK Grand Dragon and Democratic Party candidate Tom Metzger wins! This is, after all, the same racist-capitalist state which from Oceanside to Greensboro has its cops up to their necks in fascist violence while the courts work overtime to let the killer Klansmen off the hook.

The Metzger nomination in San Diego has produced reams of hand-wringing "concern" in the L.A. press. The SWP/CP say the answer to the Klan is to outvote them at the polls. Meanwhile, Metzger's boys are at work in the streets, shooting down black telephone workers, beating up "illegal aliens," burning their crosses through the Imperial Valley. The way to answer these vicious anti-black, anti-labor, anti-communist terrorists is not by pathetic appeals to the Democratic Party which harbors them or begging the bosses' state to restrain them, but to mobilize the potential victims to defend themselves. In southern California the time for this mobilization is now. ■

Fallahi...

(continued from page 5)

who now rules Iran. Asked for her views on Islam by an Iranian in Sydney, Fallahi replied succinctly, "My opinion about Islam is that it is socialism." In response to questions about the mullahs' extensive land holdings, Fallahi quoted holy writ: "There is a law in the Koran, the Bible, which says that everybody that's working on the land should have the land."

Fallahi's lies extended to a defense of Khomeini's Persian chauvinist war against the Kurdish people, which includes genocidal bombing of rebellious villages. According to Fallahi, the Kurds have gained "a lot since the overthrow of the shah. They can speak in their own language.... They got their own paper; their party, the Kurdish Democratic Party," is legal too. When a Turkish Kurd at the Trade Union Club asked Fallahi what her position was on the "hundreds of Kurds killed by Khomeini," she rushed to exonerate her "imam" of any responsibility:

> "Khomeini did not kill them. There were generals from the old days who took it upon themselves to fire on the Kurds. When Khomeini heard about it he made a statement that brother should not kill brother. After he made this statement the majority of Kurdish peasants supported the imam's line, and only those who went against the imam's line were shot."

Quite aside from her apparent support for the execution of Kurdish deviants from the "imam's line" Fallahi's statement is a lie from beginning to end. It was Khomeini himself who launched the anti-Kurdish campaign and it was not "generals from the old days" but the mullah-led "revolutionary guards" (*pasdaran*) who spearheaded the offensive. Even *Intercontinental Press*, published by the SWP for the HKE's international tendency, recently printed a statement by the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" admitting that "Since April 15, the Teheran government has launched, on the command of the *Council of the Islamic Revolution and Ayatollah Khomeini*, its second large-scale offensive against the Kurds" (*Intercontinental Press*, 14 July [our emphasis]). Or perhaps the SWP/HKE will say that this is another "imperialist slander"?

In building for the Fallahi meetings the Australian SWP stressed her record as an activist jailed by the Iranian government for her opposition politics (while conveniently omitting any mention of just who put her there in the first place). But Fallahi and her co-thinkers were released by the Bani-Sadr government on the eve of the rightist crusade to purge the universities (a crusade the HKE supported). After hearing her lie her way through Australia defending the "imam's line," we can easily guess why it was that the Islamic authorities let her go free!

For the SWP and its phony "Fourth International," the Fallahi tour was a disaster. The SL/ANZ campaign to expose this spokesman for mullah terror in Iran met with a good response in the left-wing audiences drawn to hear an Iranian "socialist" speak. A good number of people discovered that what Fallahi stands for is the veil and firing squads for Kurdish rebels. And they found that the Spartacist program for workers revolution in Iran alone promises simple human decency to a country under the heel of the religious reactionaries. At the end of her Australian tour, Fallahi was sent packing, back to her mosque and chador. At the end of the SL/ANZ campaign against "chador socialism," nine new comrades applied to join the Australian section of the international Spartacist tendency, actions in large measure precipitated by the campaign itself. ■

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NOTICE

The next issue of Workers Vanguard will be dated September 5.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Strike Ma Bell!

As the Communications Workers of America (CWA) approaches its contract deadline with the Bell System August 9, over 2,000 CWAers in New York's District 1 rallied on August 2 expressing the enthusiasm of the ranks for a powerful strike against the hated phone monopoly. We reprint below the most recent leaflet of the West Coast-based Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the class-struggle opposition in the CWA.

Our contract expires August 9th. AT&T, the richest corporation in the world, has presented to the union an insulting series of take-away demands. As of July 15th, Ma Bell's executives are telling us they "cannot afford" a full cost of living adjustment (COLA), any COLA whatsoever for our pensioners, or any improvements in benefits. It has been reported that the company is proposing 4 a.m. starting time and split shifts for Plant, random assignment of "O" days [scheduled days off], regressive changes in the grievance procedure (replacing stewards with "impartial fact-finders") and the ability to change one-half-hour lunches to one hour at "company convenience." Even the International reports that on the most critical issue of job security the "silence is deafening." The company is demanding contract language that would *worsen* the absentee control plan! The company is hoping that we are so strapped financially by 18 percent inflation that union members will be scared to strike, and will swallow any contract offer, no matter how bad. The truth is we can't afford *not* to strike.

Over the three year life of our present contract, P-1's [top craft category] at top pay have lost about *$70 per week* to inflation; operators have lost about *$50 per week*. In 1979 the U.S. Department of Labor ranked phone workers in last place out of 20 occupations for failure to keep up with inflation. Nobody sees an end in sight to double digit inflation. We need a full 100 percent COLA!

Make Ma Bell Pay!

AT&T is not going broke. People may have stopped buying cars, but they haven't stopped using telephones. In a year when other corporate profits have fallen, AT&T's have increased. In the auto and steel industry, hundreds of thousands of workers have been laid off. Workers are paying for the greed of their employers who for decades refused to reinvest their profits in more modern plants, which are now hopelessly far behind Japanese and German industry. But AT&T had its cake and ate it too: as a monopoly, it both paid out large dividends and invested in automated equipment. Within four years, 100,000 jobs in the Bell System were eliminated due to speedup and automation. With ESS [computerized switching] being installed at the rate of one a day, job security is a burning issue. We must fight for real job security—divide all available work amongst all available workers. For a shorter workweek at full pay to provide more jobs!

Strike to Win

The need to win protection against inflation, provide real job security and stop company harassment has never been more urgent. Yet because of the way that strikes have been run in the past, we know that many union members believe that a successful strike is not possible against the phone company.

Cleveland Communications Workers picket line in 1977. Key to beating Ma Bell: Stop management scabbing!

WV Photo

Some people even think that the company benefits from a strike. They say that the phone company can run for a long time "untouched by human hands"; that's true if you assume that

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For Labor/Black/Chicano Defense Guards!

Drive KKK Out of Fontana!

LOS ANGELES—After months of mounting racist attacks in southern California, including the attempted murder of a black phone worker in the steel town of Fontana just west of San Bernardino, plans for a mass protest are underway. An anti-Ku Klux Klan protest rally has been called in Fontana on Saturday, August 9 by several civil rights organizations including the NAACP and the A. Philip Randolph Institute. It has also reportedly been endorsed by the San Bernardino-Riverside Central Labor Council and by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 2869 in Fontana. But as the fascist terrorists raise their heads and government authorities cover up for them, thousands of workers, blacks, Chicanos and leftists must be mobilized on a clear program: *Stop the fascists! No reliance on the capitalist government, its cops and its courts!*

Dovard Howard, a black cable splicer, was shot in the back July 1 as he was working in a lift bucket over a Fontana street, just two hours before a Ku Klux Klan race-hate rally at City Hall. Earlier in the spring the Howard family, who lived in a heavily white area of nearby Rialto, woke up to find a cross burning on their lawn. They, like many other black and Chicano residents, urgently need organized protection from the labor movement and minority organizations. Labor militants in both Los Angeles and the Bay Area have called on their unions to take the lead in building integrated defense guards to protect the Howard family and others threatened with racist terror.

On July 25 a preliminary hearing was finally held on the Howard shooting. The suspected gunman, burly San Bernardino biker Larry West Deanne, was ordered to stand trial on charges of attempted murder. At the hearing a squad of 20 Black Muslims from the Los Angeles chapter showed up to provide defense for Dovard Howard, but as soon as they entered the courtroom Deanne's attorney moved the proceedings be closed. The judge backed him up, even attempting to exclude Howard's wife Geneva. The victim's brother, Van Howard, told *WV* the cops have tried to hush up incidents of racial violence, even trying to claim the KKK needs police protection. "It's like a wolf howling at a rabbit that he needs protection and he's got the rabbit in his mouth," Howard remarked.

Working people cannot rely on the racist cops and courts to stop the Klan. Yet one of the leaflets building for the August 9 rally does just that, calling for a march to City Hall "to demand that the city government take immediate action to stop Klan organizing." And the San Bernardino-Riverside Central Labor Council has "urgently requested" that the police take measures against the hooded race terrorists. These are the same cops who after Dovard Howard was shot told the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (3 July), "We don't have any racial problem in this area"!

Every couple of days there is new evidence that vigilante terror against minorities is on the rise. The Los Angeles *Sentinel* (31 July) reports: "Racial incidents against blacks reportedly have spread throughout the San Bernardino area, including Bloomington, Cucamonga, Colton, Grand Terrace, Loma Linda and Apple Valley. Crosses have been burned on lawns, dead animals tossed in swimming pools, fences ripped apart and homes vandalized according to black leaders in those areas." With blacks and Chicanos heavily outnumbered by the largely Southern-derived white population in the area, it is particularly important that defense of the threatened minority residents be integrated and have the muscle of the unions behind them.

The Saturday rally was announced at the USWA International convention in Los Angeles August 5. A USWA Local 2869 resolution against the KKK was

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 263 5 September 1980

Fight Clerical Reaction!
For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Polish Workers Move

Everyone predicted it was coming. A restive, combative working class, peasant strikes, massive foreign debt, chronic and widespread food shortages, a powerful and increasingly assertive Catholic church, the burgeoning of social-democratic and clerical-nationalist oppositional groupings. All the elements were there. Poland in the late '70s was locked in a deepening crisis heading toward explosion, *an explosion which could bring either proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy or capitalist counterrevolution led by Pope Wojtyla's church.*

And when it came it gripped world attention for two solid weeks. The Baltic coast general strike was the most powerful mobilization of the power *of* the working class since France May 1968. But was it a mobilization *for* working-class power? That is the decisive question.

Now there is a settlement *on paper*. The Polish workers have forced the bureaucracy to agree to "new self-governing trade unions" with the pledge that these recognize "the leading role" of the Communist party and do not engage in political activities. Insofar as the settlement enhances the Polish workers' power to struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, revolutionaries can support the strike and its outcome. But only a blind man could fail to see the gross influence of the Catholic church and also pro-Western sentiments among the striking workers. If the settlement strengthens the working class organizationally, it also strengthens the forces of reaction. Poland stands today on a razor's edge.

The compromise creates an impossible situation economically and politically; it cannot last. In a country facing international bankruptcy, heavily subsidized by the Soviet Union, the strikers are demanding the biggest free lunch the world has ever seen. The Poles demand that they live like West Germans. There's a joke in Poland: we pretend to work and the government pretends to pay us. In West Germany one works. Even the social-democratic dissidents recognize that the big money wage increases will only fuel the inflation.

Politically the Stalinist bureaucracy cannot live with this kind of independent working-class organization, a form of cold dual power. The bureaucracy is not a ruling class, whose social power is derived from ownership of the means of production, but a caste based on the *monopolization* of governmental power.

But it's a good thing someone in the Kremlin has a sense of humor. If Gierek in Warsaw is pushed to the wall, Brezhnev in Moscow stands behind him. The settlement was conditioned, on both sides, by the presence of forty Soviet divisions in East Germany. The Kremlin has already made disapproving noises about that settlement, and Soviet military intervention cannot be ruled out. The end of the strike is only the beginning of the crisis of Stalinist Poland.

UPI

Workers shake Stalinist regime, but kneel before Catholic church. AP

Workers Democracy or Clerical-Nationalist Reaction?

The present crisis was triggered once again by increases in the price of meat. On July 1 the Gierek regime took a gamble and it lost. To continue the price freeze was economically intolerable, especially to Poland's Western bankers (the food subsidy absorbed fully 8 percent of total national income!). To raise the price of food without a wage increase was to invite an immediate, nationwide mass strike/protest like in December 1970 and June 1976. The regime figured it could minimize the financial cost and social disruption by granting wage raises only to those groups of workers who made some trouble. The government indicated its willingness to negotiate with unofficial shop-floor spokesmen, not just representatives of the state-run trade unions. In this sense the Gierek regime encouraged small wage strikes as a lesser evil.

July saw a flurry of slowdowns and strikes—tractor builders near Warsaw, railwaymen in Lublin, steel workers near Krakow—which were quickly settled with significant wage raises. Predictably, the strikes had a cascade effect. Other workers went out demanding more. In early August there were stubborn strikes by Warsaw garbagemen and transit workers; one of the leaders was arrested.

But on August 14 when 17,000 workers seized the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, the Stalinist regime was faced with a fundamentally different order of challenge. It was the Baltic shipbuilders who in 1970 toppled Gomulka and forced his successor Gierek to accept an independent workers committee for a time. One of the strikers' first demands was to build a monument to the workers killed when Gomulka called in tanks to restore order a decade ago. The regime quickly agreed to this.

Within a week 150,000 had downed tools, 200 factories were shut and the Baltic ports—Gdynia, Sopot, Szczecin, Elblag as well as Gdansk—were paralyzed. And it seemed as if every time the Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS) met, it raised five more, and more political, demands—"free" trade unions, end all censorship, free all political prisoners (there were only six). What had begun as a series of quickly ended wage struggles had become a *political* general strike.

What is the political character of the strike and the consciousness of the workers? Certainly the workers are reacting against bureaucratic mismanagement, privilege and abuse. The Polish workers' grievances are real and they are just. The firing of an old militant, Anna Walentynowicz, a few months before her retirement, which reportedly sparked the Lenin Shipyard takeover, should infuriate every honest worker. The existence of special shops exclusive to party members and cops, which the strikers demanded be abolished, is an abomination, a rejection of the most basic principles of socialism.

But if we know what the Baltic workers are against in an immediate sense, what are their positive allegiances and general political outlook? Early in the strike there were reports of singing the Internationale, which indicates some element of socialist consciousness. Some of the strike committee members had been shop-floor leaders in the official trade-union apparatus who were victimized for trying to defend the workers' interests. They undoubtedly were and possibly still are members of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the official name of the Communist party). These advanced workers surely desire a real workers Poland and world socialism.

While the imperialist media always plays up any support for anti-communist ideology in the Soviet bloc, there is no question that to a considerable degree the strikers identify with the powerful Catholic church opposition. It is not just the external signs—the daily singing of the national hymn, "Oh God,

continued on page 6

American Absurdities

Great Sharks and Little Fishes

Stackpole/Life

Reading the papers this summer was depressing enough, what with the turgid hoopla over which unpalatable right-wing personality is going to be president, the economic mess and related disasters. But as the dog days of August dragged on, in the midst of the usual sensational murder cases (the Scarsdale diet doc, the phantom of the opera), a rash of truly bizarre news items appeared which made you wonder whether government officials and wooly-minded liberals have taken leave of their senses altogether. For example:

The San Francisco city fathers enthusiastically welcomed a great white shark into their zoo for three days, to massive and excited press coverage. Then they let it go because it wasn't eating. Bay Area residents gave the shark a fond farewell as it was slipped back into the Pacific's blue water, while the *San Francisco Examiner* approvingly quoted the words of an ecologically minded young woman: "Good, now the shark won't die."

Good?! Didn't these people see the movie *Jaws?* Do you really need to be a Marxist to know that great whites are deadly dangerous? These sharks eat *people*.

Plenty of San Franciscans know this. They remember back in 1959 when a great white shark right off Baker Beach attacked and killed a young swimmer. His girlfriend pulled his ripped-apart body out of the water, beating off the shark, and gave him last rites as he bled to death on the beach. *Life* magazine spread the horrible story nationwide.

Veterans of the Pacific war, too, know it. And for those who weren't around then, Robert Benchley's best-seller *Jaws* retold the true story of those hundreds of men thrown into the Pacific as their ship was sunk by a kamikaze pilot—only their heads, lifejackets and upper torsos were recovered, the rest cleanly scooped away by sharks.

The only life these ecofreaks aren't interested in protecting is human. The *San Francisco Examiner* even had the nerve to print one sentence—in the midst of the "sweetheart" shark saga—reporting that a San Diego fisherman had that very same week been attacked and killed by a shark! But screw the pain and suffering of that fisherman's family—all the liberal faddists care about is precious baby seals, baby whales, baby sharks....

Which brings us to baby alligators. The *Chicago Sun-Times* had an article that same week about a man in Florida, Terry Ellsworth, who shot and killed a four-foot alligator that was creeping up, jaws open, on his two-year-old baby daughter while she was playing in the front yard. But instead of praise for protecting his daughter, Ellsworth instead faces five years in prison and a $5,000 fine—for killing an "endangered species." (Baby girls aren't an "endangered species," you see.)

In New York, the *New York Times* reported on the case of Ohio truck driver William Jordan, who now faces a mandatory one-year jail sentence for coming to the aid of a woman he thought was being mugged. Big cities can be dangerous, so naturally Jordan had his gun with him in his truck. When he saw a woman on the street struggling to get away from a burly guy who had grabbed her, Jordan pulled out his gun, pointed it the guy and yelled "Hey, let the girl go." Unfortunately for Jordan, the man turned out to be a plainclothes cop (who said he was trying to arrest a prostitute) who came back later and arrested him. Jordan is now one of the first test cases in New York's new "toughest handgun law in the nation," all because he came to the aid of a damsel in distress. Are they trying to tell us that Kitty Genovese's neighbors had the right idea after all?

Back on the ecology front, in June the California Highway Patrol sprang into action when a "mysterious white powder" was spilled on the Bay Bridge. They helicoptered in teams of heroic volunteer chemists in gas masks, shutting down the bridge for nine hours, and creating one of the worst traffic jams in San Francisco history. It turned out to be talcum powder (!) but no one could accuse the CHP of insensitivity to environmental dangers.

Meanwhile throughout the Bay Area, *tobacco* smoking has been banned in many public places—bus depots, hotel lobbies, restaurants and so forth. But the arrogant proprietors of lotus-land get their just rewards: after bringing all the Vietnamese "boat people" here in the cause of "human rights," it turns out they are now hunting and cooking the squirrels and other "protected species" in Golden Gate Park!

The worst of it is, as actor Roy Scheider put it in a recent *Playboy* interview, "...in New York we *know* we're crazy, but in L.A. they think they're sane." The rad-libs want to take away people's guns and we're supposed to think it's a *good* thing the monopolies have driven up the gas costs so high we can't drive big cars any more. And now the "radical" National Lawyers Guild has come out against sex magazines. When the liberals are trying to take away gas, guns and girls (the very essence of America), it's no wonder that all forms of right-wing populism and reaction are flourishing.

In this country we don't have an ayatollah, but we do have right-to-lifers. And how come all the right-to-lifers are for capital punishment? Ronald Reagan recently announced that the theory of evolution had "great flaws" (what he really means is, only *some* people are descended from the apes). He thinks the "biblical story of creation" should be taught in the public schools, too. Here it is 1980 and communists are still fighting for the separation of church and state! Now it looks like we're going to have the Scopes "monkey trial" all over again. This isn't even Marxism—it's more like Mark Twain!

There is one bright spot though. We did read that Anita Bryant got a divorce and according to her mother is now "off men." ■

"No, you may not have a cigarette. This is a no-smoking area!"

Hiroshima Day: To Remember Is Not Enough!

The following leaflet, calling for a Spartacist League demonstration on Hiroshima Day, August 6, at the downtown Los Angeles Federal Building, was distributed among the Japanese-American community in L.A. Among the signs carried by the demonstrators were "They said the camps couldn't happen here...," "American 'Human Rights'—Hiroshima/Nagasaki," "Yamashita or MacArthur—Who Was the Better Man?" and "Dresden, Rotterdam, Tokyo, Hiroshima—Down with Imperialist War!"

The American state loosed the world's first nuclear holocaust over Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6, 1945, even though the war was already over. The helpless citizens burnt alive in raging firestorms and deadly radioactive poisons died to help make the world safe for American "democracy," while Japanese-Americans in the USA were forced to go through living hell to prove their "loyalty" to the imperialist, racist American state. Branded "illegal aliens" and "Japs," rounded up like cattle in concentration camps, humiliating "loyalty oaths" shoved down their throats by the state that held them captive, still the Japanese-Americans produced some of the finest soldiers of World War II—the 442nd regimental combat team.

With honor and discipline, the all-Nisei combat team pulled off incredible feats of bravery in both Italy and France. But what did Japanese-Americans ever get out of their heroic sacrifice? Where are the "human rights" and "justice" that Carter talks about for Japanese-Americans? It was "New Deal" liberal "savior" FDR who set up the concentration camps, his Democratic successor Truman who dropped the atomic bombs. With racist calculation the already defeated Japanese were chosen as the human testing ground to prove to American imperialism's opponents—especially the USSR—that the USA will stop at *nothing* to maintain world dominion.

And if we don't stop it, it must and will happen again. Already American workers are encouraged by their masters into racist displays like smashing Japanese Toyotas while capitalism slides into depression. World War II pulled the U.S. out of the last depression—and the Japanese-Americans today will be among the first victims of American imperialism's World War III death throes tomorrow, unless these capitalist war-mongers are overthrown. It was the Trotskyists in Los Angeles during World War II who defended and aided the Japanese-Americans in their agony. Not only Marxist principle, but simple human decency, demands that the agony of these victims of U.S. imperialism be avenged.

WV Photo

Parts Plant Closure Sparks

Canadian UAW Sitdown

TORONTO—"It's ours so we took it!" This was the comment of one of 200 auto workers who occupied the Houdaille bumper plant in Oshawa, Ontario August 8 to protest the bosses' plan to shut down the plant. With the bottom dropping out of the North American car market, the company decided to cut its losses and throw workers with 18 to 33 years seniority out on the street with nothing to show for a lifetime of work but a few dollars' severance pay.

For close to two weeks the Houdaille workers revived the fighting tradition that built the United Auto Workers (UAW)—the sit-down strike. They brought in sleeping bags and bedded down in the lunchroom; a kitchen was kept running and the plant perimeter was patrolled by workers with walkie-talkies. In front of the plant there were placed placards reading "Till Hell Freezes Over," listing each day of the occupation. The sitdown grabbed front-page coverage across Canada and even made it into the *Detroit News* under the headline: "Unions Use 30's Ploy: A Sit-Down." Telegrams and letters of support from unions and socialists poured into the offices of UAW Local 222—even the mayor of Oshawa felt constrained to promise the workers that their homes would not be seized if they fell behind in their taxes.

Auto workers in southern Ontario plants followed the Houdaille strike closely and stood ready to come to the sitdowners' aid if company or cops tried to get them out of the plant. The Houdaille plant, an independent parts supplier primarily to the Chrysler Corporation, is small and the demands were limited to pensions for workers with over 30 years seniority, better medical benefits and severance pay. But the Houdaille workers are casualties of the general economic crisis in auto which has thrown nearly 30,000 Canadian Big Three workers out of their jobs (in addition to half a million jobless auto and parts plant workers in the U.S.). This sit-down strike points the way forward for hundreds of thousands of UAW members facing mass layoffs and plant closings.

The call for factory occupations has been heard elsewhere in Canadian auto as well. At the Ford Oakville (Ontario) plant, where 1,400 workers lost their jobs when the company axed an entire shift this summer, union militants Gary Snider and Peter Hoult distributed a leaflet last May to a meeting of UAW Local 707 arguing:

> "A plant occupation is very effective because it hits the bosses where they live—their private property which they claim gives them the 'right' to throw us out of work. The International should be organizing such militant actions in the scores of plants hit by mass layoffs and closings, fighting for our jobs and demanding unlimited unemployment benefits for laid-off workers, full recall rights and government/corporation financing of the bankrupt SUB funds. A determined battle could create jobs by winning a shorter workweek with no loss in pay."

Houdaille UAW sitdown showed power of class-struggle tactics. Spartacist Canada

Plant occupations and national strike action are what is needed to wage a real fight against the layoffs that have ripped through auto in the last year. But United Auto Worker tops kept this sit-down strike under wraps. At a UAW area council meeting in June, International vice president and Canadian director of the UAW Bob White threatened that he would respond to the mass layoffs with sit-down strikes and was just looking for the right opportunity. A week later a dozen union officials took White at his word and climbed a fence to occupy the Windsor Bendix plant that had been shut down. The UAW leadership rammed through a settlement in six hours!

Windsor, which has borne the brunt of the mass layoffs and where the sit-down tactic could spread like wildfire to angry auto workers across the river in Detroit, just wasn't the "right opportunity." A plant occupation there would sound like Solidarity House meant business. Instead White chose the marginal Houdaille bumper production plant with its aging workforce, located in Oshawa where employment at the large GM plant has remained relatively stable.

From the start the sitdown was portrayed as a "peaceful occupation" by a loyal workforce that hadn't waged a strike in 32 years. So compelling was the plight of the workers, many of whom had put in over three decades and were to be thrown penniless onto the street, that editorialists of Toronto's *Globe and Mail*, one of Canada's major big business newspapers, shed crocodile tears over the plant closing. The strike demands were just and supportable, if limited. The 200 who occupied the factory were all that was left after the original workforce of 600 was systematically slashed over the past year. But the demand for jobs was never raised and the plant shutdown never challenged. UAW leaders argued like a condemned man pleading for the least painful form of execution.

The sitdown ended on August 21 with acceptance of an offer of pensions for the 30-year-and-over men when they reach 55, and a meager increase in severance pay to $250 for every year of service (less than half what white-collar employees will receive). The mood of the Houdaille workers, who accepted the settlement by a vote of 177 to 14, was not one of jubilation; everyone realized that although they would be getting a few dollars more, they would still be jobless.

But even the very limited gains from an isolated UAW sit-down strike is an indictment of UAW International president Doug Fraser, who has allowed a number of major auto plants to be shut down without a peep of organized resistance. Canadian UAW officials are no better—they simply tailor their betrayal to maple leaf social democracy, expressed by the reformist New Democratic Party (NDP). The NDP puts forward the classic social-democratic call for nationalization of certain industries by the bourgeois state as the "solution" to workers' problems.

Thus the NDP came out in support of the Houdaille sitdown, not to spark a powerful working-class fight to establish a workers government, but to channel workers' discontent into Canadian nationalism. NDP leader Ed Broadbent, member of Parliament from

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 263 5 September 1980

No to ILA Anti-Communist Boycott!

Responding to the Polish workers' strikes, American labor fakers predictably sought to whip up anti-Communism. The East Coast dock workers union, Teddy Gleason's ILA (already boycotting all trade with Russia), took the conservative line by imposing a boycott on goods to and from Poland. The more liberal line, generally reflecting State Department thinking, was taken by the UAW's Doug Fraser, who sent the strikers $25,000. *Both* measures are designed to strengthen the U.S. cold war drive against the Soviet Union. Recall that former UAW president Leonard Woodcock is now ambassador to China, where anti-working-class repression is far greater than in Gierek's Poland. Why is there no talk of "free trade unions" in China? Because the Peking bureaucracy is allied to Uncle Sam against the Russians. The Frasers and Gleasons, labor lieutenants of Brzezinski and Wojtyla, are no friends of Polish workers.

Letter

Gosh Darn!

August 16, 1980

Dear Mr. Norden,

I bought the "Workers Vanguard" for the first time dated June 27, 1980 [July 25, 1980]. There was a four letter word in the headlines which I feel does not do the Socialist cause any good even though it may hit the nail on the head. I don't think Lenin or Marx would approve at all. The Socialist cause has been damaged enough without giving it anymore black eyes. How the Socialist will ever recover is beyond me. We have been knocked to our knees. I would have liked to have given that paper to a friend, but because of that word I couldn't. I even tore the word out because I didn't want anyone to see it. It isn't that I've never heard that word or used it but I feel that it just gives people one more thing to criticize us for. The Socialist have taken enough beatings. I'd like to see our name vindicated. I almost didn't buy the paper because of that dirty word.

Please, if you truly believe in the Socialist cause change your approach.

In all sincerity and no mean thoughts, I am

Your friend
(Unsigned)

WV Replies: Oh Shit! (interj.) 1. A high-impact exclamation of extreme exasperation as in: "Carter, Reagan? Oh Shit!" (*WV* No. 262, 25 July 1980). In early use *shit* a contemptuous epithet applied to a man 1508 (Oxford English Dictionary). Now in common usage as the maximum verbal response to immediate disaster. In popular films: *Day of the Dolphin*, "oh shit" (the operatives being blown out of the water); *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, "oh shit" (as they go over the cliff). Inside cockpit of one of the two jumbo jets involved in Canary Islands airport disaster, 27 March 1977, pilot's final exclamation was, "oh shit!"

Thousands Fired, Scores Arrested

Army Crushes Sri Lanka General Strike

Over 100,000 workers in Sri Lanka joined in a general strike that was the greatest challenge to the Tory regime of President J.R. Jayawardena since his United National Party (UNP) took office three years ago. The political prelude to the strike was an anti-UNP protest held on June 5 by the Joint Trade Union Action Committee (JTUAC), a bureaucratic combine of unions mostly affiliated with the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP), the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of former prime minister Mrs. Bandaranaike. During the protest a CP trade-union organizer was killed by UNP thugs. A massive funeral procession four days later turned into an angry protest against the UNP.

Then, workers at the large Ratmalana railway workshop wildcatted after 12 union militants there were suspended for having participated in the June 5 protest. Ratmalana has a long tradition of militant class struggle; these railway workers were in the vanguard of the 1976-77 strike wave that sealed the fate of the bloody coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranaike. When in early July the Ratmalana action committee adopted the JTUAC's standing demand for a 300 rupee ($20) monthly wage increase plus a cost-of-living escalator, the strike spread, crippling the rail system.

With inflation running at 42 percent last year (75 percent for essential consumer goods) the wage issue has become explosive. Soaring prices coupled with the UNP's slashing of the rice ration and other subsidies have made life almost intolerable for working people. Half of the island's population, who have historically lived well by Asian standards, now exist on incomes that are below what even the government defines as subsistence level. Meanwhile, in the new "free trade zones," where there has been a tremendous influx of foreign capital over the last couple of years, virtually all union activities have been banned. Consequently, the strength of the organized labor movement is being eroded by the growth of a pool of non-union workers, many of them women, who toil in Singapore-style sweatshop conditions.

On July 11, as pressure for a general strike mounted daily, the JTUAC tops met but decided to call out their unions only ten days later. But during the next week union after union jumped the gun. A major confrontation with the government was fast approaching. But the JTUAC refused even to set up a central strike committee that could coordinate and organize the struggle on a day-to-day basis. Nor was any effort made to draw in the doubly oppressed Tamil workers in the nationalized tea, rubber and coconut plantations, which have become economic disaster areas. What was worse, Bala Tampoe, head of the big Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) and leader of the shadowy Sri Lankan section of the United Secretariat (USec), *opposed* calling a general strike and instructed his members to keep working even after it had begun!

Jayawardena understood quite clearly that the general strike posed the question of power. As one of his senior ministers put it, "We've got to crush it now, otherwise we are done for" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 August). So on July 16 Jayawardena declared a state of emergency, mobilizing the military, imposing press censorship and banning all strikes affecting "essential services." Troops were used to prevent a planned JTUAC rally in Colombo's Hyde Park from taking place on July 18, although Tampoe was allowed to hold a CMU rally there. Union offices located in workplaces were closed down, and scores were arrested, many simply for handing out pro-strike leaflets.

But perhaps the greatest blow was Jayawardena's order that all striking workers in the government sector be sacked at once and replaced with scabs. Pro-UNP papers carried photos of the thousands of desperate job-seekers who flocked to government hiring offices. One queue stretched for more than a mile. At one point Jayawardena even threatened to seize striking unions' funds and use them for handouts to the families of sacked workers!

To protest these mass dismissals the JTUAC called a "satyagraha" (nonviolent civil disobedience) for August 8 in Colombo's central Fort area. Troops were deployed to seal off the area, leading to at least one confrontation near the Fort railway station. As crowds of angry demonstrators moved through the Fort area, windows of cars and buses were smashed and bricks were hurled at

SL Demos in NY, London

Stop Anti-Labor Repression in Sri Lanka!

Coordinated demonstrations protesting government repression against strikers in Sri Lanka were called late last month by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). On August 29 approximately 75 supporters of the Spartacist League/U.S. demonstrated outside the Sri Lankan mission to the United Nations in New York chanting, "Hands off the unions—For the right to strike" and "Stop reprisals against striking workers." The next day in London 25 people responded to the call of the Spartacist League/Britain for a demonstration outside the Ceylon Tea Centre.

The demonstrations were an expression of international labor solidarity, and as such put forward a program and perspective for working-class power in South Asia. Among the slogans chanted by the Spartacist demonstrators were "Popular front paved the way for repression in Ceylon today," and "Popular front with the bourgeoisie led to state of emergency." One of the signs proclaimed "Remember '71 JVP massacre—No popular frontist alliance!" Historically, in Spain, Chile and elsewhere, popular fronts have paved the way for bloody repression by the Francos and Pinochets through tying the workers to the "democratic" capitalists and generals. But in Ceylon it was the "progressive" coalition government of the now-hated Mrs. Bandaranaike which brutally put down the uprising by radicalized petty-bourgeois Sinhalese youth in 1971. The LSSP renegades from Trotskyism were an integral part of this murderous coalition government. As one SL sign put it, "Rotting corpse of the LSSP—Tied to Bloody Mrs. B."

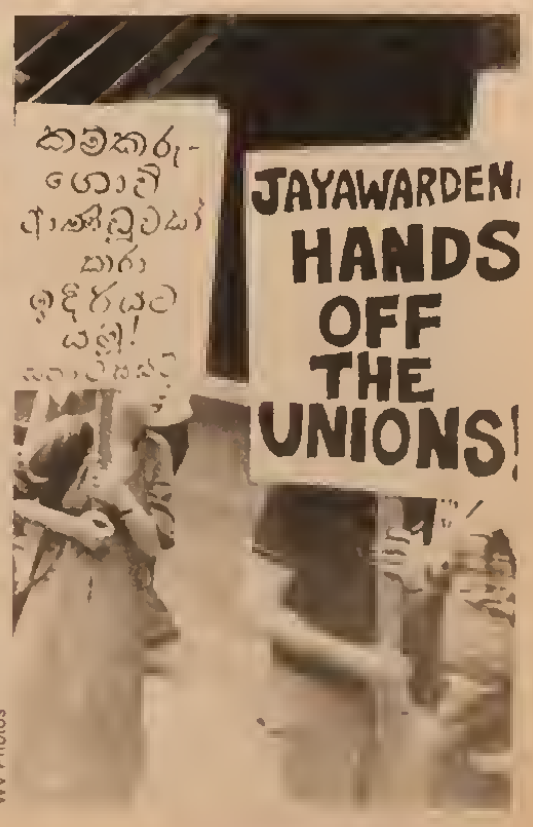
While the guerrillaist-Stalinist JVP had been in the forefront of the radical rebellion against the Bandaranaike regime in the early '70s, they have not transcended their Guevarist origins to take up the cause of workers revolution. This was graphically demonstrated by their failure to take part in the general strike which has shaken Sri Lanka in the past month. Another sign at the Spartacist demonstrations challenged these would-be revolutionists: "JVP—Embrace Proletarian Leninism!"

A Spartacist speaker at the New York demonstration stressed the need for a program of proletarian internationalism and the construction of an authentic Trotskyist party in Ceylon:

> "Key to this struggle is the recognition that in Sri Lanka there will be no proletarian revolution without the oppressed Tamils. The Indians are not only 'stateless' in Sri Lanka, they also don't exist for the reformist workers misleaders who are thoroughly saturated with Sinhalese chauvinism. You will no more make a revolution in Sri Lanka without the Tamils than you will make one in the United States without the oppressed black people."

A communist strategy in Sri Lanka, he said, entails a perspective for proletarian revolution "not simply on this small island, but throughout the Indian subcontinent." In Gandhi's India also, he added, "one sees the tragic cycle of popular frontism followed by bourgeois reaction."

Finally, the SL speaker commented on the current strike movement in Poland. A spokesman for a tiny social-democratic grouping, the Shachtmanite League for a Revolutionary Party (LRP), which took part in the New York demonstration, made an anti-Marxist equation between the general strike against the capitalists in Ceylon and the plant occupations by Baltic workers in the Polish deformed workers state. The Spartacist speaker pointed out that the Polish strike movement had a contradictory character, and that, at the same time as there were many just workers' grievances, there was also an active danger of capitalist restoration under the sign of the church. Unlike the State Department Shachtmanites, he noted, Trotskyists "stand for the unconditional defense of the collectivized property forms of Poland. We seek to intervene in the Polish strikes to break the Polish working class from the Catholic church and from other pro-bourgeois forces and to turn them into a vanguard for a proletarian political revolution." ■



Demonstration against government repression of Sri Lanka general strike, New York August 29.

WV Photos

Senevirathe/Ceylon Daily Mirror

Armored cars patrol Colombo.

the President's House and at Parliament. A UNP Member of Parliament was hauled from his jeep and roughed up. Among the several dozen reported arrested were Vasudeva Nanayakkara, leader of the Nava Sama Samaja Party (NSSP), and Tulsiri Andradi, president of the Central Bank Employees Union and a leader of the centrist Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP) of Edmund Samarakkody.

Although the state of emergency has been lifted, the government is taking reprisals with a vengeance. Information about the numbers of workers sacked and jailed is still scant. Supporters of the NSSP in London informed the Spartacist League/Britain that four NSSP Central Committee members went on trial August 28 but were still being kept in jail. The left and labor movement must demand that all those arrested under the emergency regulations be immediately released, that charges against all victims of Jayawardena's repression be dropped, and that there be no reprisals.

In the aftermath the reformist CP and LSSP as well as their hangers-on like the NSSP will blame the strike's defeat on the fierce government repression. But that is just a self-serving rationalization. Their militant rhetoric aside, all these misleaders saw the general strike mainly as a means to forge a political alliance of "all anti-UNP forces"—a catchword for a new popular front with the bloody Mrs. B. whose popular-front government in 1971 massacred thousands of youth. When the JTUAC was first formed, the LSSP and CP understood that mass hatred for the old coalition made open association with the SLFP unwise. But a bloc was made on the trade-union front over the JTUAC's 23 demands. Thus, the JTUAC is a first step toward a new popular-front alliance. It should be recalled how, after the fall of the first popular-front government in 1965, the LSSP, CP and SLFP formed a Joint Committee of Trade Union Organizations based on 15 demands that was the precursor to the open electoral popular-front alliance.

Already the rotting LSSP has made what its leader Colvin R. de Silva publicly calls "a pact with the devil's grandmother" (guess who). The LSSP, badly demoralized and in total disarray, crawled into the SLFP's last May Day demonstration, marching at the tail, of course. And the LSSP and SLFP held a joint anti-UNP rally in Colombo June 24 with an eye already on the 1983 general elections. So far, the CP, NSSP and Tampoe have been more cautious. Earlier this year the CP felt compelled to make a public "self-criticism" of its role in the Bandaranaike coalition, but that didn't stop the Stalinists from encouraging the SLFP to participate in the June 5 JTUAC protest. As for the NSSP, while it split from the LSSP over the coalition fiasco, it has never drawn a hard line against popular frontism. It tries to fudge the class character of the SLFP, dubbing it both bourgeois and "liberal reformist," "Social Democratic." And the NSSP has no qualms about making de facto political blocs with the SLFP, such as sharing the same platform with Mrs. B at a rally against the UNP's new constitution.

Then there's the thoroughly corrupted, reptilian Tampoe, who'll do business with just about anyone who can further his career as a big bureaucrat on a little, poor island. Suffice it to recall that in 1967 Tampoe accepted a CIA handout to come to the U.S., where he met with then "defense" secretary Robert McNamara at the height of the U.S.' bloody war on the Vietnamese workers and peasants (see "The Case of Bala Tampoe," *Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972). Recently, Tampoe has the left wondering about his close relations with SLFP union boss Alavi Maoulana. As the quite perceptive gadflies of the *Lanka Guardian* observed, Tampoe's last May Day speech was "unusually subdued" on the SLFP.

The RWP's role in the general strike only confirmed our characterization of the Samarakkody tendency as "the organic left wing of the old LSSP" ("Toward the International Trotskyist League," *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80). For Trotskyists, what was urgently needed in the general strike was a hard, sharp struggle to break the unions from their misleaders and from the bourgeois SLFP. But the RWP's "mass leader" Andradi, acting as president of the Central Bank Employees Union, issued a leaflet in Sinhala dated July 13 that didn't even mention the SLFP! It simply exhorts workers to force the JTUAC to take militant action. Just how is the JTUAC to wage an anti-capitalist struggle when it embraces the union flunkies of Mrs. B?! Not surprisingly, Andradi's leaflet makes no mention of the vital Tamil question.

What's needed in Sri Lanka is the forging of an authentically Trotskyist vanguard party, steeled in the struggle against all varieties of popular frontism. That requires politically challenging the petty-bourgeois radical Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), which has become the largest left organization on the island. Thousands of subjectively revolutionary youth have turned to the JVP, the martyrs of 1971, attracted by its denunciations of the old parliament-oriented coalition parties and its aura of insurrectionary militancy. But the JVP has been unable to break from its eclectic, neo-Stalinist roots and find its way programmatically to authentic Leninism. It vacillates between electoral opportunism and sectarian abstentionism, striking a kind of Third Period Stalinist posture ("After Jayawardena, us"). Without a significant proletarian base, and with no Leninist program and tactics to split the workers from their reformist misleaders, the JVP was unable to intervene in the general strike.

Unless a Trotskyist party is built in Sri Lanka, mass disaffection with the UNP will only play into Mrs. B's hands. The working people must not go through another defeat of bringing a new popular front to power, which will simply perpetuate the austerity and repression of the UNP. The task of Trotskyists is to mobilize the workers and peasants to smash capitalism in Sri Lanka and spark proletarian revolution throughout South Asia. ■

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Polish Workers Move

(continued from page 1)

Who Has Defended Poland," the hundreds of strikers kneeling for mass, the ubiquitous pictures of Wojtyla-John Paul II (talk about "the cult of personality"). The strike committee's outside advisers consist of a group of Catholic intellectuals headed up by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, editor of a leading Catholic journal.

The strike leaders flaunted their Catholic and Polish nationalist ideology. Anna Walentynowicz, asked if she were a socialist, replied that she was a believer. MKS leader Lech Walesa in the Gdansk shipyard started every day by "rush[ing] into the courtyard and at a trot began tossing pictures of the Virgin Mary, Queen of Poland, into the air" (*New York Times*, 31 August). And at the signing of the strike settlement, Walesa ostentatiously wore a crucifix and used a foot-long red and white (the Polish national colors) ballpoint pen, a souvenir of Pope Wojtyla's visit to Poland last year. (To top it off, Walesa's father, who has emigrated to the U.S., posed with Ronald Reagan as the Republican reactionary officially kicked off his presidential campaign.)

Even more ominous was the demand for "access by all religious groups [read Roman Catholic church] to the mass media," a prerogative for which the Polish episcopate has long campaigned. This is an *anti*-democratic demand which would legitimize the church in its present role as the recognized opposition to the Stalinist regime. Significantly, the strike committee did not even demand the right to such media access for itself or for the "free trade unions" it was fighting to set up. In effect the Baltic shipbuilders were asking for a state church in a deformed workers state.

But the church is not loyal to the workers state. Far from it! The Polish church (virulently anti-Semitic) has been a bastion of reaction even within the framework of world Catholicism. A typical Polish parish priest would regard American Catholics, from the hierarchy to the laity, as a bunch of freethinking "commies." Especially since the 1976 crisis the Polish church has become increasingly open and aggressive in its anti-Communism. Early last year the *Wall Street Journal* (2 January 1979) observed:

> "Thus, the priesthood has become in effect an opposition party. The number of priests is at an all-time high of 19,500 and many openly defy the Communist Party by building churches without government approval."

This article also pointed out that a particular prelate was responsible for the greater oppositional stance of the church:

> "In recent years, the church has taken a sharper anti-government turn under Krakow's Cardinal Wojtyla, who captured the allegiance of university students by opening the city's churches to their anti-government discussion groups."

Just a few months earlier this cardinal from Krakow had become the "infallible" head of the Roman Catholic church, the first non-Italian successor to the throne of St. Peter in four centuries. Karol Wojtyla is a dangerous reactionary working hand in glove with U.S. imperialism (especially his fellow countryman Zbigniew Brzezinski) to roll back "atheistic Communism," beginning in his homeland. As we wrote when this Polish anti-Communist was made pope: "...he now stands at the head of many millions of practicing Catholics in East Europe, a tremendous force for counterrevolution" ("The President's Pope?" *WV* No. 217, 20 October 1978).

The power and the danger of the Polish Catholic church are clearly revealed in the present crisis. The day after the Lenin Shipyard seizure Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski led 150,000 "pilgrims" in a commemoration of the bourgeois-nationalist Pilsudski's victory over the Soviet Red Army in 1920, reminding them how Poles acted when "freedom of life was endangered" (UPI, 15 August). A week later Pope Wojtyla declared before 1,000 Poles in the Vatican that "we are united with our countrymen," a deliberately provocative act under the circumstances.

The Polish episcopate, fearing both Russian military intervention (the Warsaw Pact forces were maneuvering nearby in East Germany) and its own inability to control a workers' uprising, has taken a different, more cautious tack. It waited until the regime made public the seriousness of the Baltic general strike and then, while expressing sympathy for the workers' aims, warned against "prolonged stoppages." When the strike started spreading to other areas, the regime put Wyszynski on television to call for the workers to settle. Then a few days later the church hierarchy backed off from so fulsomely supporting the government.

But whatever the present tactical calculations of the Polish episcopate, in a power vacuum the church, well organized and with a mass base, will be a potent agency for social counterrevolution. One can appreciate the plight of Gierek & Co. Short of a political revolution, it would take a J.V. Stalin to clean out the church, packing 18,000 priests off to forced labor camps. But then Poland would get a lot of new public libraries with spires on top of them.

Der Spiegel

1970: Warski shipyard workers in Szczecin led struggle that toppled Gomulka regime; many had trust in Gierek.

"Free Trade Unions"?

Until a few days before the settlement the general strike was limited to the Baltic coast, a region whose modern history is very different from the rest of Poland. Before World War II the main Baltic cities—Danzig (Gdansk), Stettin (Szczecin)—were largely populated by Germans. With the consolidation of Stalinist Poland after the war, the Germans were driven out and the region resettled by Poles from the eastern territories annexed to the Soviet Ukraine. Thus, while the Baltic coast workers are highly volatile, they lack the socialist traditions common to the other main sections of the Polish proletariat—the heavy-industrial workers around Warsaw and Krakow, the Lodz textile workers, the Silesian miners. Had the general strike spread throughout Poland, its political axis could quite possibly have shifted to the left and away from clericalism.

Gierek tried, but failed, to work the same deal to end the crisis that he did in 1970-71. Then he gave the rebellious workers Gomulka's head; now he gave them that of his chief lieutenant, Edward Babiuch, and three other Politburo members. In counter to their demand for a "free trade union," he offered them free elections to the offical union. But in 1971 he promised the Baltic workers the same thing and took it back when the crisis atmosphere died away. The strike committee leader Lech Walesa no doubt had this experience in mind when he said, "We were promised that many times before."

Now, the workers' attitude is very different from say, ten years ago. The 1970-71 strikes were clearly economic. None of the eleven demands of the Warski Shipyard strike committee in Szczecin (the leading workers' organization at the time) went beyond prices, wage compensation and no reprisals. Today leading elements of the Gdansk-based Interfactory Strike Committee are associated with the Catholic church opposition and the social-democratic Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR). With the authority of the bureaucracy greatly weakened, the unions will strongly tend to break the paper prohibition on political oppositional activity.

The particular slogan of "free trade unions," pushed for years by the CIA-backed Radio Free Europe and the Catholic church, has acquired a definite anti-Communist and pro-Western connotation. Remember the 1921 Kronstadt mutiny's call for "free Soviets"—free from Communists, that is!

An integral part of the Trotskyist program for proletarian political revolution in the degenerated/deformed workers states is the struggle for trade unions independent of bureaucratic control. Trade unions and the right to strike would be necessary even in a democratically governed workers state to guard against abuses and mistakes by administrators and managers. But it is far from clear that the "free trade unions" long envisioned by the dissidents would be free from the influence of the pro-Catholic, pro-NATO elements who represent a mortal danger to the working class. In any case, in the highly politicized situation in Poland today the "new, self-governing" trade unions cannot and will not limit themselves to questions of wage rates, working conditions, job security as was the case, for example, with the Szczecin workers committee in 1971. They will either be drawn into the powerful orbit of the Catholic church or have to oppose it in the name of socialist principle.

Parish priest Jankowskis later handed out color photos of himself with a prayer on back.

And in determining that outcome the presence of a revolutionary vanguard party would be critical. A central task for a Trotskyist organization in Poland would be to raise in these unions a series of demands that will *split* the clerical-nationalist forces from among the workers and separate them out. These unions must defend the socialized means of production and proletarian state power against Western imperialism. In Poland today the elementary democratic demand of the separation of church and state is a dividing line between the struggle for workers democracy and the deadly threat of capitalist restorationism.

The germs of a Leninist-Trotskyist opposition in Poland would have nothing to do with the present dissident groups. It would denounce them for trying to tie the strikers to imperialism, the pope and Pilsudskiite anti-Soviet nationalism. But among the rebellious workers there must be elements that are fed up with the bureaucracy and look back to the traditions of Polish communism, while having no truck with bogus "democracy" in priests' robes. It is among this layer above all that we must struggle to win the cadres to build a genuinely communist proletarian party that can defend and extend the collectivist economic gains, opening the road to socialism by ousting the Stalinist caste which falsely rules in the workers' name.

Poland presents the most combative working class in the Soviet bloc, with a history of struggling for independent organizations going back to the mid-1950s. It is also the one country in East Europe with a mass, potentially counterrevolutionary mobilization around the Catholic church. Thus, unlike Hungary in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968, the alternatives in the present crisis are not limited to proletarian

Gorgoni/Contact

Pope Wojtyla-John Paul II on pilgrimage for anti-communism in Poland in 1979.

political revolution or Stalinist restabilization. At the same time, it is not Afghanistan where the Soviet Red Army is playing a progressive role in crushing an imperialist-backed clerical-reactionary uprising. In a sense Poland stands somewhere between Hungary in 1956 and Afghanistan. How has this situation come about?

The Bitter Fruits of the 1956 "Polish October"

Key to understanding the exceptional instability of Stalinist Poland is the compromise which staved off a workers revolution in 1956. As in other East European countries the post-Stalin "thaw" produced a deep crisis within the Polish bureaucracy which extended to other sections of Polish society. Promises of "socialist legality" and higher living standards led in 1953-56 to a rising line of intellectual dissidence and working-class unrest.

In June 1956 workers from the ZIPSO locomotive works in Poznan marched into the center of the city calling for higher wages and lower prices. When the militia failed to disperse them, they attacked the city hall, radio station and prison. The army and special security police were called in. Over 50 demonstrators were killed, hundreds wounded. Poland stood on the verge of civil war.

In August Wladyslaw Gomulka, with a reputation as a victimized "national-liberal" Communist and honest workers leader, was reinstated in the PUWP; in October he was made head of it. A former general secretary of the Polish Communist Party, he was purged by Stalin in 1948 as a "Titoist" and placed under house arrest. Not sharing personal responsibility for the crimes of the Stalin years, Gomulka enjoyed considerable popular authority, especially among socialist workers.

In what would become the standard refrain of Polish Stalinism when under attack from below, Gomulka in an open letter "to the workers and youth" assured them that:

> "...only by marching along the path of democratization and eradicating all the evil from the past period can we succeed in building the best model of socialism.... A decisive part on that road must be played by widening the workers' democracy, by increasing the direct participation of workers in the management of enterprises, by increasing the part played by the working masses in governing all sectors of the country's life."
>
> —reproduced in Paul E. Zinner, ed., *National Communism and Popular Revolt in Eastern Europe* (1956)

Khrushchev and his Kremlin colleagues still feared Gomulka as the Polish Tito and seriously considered military intervention to oust him. One of the main factors which forestalled them was that in large factories throughout the country workers councils organized resistance to any attempt by the Russian Stalinists and their local agents to overturn "the Polish October revolution." In the giant Zeran auto factory in Warsaw, the Communists armed the workers. But it was not the Russians who overturned "the Polish October"—it was Gomulka. While granting large wage increases for a few years, Gomulka gradually bureaucratically strangled the workers councils, which had helped bring him to power. He also suppressed the dissident Marxoid intellectuals. At the same time, his policies permanently streugthened the potential social bases of counterrevolution—the peasants and the priests.

The abandonment in 1956 of agricultural collectivization (never very extensive) has had a profound effect on Poland economically, socially and politically. It has saddled the country with a backward, smallholding rural economy grossly inefficient even by East European standards. In the mid-1970s farm output per worker in Poland was less than two-fifths that of collectivized Czechoslovakia, for example! Many peasants still work divided-up strips, not even unitary farms. And the horse-drawn plow is a common sight in the Polish countryside to this day. The rural population is increasingly aged as the peasants' sons and daughters emigrate in droves to the cities, where the standard of living is appreciably higher.

Contrary to the imperialist propaganda line that 90 percent of Poland is Catholic, the Polish workers movement since the 1890s has adhered to Marxian socialism. The strength of the Polish church is based on the social weight of the rural petty bourgeoisie. And today over a third of the labor force still toils in the fields, while 80 percent of farmland is privately owned. Only by eliminating their hideous poverty and rural isolation can the hold of religious obscurantism on the masses be broken.

An immediate, key task for a revolutionary workers government in Poland would be to promote the collectivization of agriculture. And this has nothing in common with Stalin's mass terror in the Russian countryside in 1929-31. Cheap credits and generous social services should be given those peasants who pool their land and labor, while higher taxes would be imposed on those who remained petty agricultural capitalists.

Polish Stalinism has strengthened the church not only by perpetuating a landowning peasantry, but also in a more direct way. Since 1956 the Catholic Znak group in the Sejm (parliament) has been the *only* legally recognized opposition in any East European country. And that opposition has in general been anti-democratic. Church spokesmen have denounced the public schools' "atheization" of Poland's youth and have called for state financial support for religious instruction. The Polish medical system provides safe abortions for a nominal fee. (Women from West Europe travel to Poland to have their abortions in order to save money.) Committed to the patriarchal family and with it the age-old oppression of women, the church has singled out safe, cheap abortions as one of the great "crimes" of the Communist government.

By the late 1960s the Gomulka regime had pretty much exhausted the moral capital of the 1956 "Polish October." The economy was stagnant, real wages were rising more slowly than in any other East European country. The 1968 "Prague spring" in neighboring Czechoslovakia panicked the Polish burcaucracy, which feared the unrest would spread to its own more volatile and combative people.

At this point a faction in the bureaucracy around secret police chief Mieczyslaw Moczar sought to channel popular discontent into traditional anti-Semitic Polish chauvinism. Under the rubric of "anti-Zionism," the few tens of thousands of Jews who had survived Hitler's holocaust, many of them loyal PUWP cadre, were driven out of the country. (Almost none settled in Israel, but rather ended up teaching Slavic languages in Copenhagen or Stockholm.) Even Gomulka's Jewish wife wasn't safe from accusations of "cosmopolitanism" and lack of "Polish patriotism." The present political atmosphere in Poland, especially the growing

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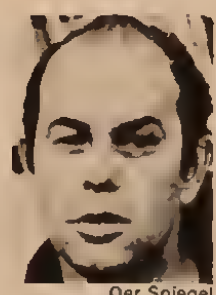
Polish Social Democrats Arm in Arm with Clerical Reaction

All The Pope's Dissidents

"The strikes in Poland mark a significant turn in Eastern Europe because workers and dissident intellectuals have joined forces in a major conflict with the Government," noted a news analysis in the *New York Times* (23 August). As to the existence of the alliance there is no doubt. From the beginning of the Polish strike wave in early July and in the early stages of the shipyard occupations, dissident circles in Warsaw were the main source of information for the imperialist press. In addition, several of the key strike leaders have been publicly associated over the past several years with opposition defense groups, and they have drawn in prominent Catholic intellectuals as "expert advisers." So while the ruling bureaucracy has been reluctant to use force against workers in the Baltic ports, on August 20 police in the capital rounded up 14 well-known dissidents accused of illegal association.



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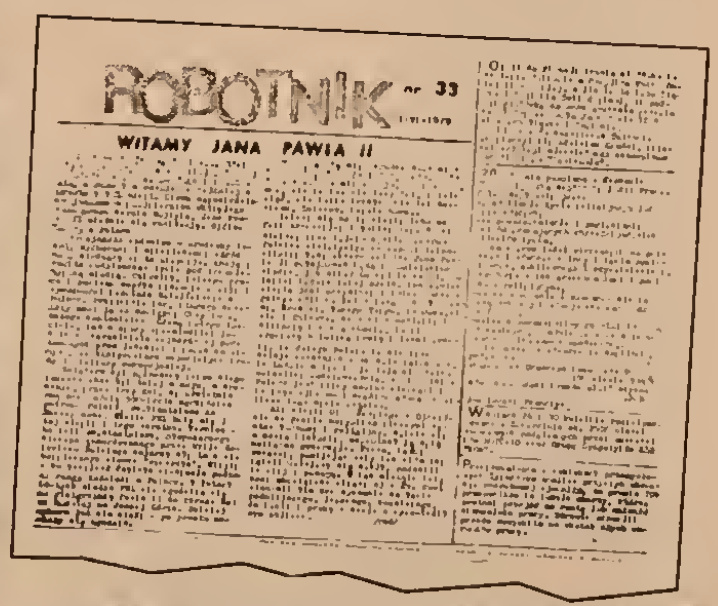

ROBOTNIK nr 33

WITAMY JANA PAWŁA II

KOR leaders Kuron (top) and Michnik (bottom) publish Robotnik (The Worker), which greets pope's visit to Poland.

Who are the Polish dissidents? Western commentators hail the appearance of a "worker-intellectual alliance." Yet the non-Stalinist left-wing press sounds the same theme. Thus we find favorable interviews with dissident leader Jacek Kuron being printed everywhere from the liberal *Le Monde* and *Der Spiegel* to publications of the ostensibly Trotskyist United Secretariat. Meanwhile, *New York Times* columnist Flora Lewis (whose articles often seem to reflect the views of the CIA) praises Kuron as "a responsible man, a moderate and a patriot." Is this the "new coalition" which sophisticated Western fomenters of counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc degenerated/deformed workers states have been looking for as their "captive nations" relics fade into oblivion? Or does it portend a movement for "socialist democracy," as some on the left would have us believe?

Certainly *none* of the prominent dissident groups and personalities has a good word to say about socialism, which is identified with the perversion of proletarian rule represented by the present Stalinist bureaucracy. The dissidents' role as a conduit to the capitalist media is nothing new—Sakharov has been at it for years in the Soviet Union. Nor are appeals to the imperialists via the UN, the Helsinki Agreements, etc. What is particularly ominous about the Polish dissidents, who range from social democrats to openly Pilsudskiite reactionary nationalists, is their active (and largely successful) effort to form an alliance with the Catholic hierarchy. For it is the church together with the land-holding peasantry which form the social basis for counterrevolution in Poland.

KSS-KOR: Social Democrats for Popery

The best-publicized Polish dissident group in the West is the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KSS), better known by its original name Workers Defense Committee (KOR). The lead-

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Poland...

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authority of the church, is conditioned by the purging of Jews, a traditionally socialist and internationalist cultural elite in East Europe.

Blood on the Baltic and Gierek's Maneuver

In 1970 the Gomulka regime decided to raise the agricultural procurement price in order to stimulate greater production from the peasants. A few weeks before Christmas—an unbelievably stupid piece of timing—the government announced food prices would be increased on the average 30 percent. The Baltic ports ignited. Led by the shipbuilders, thousands of workers, some singing the Internationale, attacked police and tried to burn down Party headquarters in Gdansk and Szczecin. Over the objections of the top generals, Gomulka ordered the army in, tanks and all. More than a hundred workers were reportedly killed, many times that number wounded. Once again Poland was seconds away from a revolutionary explosion.

And once again the bureaucracy presented to the workers a new face and a new deal. Edward Gierek, an ex-coal miner and party boss of the mining region of Silesia, had a reputation as unpretentious, pragmatic and competent. It is commonly believed that as soon as Gierek replaced Gomulka, he rescinded the price increase and the strikes ended. In fact, he did not and the strikes continued. While offering considerable economic concessions, Gierek insisted that returning to the old 1966 price level was impossible. He spent the first two months in power running from one strike committee to another trying to sell them this economic program. But the workers were not buying it. In mid-February a strike of largely women textile workers in Lodz finally caused the new regime to give up; it agreed to freeze prices at the 1966 level.

In the course of his negotiations with the strike committees in early 1971, Gierek was forced to defend his role as head of a workers state and justify his policies as being in the specific interests of the working class. In turn, the strike committee delegates addressed Gierek not as the representative of a hostile, exploitative class but as a labor leader (pnssibly an untrustworthy bureaucrat) who was supposed to serve the workers' interests and do his best to meet their demands. The extraordinary *nine-hour* session in January 1971 between Gierek and the strike committee at the Warski shipyards in Szczecin is a dramatic empirical refutation of all "new class" theories of the Sino-Soviet states. Interestingly, the present director of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk was a member of the strike committee which bargained with Gierek in 1970.

Whereas in 1956 Gomulka had promised the workers democratization, in 1971 Gierek promised them prosperity. Judge me by the meat on your table, he told them. He promised huge wage increases for the workers, higher procurement prices and state pensions for the peasants plus the rapid modernization of Polish industry. And how was this economic miracle (the term was actually used in official propaganda) to be achieved? Through massive loans from the West and also the Soviet Union. The Polish Stalinist burcaucracy rode out the crisis of 1970-71, but only by mortgaging the country to West German bankers.

For the militant Baltic shipbuilders the new regime's promise of an economic miracle was not enough. Gierek had to concede an independent workers committee arising out of the strike committee, and free elections to the official trade union. In a year or so the bureaucracy regained control in part through firing some committee leaders and coopting others, but mainly because the exceptional increases in real wages (running about 8 percent a year) quieted worker discontent and activism. A leader of the Szczecin workers committee, Edmund Baluka, now in exile, described the process in a 1977 interview:

> "But, of course, Gierek did an about turn, and partly by bettering the material situation of the workers—and in the process massively indebting Poland to the West and the Soviet Union—the Party managed to rebuild its ranks and regain control.
> "The rises in living standards gave the workers a false sense of security, but in the first 2 or 3 years of Gierek's rule people thought that things in Poland were really changing for the better."
> —*Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, May-June 1977

Gierek Runs Out of Economic Miracles

Gierek's economists projected transforming Poland into something like an East European Japan. They maintained that the rapid modernization of the country's industrial plant would enable Poland to flood world markets with cheap, quality goods and so repay the loans when they fell due. Whatever slim chance this economic maneuver had of working was dashed by the 1974-75 world depression. At a deeper level, Gierek's economic gamble failed because the Stalinist regime is incapable of mobilizing the enthusiasm and sense of sacrifice of the Polish working people. This incompetence is endemic in a bureaucracy, more due to lack of an effective corrective feedback than to material privilege.

Between 1970 and 1975 the value of Poland's imports from the West increased an incredible 40 percent a year (*East European Economics*, Fall 1979)! Exports could not possibly keep pace. By 1976 imports were twice exports, total foreign debt three times exports and debt service absorbed 25 percent of hard currency earnings (U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *East European Economics Post-Helsinki* [1977]). Moreover, things were bound to get worse as Poland's large loans came due in the late 1970s.

Gierek's Poland was heading toward the honor of being the first Communist country to declare international bankruptcy. In late 1975 the regime simultaneously tried to brake the economy and steer it into a U-turn. Wage increases were to be scaled back, new major investment projects practically frozen. The massive balance-of-payments deficit was to be reversed. The decision to raise food prices an average 60 percent in June 1976 was in part designed to spur agricultural production, but mainly to soak up domestic purchasing power, allowing more to be exported. Superficially June 1976 appeared to be a replay of 1970-71. The regime announced food price increases, the workers reacted with mass strikes and protests, the regime rescinded the increases. Yet the differences are perhaps more important than the similarities.

Six years earlier the regime stood up to a two-month strike wave before relenting. Now Gierek canceled the price increase within 24 hours, at the first sign of worker resistance. In December 1970 Gomulka had ordered a massacre. In 1976 Gierek forbade the use of firearms, and serious violence was limited to the mammoth Ursus tractor factory near Warsaw and the small industrial city of Radom. The Radom workers were driven into a fury when, on seizing the Party headquarters, they discovered a cache of top-quality ham and other luxury goods unavailable on the domestic market. By late 1977 all the workers imprisoned for participating in the June events were amnestied and most of those fired were reinstated.

The church played a clever double game. It supported the price increase, which benefited its peasant base and gave it a bargaining counter with the regime. At the same time Cardinal Wyszynski called for amnesty for the imprisoned workers, a universally popular demand.

The June events were a devastating and lasting blow to the moral authority of the regime. Gierek's earlier promises of unparalleled prosperity were thrown back in his face. The popular attitude was caught in the line: "The party decided to stuff the people's mouth with sausage so they would not talk back, and now there is no sausage." The government inspired neither fear nor respect. Corruption, black-marketeering and worker apathy became common, even normal. In a 1977 open letter to Gierek, a former head of state and PUWP general secretary Edward Ochab wrote:

> "The conviction is spreading amongst the people that one achieves nothing through honesty: the tendency to corruption, cliquism and the dishonest earning of money increases constantly."
> —*Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, March-April 1978

Der Spiegel

Edward Gierek

The government promised to leave the people alone; in return, it asked only that the people leave it alone. But the world economy wouldn't leave Poland alone.

For Workers Control of Production!

Although the government promised to freeze food prices, it couldn't meet market demand at those prices, especially since money wages continued to rise. Raising the procurement price for the peasantry didn't encourage nearly enough additional output. And the government food subsidy—the difference between the price paid to the peasant and paid by the urban consumer—has been an enormous and increasing drain on the entire economy. In the past ten years the cost of food subsidies has multiplied *twenty* times (*Economist*, 12 January 1980)!

The regime tried to get around the problem through an elaborate system of different classes of retail stores. The better class the shop, the higher the prices, the more likely the goods would actually be on the shelves. At the top of the line were the Pewex shops which sold luxury items for Western currency only.

Politically prevented from raising prices in line with market demand, the regime resorted to rationing by waiting line. And the waiting lines kept getting longer, especially after last year's bad harvest (in part caused by peasant strikes). Things have now reached such a pass it's reported even the Pewex shops have empty shelves. A typical Polish family spends a good part of its free time hunting for food and other consumer goods.

The present large wage increases now being granted will lead either to wild inflation or even longer waiting lines. And Polish workers know this. One of the Baltic strike committee's demands is the temporary rationing of meat to replace the present system of multiple prices and the maddening resort to ever-longer waiting lines. If Polish workers still strike for higher pay, it's because they have no control over economic

Mosander

Inter-Factory Strike Committee Meets at Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk: Liberation of Polish workers lies in Leninism, not clerical-nationalist reaction.

policy and would suffer inflation and shortages in any case.

The social democrats of the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) are opposing the present large wage hikes on the grounds that it will simply fuel the inflationary spiral. Kuron, Michnik & Co., very full of themselves, are in effect offering the Stalinist regime the following deal (which, of course, they can't deliver on): You give us "free trade unions," an end to censorship, etc.; in return, we will convince the workers to accept a few years of austerity. In an article in a current *Der Spiegel* (18 August) Michnik appeals to Gierek's noted pragmatism: "...whether he [Gierek] understands that a dialogue with the people is indispensable to carry through necessary, but unpopular, economic reforms cannot today be answered."

But the Polish workers must not pay for the gross mismanagement of Gierek's regime. Nor should they have the slightest confidence in the bureaucracy's "economic reforms." Egalitarian and rational socialist planning, capable of overcoming the mess the Stalinists have made of the Polish economy, is possible only under a government based on democratically elected workers councils (soviets). As a revolutionary, transitional step toward that, Polish workers must struggle against the bureaucracy for control over production, prices, distribution and foreign trade.

The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy's economic mismanagement is today glaring. Nonetheless, the *historical superiority* of collectivized property and centralized economic planning, even when saddled with a parasitic bureaucracy, remains indisputable. Any Polish worker who takes Radio Free Europe as good coin and thinks he would be better off under "free enterprise" capitalism should consider these few statistics: between 1950 and 1976 the advanced capitalist economies grew at an average annual rate of 4.4 percent, the backward capitalist economies at 5 percent and the centrally planned East European economies at *7.7 percent* (*Scientific American*, September 1980).

The Poles have contradictory economic aspirations. There is an overwhelming demand to abolish the special shops—an egalitarian socialist measure. Yet all those who get dollars from relatives in America would like to spend them on luxury goods imported from the West. For strike leaders who yearn for capitalism, we suggest a long vacation in Liverpool where they won't have to stand in line to buy anything. Of course, they will have a little difficulty finding a job, and even if they do their pay will be so low that they will have to cut back on their meat consumption. (The dissidents ought to be sent to Afghanistan where they can find out what Carter's "human rights" are all about by seeing what happens to them if they try to teach young girls to read and write.)

Break the Imperialist Economic Stranglehold!

In 1978 over 50 percent of Poland's hard currency earnings were absorbed by debt service, in 1979 over 60 percent and today over 90 percent! Early last year Poland avoided becoming the world's biggest bankrupt only by a major rescheduling of its debts. But Poland's Western bankers are, in an opposite way, just as fed up with Gierek's economic mismanagement as Poland's workers. They demanded and got the right to monitor all aspects of economic policy and to have their recommendations taken very seriously—an unprecedented step for a deformed workers state. As an economist for Bankers Trust commented at the time: "This marks the first time a Communist government has embraced austerity—a purposeful cut in its planned rate of growth—for balance-of-payments reasons" (*New York Times*, 26 January 1979). This is the same kind of program the International Monetary Fund normally imposes on neo-colonial bankrupts like Turkey, Zaïre and Peru.

But then Gierek's Poland has become a West German client state economically, supplying it with substantial quantities of raw materials. This was noted by the *New York Times* (20 August) during the present crisis:

> "West German banks, which have played an important role in providing Poland with credits, have pointed out that its deposits of coal, copper, silver, platinum and vanadium make it an intrinsically more promising client than either Hungary or Czechoslovakia."

One West German banker is now proposing that any new loans to Poland be secured by specific mines and factories.

Following the 1956 Polish crisis and Hungarian revolution Shane Mage, a founding leader of the Spartacist tendency (who has since abandoned Marxism), produced a theoretical consideration of the ways in which capitalism might be restored in East Europe. Should a petty-bourgeois clericalist party come to power in a "democratic revolution," he posited, it could restore capitalism by eliminating the state monopoly of foreign trade and reintegrating the country into the world economy without significant denationalization of the existing industrial plant:

> "Another decisive aspect of the return to capitalism under petty-bourgeois democratic leadership would be the ties of Poland and Hungary with the capitalist world market....
>
> "And what would become of the nationalized industries? Their fate would serve the interests of the peasants and petty-bourgeoisie and the needs for trade with the Western capitalists. Hungary and Poland can be capitalist without denationalizing a single large industrial plant; all that is necessary is to convert the industry...into an appendage of the peasant economy and the world market."
>
> —Shane Mage, *The Hungarian Revolution* (1959)

To a considerable degree Poland has become an appendage of the world capitalist economy not, as Mage projected, under a petty-bourgeois "democratic" party, but under a shaky Stalinist bureaucracy which tried to buy off a combative working class and a backward, smallholding peasantry by mortgaging the country's wealth to the imperialists.

Thus, the response of the world, especially West German, bourgeoisie to the Polish crisis is divided between short-term financial interests and a historic appetite to overturn proletarian state power in the Soviet bloc. Most German bankers want Gierek to win the best terms he can get. After all, they've been pushing him for years to do away with the food subsidy and impose other austerity measures. But the right-winger Franz-Josef Strauss called for a moratorium on loans to Poland to blackmail the regime into granting *all* the strike committee's demands.

One cannot, however, consider Poland's relations with Western capitalism without taking the Soviet Union very much into account. To do so is truly to play *Hamlet* without the Danish prince. The experiences of 1970 and 1976 convinced the Kremlin that if the Polish masses were pushed too hard to pay the foreign debts, there would be a popular explosion which, whatever way it went, could only hurt them. So the Russians are paying a good part of Poland's debt both directly and by shipping the Warsaw regime agricultural produce. In one sense Poland has become the intermediary through which Western finance capital sucks surplus out of the Soviet workers and peasants (whose living standards are substantially lower than those of the Poles). If Polish workers don't appreciate this, Western bankers are very much aware of the fact. That house organ of the international financial community, the London *Economist* (9 August), writes in the current crisis:

> "In past Polish crises the Soviet Union has stepped in with cash and emergency grain sales. But the Poles may be wearing out their welcome on begging-bowl trips to Moscow. The Soviet Union has already lent Poland $1 billion this spring to meet pressing debt-service requirements."

One international banker, who chose to remain anonymous, remarked that Soviet military intervention would enhance Poland's creditworthiness (*New York Times*, 31 August)!

A key task facing the Polish proletariat is to break the imperialist economic stranglehold. The Baltic strike committee is demanding "a full supply of food products for the domestic market, with exports limited to surpluses." (It is not, however, demanding limitations on imports.) Economic autarky is *not* what Poland needs. On the contrary, socialist economic planning should maximally utilize the international division of labor, exporting and importing as much as possible.

What a revolutionary workers government in Poland would do is *cancel the foreign debt*. Well, not quite. The workers might export comrade Edward Gierek to West Germany, where he can work off *his* obligations in some Ruhr coal mine. A very good idea, some Polish worker might say, but will the bankers of Frankfurt write off $20 billion with a shrug? What of imperialist retaliation, economic or military? Polish workers can counter such retaliation only by mobilizing the West European, centrally West German, working classes under the banner of a Socialist United States of Europe.

For the Revolutionary Unity of the Polish and Russian Workers!

All organized forces in Polish political life—the Stalinist bureaucracy, the church and all wings of the dissident movement—inculcate hostility to Russia as *the enemy* of the Polish people. The Gomulka and Gierek regimes continually threatened that any mass struggle, even purely economic strikes, would bring in the Soviet Red Army. "Our fraternal allies are concerned" is the stock phrase. And, of course, Pope Wojtyla's church and the dissident movement grouped around it have as their ultimate goal "national independence" (like under Pilsudski?), though they differ amongst themselves how to achieve this.

A hallmark for a revolutionary party in Poland is a positive orientation to the Russian working class (which incidentally pays no small share of Poland's debt to the West). And this is not simply a matter of abstract proletarian internationalism. It is a matter of life and death.

Illusions about the good will of the Western capitalist powers common in East Europe do not extend to the Soviet Union. Having lost 20 million in fighting Nazi Germany, the Soviet people understand that NATO's nuclear arsenal is targeted at them. This understanding is now heightened by Washington's open threats of a nuclear first strike. The Soviet masses also know that the imperialist powers' war against their country, hot and cold, began with the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. Russian working people see pro-Western "dissidents" like Sakharov for what they are—traitors to the socialist revolution.

If the Kremlin believes that the Soviet conscript army can be depended on to suppress any mass upheaval in Poland or Czechoslovakia, it is not simply out of mechanical discipline or Great Russian chauvinism. The Soviet people fear the transformation of East Europe into hostile, imperialist-allied states extending NATO to their own border.

WV Photo

Anti-communist demonstration in Chicago: What is a Polish anti-communist? One who during strikes against Communist regimes calls on U.S. to grant credit to Communist regime.

The Kremlin bureaucrats exploit this legitimate fear to crush popular unrest and democratic aspirations in East Europe, as in Czechoslovakia in 1968. There were numerous reports that Soviet soldiers were shaken when on occupying Prague they encountered not a bloody fascistic counterrevolution, as they had been told, but protests by Communist workers and left-wing students.

Revolutionary Polish workers cannot hope to appeal to Soviet soldiers unless they assure them that they will defend that part of the world against imperialist attack. A Polish workers government must be a military bastion against NATO. And a proletarian political revolution in Poland must extend itself to the Soviet Union or, one way or another, it will be crushed.

- For trade unions independent of bureaucratic control and based on a program of defending socialized property!
- For the strict separation of church and state! Fight clerical-nationalist reaction! Guard against capitalist restorationism!
- Promote the collectivization of agriculture!
- For workers control of production, prices, distribution and foreign trade!
- For proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy—For a government based on democratically elected workers councils (soviets)!
- Break the imperialist economic stranglehold—Cancel the foreign debt! Toward international socialist economic planning!
- For military defense of the USSR against imperialism! For the revolutionary unity of the Polish and Soviet working classes!
- For a Polish Trotskyist party, section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

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Dissidents...

(continued from page 7)

ing spokesman for KSS-KOR is Jacek Kuron, and its newsletter *Robotnik* includes among its correspondents Lech Walesa, the leader of the Interfactory Strike Committee centered on the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. The KOR was formed after the suppression of the June 1976 strikes at Radom and Ursus, and originally centered its activities on raising funds for and demanding release/ reinstatement of the hundreds of workers arrested and fired at that time. After a general amnesty a year later it became the KSS and concentrated on building ties to key factories through *Robotnik*. Most of the pseudo-Trotskyist left in the West has come out in support of the KSS-KOR in varying degrees.

Because of its name and origins and the reputation of Kuron, KOR is sometimes referred to by superficial observers as "Marxist in orientation." Social-democratic is a far more accurate description, and even that does not do justice to some of the anti-Marxist elements around it. Of the original 24 founders of KOR, six are former members of the pre-war Polish Socialist Party (PSP), among them the prominent economist Edward Lipinski. (*Robotnik* was the name of the PSP paper as well.) The list also includes a former chairman of the Christian Democratic Party, a delegate of the World War II London exile government, various activists from the 1968 student movement (among them historian Adam Michnik), left Catholic writers (such as former party member Jerzy Andrzejewski, author of *Ashes and Diamonds*), several veterans of the 1944 Warsaw uprising and Rev. Jan Zieja, "Polish Army Chaplain in the 1920 and 1939 campaigns"—i.e., a died-in-the-wool Pilsudskiite priest who twice fought the Red Army.

Jacek Kuron was first known in the West for co-authoring (with Karol Modzelewski) an "Open Letter to Communist Party Members" in 1964; for this he became a victim of bureaucratic repression, spending six years in jail. The United Secretariat opportunistically hailed the Kuron-Modzelewski text with its syndicalist program and fuzzy analysis (which called Poland a "bureaucratic state") as the "first revolutionary Marxist document" to come out of the post-war Soviet bloc. Since then, however, Kuron has moved far to the right, now posing the struggle in East Europe as one of "pluralism vs. totalitarianism." In his "Thoughts on an Action Program" Kuron supports peasant struggles for private property, claims "the Catholic movement is fighting to defend freedom of conscience and human dignity," and concludes with a call for the "Finlandization" of Poland:

> "We must strive for a status similar to Finland's: a parliamentary democracy with a limited independence in the field of foreign policy where it directly touches the interests of the USSR."

The Clerical Opposition

Marxism it ain't. But this social-democratic program for a peaceful restoration of capitalism represents the *left* wing of the dissident movement. The right wing is openly clerical-nationalist. There was a split in KOR in 1977 leading to the formation of ROPCIO, the Movement for the Defence of Human Rights. The latter is based on the founding declaration of the UN and the Helsinki accords and offers itself as an instrument to "cooperate with all international organizations which defend human rights...." Where KOR publishes *Robotnik*, ROPCIO puts out *Gospodarz* (The Peasant) and appeals to the Catholic rural population. And this is not the Catholicism of Vatican II, either. The *Economist* (9 September 1978) refers to this outfit as "the stronghold of more conservative, national and—with some of its members—traditional anti-semitic tendencies." To get ROPCIO's number, one only has to note that the first signer of its platform is General Borutz-Spiechowicz, the highest commanding officer of pre-World War II Poland, and that it distributes Pilsudski calendars.

ROPCIO, in turn, gave rise to an even more reactionary group, the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) whose stated goal is to "end Soviet domination by liquidating the power of the Polish United Workers Party." Then there comes the Polish League for Independence (PPN), a clandestine group, and remnants of the pre-war ultra-rightist, anti-Semitic, fascistic National Democratic Party. All of them, of course, cover themselves with rhetoric about "democracy." This gives rise to the Polish dissident joke: "Question: What's a Polish nationalist? Answer: Someone who wants to drive the Jews out of Poland even though they aren't there any more." More respectable than these would-be pogromists is the liberal Catholic ZNAK movement, which has several representatives in parliament. While ZNAK leaves clandestine bravado for the fringe groups, their aims are no less counterrevolutionary: they are merely waiting until an explosion when they will step in as the only mass-based opposition.

The Dissidents' Pope

The core of the clerical opposition, of course, is the Catholic hierarchy, a disciplined army extending from the village priest right up to the Vatican. Stalin's famous remark, "How many divisions does the pope have?" indicates military realism. But in Catholic Poland, probably the most religious European country today (even the men go to mass!), the church is a powerful political force. Unlike Hungary's Cardinal Myndszenty, who was discredited by cooperation with the Horthy dictatorship, the Polish pope (who brags he once was a worker) could be an effective rallying point for counterrevolution. A revealing article by the former editor of the CIA's house organ, *Problems of Communism*, Abraham Brumberg, makes this crystal clear:

> "The Catholic Church has been crucial in the growth of a political opposition in Poland. Had it not been for the support of the Church, even the new alliance between 'the intelligentsia, village, and workers' to which Kuron refers would probably have failed to survive the hatred of the authorities."
>
> —*New York Review of Books*, 8 February 1979

Brumberg points out that the original KOR demands for amnestying workers arrested and fired in the June 1976 strikes were almost identical to those of the episcopate. "Since then, the parallels between statements by the Church—and especially by Cardinal Wyszynski, whom Michnik strongly, if not uncritically, admires—and those of the opposition have become even more conspicuous." He points out that supporters of the ZNAK group have participated in the "flying university" circles sponsored by KOR, which in Krakow used churches for its classes with the permission of then-Archbishop Wojtyla. Michnik described the new pope as one of the two "co-founders of the anti-totalitarian policy of the Polish Episcopate" (*Der Spiegel*, 23 October 1978). Michnik, a Jew, is so enamored of the new, "enlightened" Catholic primate that he wrote of the pope's visit last year:

> "It will be a powerful demonstration of the bond between the Polish people and the world of Christian culture, a demonstration of their solidarity with the Catholic Church, and a demonstration of their yearning for freedom, the champion of which they see as being their fellow countryman John Paul II, the defender of human rights."

For Polish Trotskyism!

This paean to the standardbearer of capitalist restoration in Poland was printed without comment in *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* (July-August 1979), a joint publication of supporters of the USec and the "state-capitalist" British SWP of Tony Cliff. But these pseudo-Trotskyists are not satisfied with such a tepid brew. A subsequent issue of *Labour Focus* reprints an interview (by the French USec paper *Rouge*) with Leszek Moczulski, who was a member of the Moczar faction of the PUWP at the time it ran the 1968 anti-Semitic purge and now heads the KPN. The journal comments that Moczulski is more militantly anti-government than KOR, and hails the formation of his clerical-reactionary party as "an event almost without precedent in the history of Eastern Europe since the late 1940s"! Meanwhile, USec leader Ernest Mandel laments that the Stalinist bureaucracy in Poland has not "permitted a democratic and intense political life, including a legal Catholic party..." ([SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, October 1979).

This pandering to clerical reaction is a far cry from the revolutionary social democracy of a Rosa Luxemburg, who wrote in 1905:

> "The clergy, no less than the capitalist class, lives on the backs of the people, profits from the degradation, the ignorance and the oppression of the people. The clergy and the parasitic capitalists hate the organized working class, conscious of its rights, which fights for the conquest of its liberties."
>
> —"Socialism and the Churches"

In fact, in all the publications of the Polish dissidents which we have consulted, some hundreds of pages, there is *not one* reference to Luxemburg, Poland's greatest contribution to the Marxist movement. "Naturally," because she was a Jew and hardly a Polish nationalist. But neither is there a reference to other authentic Polish Communists, such as Julian Marchlewski, Leo Jogiches and Felix Dzerzhinsky. One of the greatest crimes of the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy is that it has discredited the name of communism among thinking workers.

The present crop of Polish dissidents are overwhelmingly *enemies* of the cause of proletarian socialism. They act as direct conduits to the church and the West. Today we do not see "dissident" Stalinists of the Titoist mold. On the contrary, the most left-wing are the East European equivalent of the "Eurocommunists." But where in the capitalist West this is but another variety of reformism, more closely tied to its "own" bourgeoisie, in the Soviet bloc countries passing from Stalinist to Eurocommunist means joining the camp of counterrevolution. Authentic Trotskyism stands not for the bogus "unity of all anti-Stalinist forces"—including disciples of Wojtyla and Brzezinski—but for a class-conscious communist opposition to the parasitic bureaucracy. And those would-be leftists who today follow the Kurons and Michniks should realize that if they are successful in bringing off a national revolt together with the clerical reactionaries, Gierek & Co. will be the first to go, *but they will be next*. ■

Phone Strike...

(continued from page 12)

meaning given the CWA's other "victories."

Having isolated the locals, sections of the bureaucracy decided a week later to have *another* Saturday night strike to settle so-called "local issues" such as job security. (With hundreds of thousands of jobs being downgraded or eliminated by automation, the reduction of job security to a "local issue" was a set-up for defeat.) At midnight on August 16-17, some 33,000 CWAers in the New York area and 70,000 on the West Coast went on strike over "local issues." In New York, workers at some locations enthusiastically set up picket lines, but the memory of 1971 was strong. (In 1971, Local 1101 fought an isolated seven-month strike and lost.) Within 30 hours the workers were sent back to work again for an undisclosed local settlement.

In California, the story was similar: tape-recorded strike calls, poorly organized picket lines which were quickly taken down and key issues such as job security shunted into "local issues." The final local contract contains nothing about job security, and on other issues simply gives in openly to the company—e.g., the company reserves the right to return management people to the bargaining unit in any job; seniority for upgrade/transfer purposes applies only to those deemed "qualified" by the company, etc. One example captures the union's capitulation: in northern California, about 100 central office analysts, a top craft category, now make about $100 per week *less* because the company instituted downgrades and the CWA failed to fight it. The official posture against the national contract taken by some local leaderships in the current mail balloting, such as Jim Imerzel & Co. in San Francisco's Local 9410, is just a "left" smokescreen to cover their sabotage of an effective strike.

It was, in short, a deliberately botched struggle. And the sub-reformists like the "Bell Wringer" group in New York raised not a peep of protest against the bureaucratic sabotage. It could not be clearer that the incumbent CWA leadership is a bunch of traitors who must be dumped. A good beginning would be a massive "no" vote in the mail ballot on the contract. But more deeply, it is the political tie between the bureaucrats and the bosses' parties which paralyzes the CWA and the rest of the American union movement. As the Militant Action Caucus noted, "More than ever, labor needs its own political party, a workers party, to win a fight against these attacks." ■

Sitdown...

(continued from page 3)

Oshawa, told Houdaille workers that he would "support them to the end of this." Broadbent's prescription, however, turned out to be the poison of protectionism as he declared, "Trudeau and [Ontario premier] Davis have a responsibility to act in the interests of Canadian workers just as the American and Japanese governments act in the interests of their workers"!

Here Broadbent is merely following in the footsteps of Fraser, whose only answer to auto layoffs is to "demand" fewer Toyotas and more millions in tax dollars for the Chrysler bosses. Import quotas mean inflation, unemployment and ultimately war. Canadian nationalism or any other kind of nationalism cannot save workers' jobs. Neither will the bureaucrats' schemes for government intervention. Even if implemented, such gimmicks would be paid for by the workers through wage controls, layoffs and speed-up. The Houdaille workers' plant occupation, in contrast, suggests a strategy for auto workers to wage a real fight for jobs.

It took the Flint sit-down strike of 1937 to establish the United Auto Workers (followed up by a 15-day strike against GM in Oshawa which launched the CIO in Canada). Today from Oakville to Mahwah to Detroit, UAW militants have fought for sitdowns and an industry-wide strike against mass layoffs and plant closures. This call, supported by the Trotskyist League of Canada and the Spartacist League/U.S., says that it is possible to fight against the boom-bust capitalist system and its never-ending cycle of speed-up and layoffs. But for that you need a new, combative leadership of the labor movement—not the belly-crawling class collaboration of the Frasers, Broadbents and Bob Whites, but some old-fashioned get-off-your-knees class struggle. ■

Fake Left Turns Against Unions:

S.F. Hotel Workers: "They Sold Us Like Pigs"

SAN FRANCISCO—"We were sold out! They sold us like pigs, like chickens, like goats!" said Natalia, who was one bitter hotel maid on August 12. This was the day International and Local 2 officials of the Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union forced strikers to vote on a settlement sight unseen, negotiated behind the backs of the Local's elected negotiating committee. Numerous union members denounced it as the same package originally rejected when they went out on strike 27 days earlier. The terms are especially insulting to the mostly immigrant maids whose fight for decent treatment and reduced workload became the symbol for the strike.

The hotel workers were told the agreement included "amnesty" against reprisals, including dropping charges against arrested strikers, and retroactive 7 to 13 percent pay and benefit increases, but within a day of the ratification vote, the Hotel Employers Association (HEA) reneged on both. Employer spokesman Douglas Cornford barred Local 2 members from returning to work unless they resigned from the union and threatened to replace them permanently with scabs on the technical grounds that the agreement had not yet actually been signed.

As Local 2 laid plans to set up picket lines at the hotels once again, it became apparent that the bosses had repudiated the two promises of amnesty and retroactivity because the union's International president Edward Hanley, architect of the deal, had failed to "get it in writing" and instead left it up to the good faith of the hotel owners! Hotel workers are now paying the price for this criminally misplaced faith. Strike activists have been laid off by the dozens since the end of the strike.

Final settlement was further delayed because union president Hanley and hotel spokesman Cornford as well as mayor Dianne Feinstein had left for New York City where they were all delegates to the Democratic Party Convention!! In an unheard-of move to stop the picket lines from going up, Hanley promised that the International union itself would pick up the $250,000 tab for retroactive pay!

Disastrously for the union, the hotels were able to stay open for business throughout the strike, and by August the scabbing particularly by other unions was reaching a decisive point. Nevertheless, the settlement also coincided with the hotels' loss of a convention of 10,000 to another city and the threatened loss of a second one due to the strike. These conventions almost certainly make the difference between profit and loss to the hotels. If the HEA was hardlining it, they were also paying through the nose to do so. For the hotel workers, their first strike in 40 years ended in a sellout, but judging from their demonstrated willingness to strike again rather than give up their union, they have not been definitively beaten down. No one who witnessed these hotel workers on the picket lines can doubt their willingness to fight—they only lack a leadership willing to lead that fight.

By their own reckoning the assorted leftists in Local 2 constituted a majority of the elected rank-and-file negotiating committee and were much in evidence as picket captains during the strike. Mainly assorted Maoists with some Shachtmanites and other types thrown in, these fake-radicals were completely con-

WV Photo

founded by the prospect of actually having to lead some class struggle—so they didn't.

Two years ago every one of them supported the MacDonald/Lamb "reform" slate which caved in or was coopted to the International as soon as the polls closed. When the International put the Local under trusteeship, they all supported suing the union in the bosses' courts to lift the trusteeship. In the middle of this strike, the majority-radical negotiating committee voted for the infamous back-to-work arbitration scheme of Dianne Feinstein! And in the end, when despairing hotel workers voted to end their misled strike, a dozen from the same negotiating committee mounted an attempt to sue the union to prevent the agreement from going into effect. The common assumption underlying each of these cynical anti-union acts is that workers can't be mobilized in a successful fight against the bosses, so it is necessary to turn to other forces (either the union bureaucracy's "lesser evil" wing or the bosses' government).

Two small groups lacking influence on the negotiating committee carried their reformist logic out to its anti-union end. At an August 8 labor support meeting, the lone supporter of the Socialist League, which is politically supported by the British Workers Socialist League of scab Alan Thornett, proposed picketing his own Local 39 of the Stationary Engineers union for scabbing on the hotel strike. This was deliberately counterposed to proposals from supporters of the Spartacist League for effective *mass labor pickets* prepared to *stop* all scabs at the scene of the crime, on those picket lines.

Meanwhile, the Communist Workers Party-supported caucus, the United Hotel and Restaurant Workers, whose very name denotes dual unionism, proposed instead to picket the union hall of the scabbing Teamsters Local 856 under the slogan, "The most treacherous scab is a union scab!" In short, having seen the MacDonald/Lamb "reform" slate fail utterly in Local 2, the "left" opportunists are now turning against the unions themselves!

There are valuable lessons to be learned even in the defeat of this strike—primarily that there is no shortcut around the necessary task of building a new class-struggle leadership in this union to defeat and replace the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats. By their determination and hard-fought strike, SF hotel workers have proved they deserve no less. ■

L.A. Cop Terror...

(continued from page 12)

government to come into the case, after things cooled down they simply dropped the case claiming there was no "specific intent to deprive Mrs. Love of her federally protected civil rights."

In the wake of the recent Miami ghetto upheaval there's been a lot of handwringing in the L.A. press over the possibilities of another Watts, a decade and a half later. With such blatant examples of racist injustice in the courts and cop terror on the streets, no wonder they're worried.

Various liberal and black groups, such as the Watts Labor Community Action Committee, the Campaign for a Citizens Police Review Board and a number of clergymen are seeking to channel black outrage into a campaign for removal of L.A. chief of police Daryl Gates and establishment of a civilian police review board. This same call is echoed by the reformist Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party. This is only one more in a series of bogus schemes to "reform" the capitalist police, like earlier gimmicks such as "community control" of the police or hiring more black cops. But more black faces do not change the nature of the racist-capitalist state: one of the cops that gunned down Eulia Love was black, as is Mayor Bradley, a former LAPD lieutenant. And a police review board will be utterly powerless: the cops will undoubtedly respond as they did in 1976 when the Police Department shredded all their files of civilian complaints against the cops. As for the bourgeois courts, the cops in the Tatum case were the first to be indicted in Los Angeles *in 28 years* and they got off scot-free!

For all the reformists' touching faith in the bosses' government to control the LAPD, the cops know better—they will continue to shoot at "shiny objects," "hands reaching for back pockets," at "bulges," at the Eulia Loves and Cornelius Tatums. With their SWAT teams, CRASH squads and helicopter gunships the Los Angeles police are the closest thing in the U.S. to the militarized national police of southern Europe and Latin America. They kill so often because they are trained to. The bourgeoisie certainly would like to avoid another Watts ghetto explosion and occasionally worries that LAPD bonapartism is getting out of hand. But the cops' job is not to protect the citizenry; all the cops in the LAPD couldn't even catch the Hillside strangler—it took a small-town sheriff in Washington to do that.

Rather, the cops exist to keep labor and minorities down, to act as the armed fist of the capitalist state against the exploited and oppressed. The LAPD's notorious brutality is directly related to the fact that Los Angeles is the largest open-shop industrial center in the country. L.A. is a transplanted Southern city. A strong, militant labor movement and such a paramilitary police force could not exist together for long in the same town. And Los Angeles labor must take the lead in mobilizing Chicanos and blacks to demand that the cops be disarmed and to defend the people's right to self defense. But while conditions in Los Angeles may be more extreme, cop brutality is an every-day occurrence in all American big cities. To put an end to these crimes, to try the killer cops by a jury *of their victims*, will take a working-class revolution fighting in the cause of all the oppressed. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

The Great Weekend Phone Strike Sellout

As Jimmy Carter was preparing for the Democratic convention in New York City, the contract for 525,000 phone workers represented by the Communications Workers of America (CWA) expired August 9. This opened the possibility of a direct confrontation between the workers and the Democratic Party. After all, it was CWAers who were given the task of installing communications equipment at Madison Square Garden, where Carter, Mondale, Kennedy and their ilk would hash out plans for more Democratic wage freezes, social service cuts, unemployment, etc. Before the contract expired the CWA membership had voted 6 to 1 to authorize a strike. Now was a time when phone workers had some clout, and indeed CWA pickets did appear briefly at the convention area—but only a few dozen, on a Sunday, for an hour and a half, at the back door entrance!

You see, CWA president Glenn Watts is a member of the Democratic National Committee, and Watts is so concerned about his career in the bosses' party that he does not want a strike in this election year, or any year for that matter. As the West Coast-based Militant Action Caucus (MAC) had warned in a leaflet of July 16:

> "Instead of planning a strike, Watts told the [CWA] convention that CWA's main job this year is getting Jimmy ('Mr. Wage Freeze') Carter reelected. A strike would be a political hot potato for Carter, who already told CWA (in 1977) that he would issue a Taft-Hartley injunction against a national phone strike...."

WV Photo

Enthusiastic CWA pickets confront Ma Bell's security man in New York, August 16-17.

The workers are now paying for Watts' class treason with their very jobs.

The few strikes which did occur on August 9-10 when the contract expired were clearly designed to fail by the union bureaucracy. There was a criminal lack of strike preparations—unionists in the New York area discovered that just about their only source of information about the starting and ending of the strike was the local union telephone tape recording! (At the sound of the beep, you are on strike.) The key New York Local 1101 had a brief walkout but went back 16 hours later because, according to executive vice president Joe Connolly, "We made our point"! With a local walkout on a Saturday night, when skeleton crews are in the buildings, it was a very small point indeed. When *WV* called Local 1150 (Long Lines) leader Gary Whaley to find out what picket lines, demonstrations or marches would mark the start of the strike, he responded, "Beats the hell out of me!" With leadership like this, the August 9-10 walkout was practically invisible.

The national contract was announced "settled" by the news media, while the workers were left in the dark about the "settlement," and the only hard information came from a company bulletin. The so-called wage settlement was a cruel joke: the vast majority of workers will receive even less than the insulting paper deal of "up to" 10.2 percent the first year, and "up to" 3 percent in the second and third years. The lowest-paid category will get no raise at all, and pensioners will get no increase until a year from now. The *New York Times* asserted that "the national contract guaranteed that no individual with 15 years experience would be downgraded in any way," but many workers already know this is a bald lie.

Bob Barbarelli, vice president of Local 1101, in an interview with *WV*, called the ending of the Saturday night walkout of August 9-10 an act of "good faith" (blind faith, we would say). He even had the gall to be proud of getting a *pay cut* for at least one craft category—the loop testers, whose job is being displaced by clerical workers in a lower pay scale using computerized equipment. Barbarelli noted, "We were able to get this morning 85 percent" of their old pay scale! What Watts, Barbarelli & Co. were really interested in was preserving *their own* jobs by winning a "successorship clause," so that any new companies created by Ma Bell because of recent FCC anti-trust rulings will be "represented" by the CWA. While this is an elementary demand, it is robbed of

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Protest Racist L.A. Cop Terror!

LOS ANGELES—On August 12 two L.A. cops were acquitted of all charges in the shooting of Cornelius Tatum early last year. On 27 January 1979 Tatum had armed himself with a shotgun for his first night of work at a gas station in south-central Los Angeles. But as he was serving customers, six LAPD cops in the area, members of a "Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums" (CRASH) unit, all in civilian clothes and unmarked cars, suddenly pulled into the station. Without saying a word, according to Tatum and two eyewitnesses, the police fired 11 shots into the cashier's booth, leaving Cornelius Tatum paralyzed for life. The cops said they thought the 42-year-old black man was robbing the station.

It was the first time in eight years that criminal charges had been filed against *any* member of the Los Angeles Police Department. But besides acquitting the two cops, the jury split and a mistrial was declared in the case of the third, Norman Nelson, with three of the four black jurors voting guilty. Days afterward it was revealed that CRASH cop Nelson had in the same three-week period of January 1979 been involved in three separate shootings with no disciplinary action taken (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 August). He is also the target of a $10 million lawsuit by a young woman who says she was picked up, blindfolded, held captive and raped by Nelson and three of his buddies in November 1978!

Despite the outrageous acquittal, the jurors, who complained about sloppiness in the prosecution's case and were prevented from visiting the scene of the crime, issued a unanimous statement expressing "grave concern" over the action of the police. The LAPD, which "protected" its trigger-happy thugs with a brutal flying wedge throughout the trial, cynically responded by requesting "advice" from the jury on how to improve training! Subsequently, District Attorney John Van de Kamp has decided to drop Nelson's case entirely, letting all three of the would-be killer cops go free.

So notorious is the Los Angeles police force that even a government-financed official study recently stated that a citizen "acts at his or her peril in a confrontation with [the LAPD]," (*Los Angeles Times*, 24 June). This was the conclusion of a 15-page report authorized by the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, made public only after the *Times* won access to it through a Freedom of Information Act request. Concern was heightened in the bourgeois press when it was revealed that the LAPD (which has always bugged leftists and black groups) had for years maintained a spy in the city council. But their main target is blacks and Chicanos. Recent statistics compiled by the liberal *Los Angeles Reader* show that of 71 people killed by L.A. cops since August 1977, 37, or more than half, were black.

The acquittal of the cops in the Tatum case was one more attack on the seething minority population of the Watts ghetto. Black anger flared again after the DA responded to sentiment for a retrial of Nelson, saying, "I am not going to be swayed by cheap politics." The murderers of Eulia Love, the black woman whose cold-blooded shooting by the cops last year enraged the black community, got off too (see "Cops Shoot Eulia Love, Go Free—Jail LAPD Killers," *WV* No. 232, 25 May 1979). Although the uproar over the broad-daylight police killing of a housewife over a gas bill forced the federal

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The Illustrated London News

Watts 1965.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 264 19 September 1980

Madder Than MAD: Pentagon Targets Soviet Leaders

Carter/Reagan Nuclear War Fever

On the eve of the Democratic convention last month word was "leaked" that President Carter had formally adopted nuclear war plans long advocated by military hardliners, previously known as "counterforce strategy." Presidential Directives 58 and 59 envisage fighting a "prolonged but limited nuclear war," aim at knocking out the entire Soviet strategic missile force and train the cross hairs on the political and military leaders of the USSR (*New York Times*, 6 August). This was followed up by further "revelations": that the U.S. had developed an "invisible" plane to foil Russian radar, new "uncannily accurate" missiles known as "fire-and-forget" weapons, and in the future laser-armed "battlestars" to orbit the earth incinerating the Soviets.

Long gone are the days of "fail-safe" when we were assured that only a madman could unleash a nuclear war. Now we have two madmen running for commander in chief of the deadliest imperialist power in history, each trying to outdo the other in threatening atomic holocaust. Beyond the obvious electoral fallout—stealing the Republicans' thunder on the right—Carter's new directives spell out what has been implicit in the U.S.' rearmament drive since its ignominious defeat in Vietnam. America's rulers seek to return to the days following World War II when they could throw their weight around with nuclear blackmail. Their now-stated goal is to achieve a first-strike capacity. Way beyond thinking the unthinkable, they're planning it.

Katz/Black Star

UPI

Der Spiegel

U.S. imperialism's mega-death aimed at Soviet Union.

A dangerous war atmosphere is building in the Pentagon, the White House and on the campaign trails. Not since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis has there been such open and official talk from Washington about winning a "controlled" atomic war—now euphemistically called a "nuclear event." Soviet Communist Party leader Brezhnev responded that the purpose of the U.S. directive was to "make the idea of nuclear war sort of acceptable to public opinion," and *Pravda* warned that it meant turning West Europe into a "radioactive desert." Coming from the intended targets of Washington's Minuteman murder threats, this is rather mild. As *New York Times* columnist Flora Lewis noted, "Moscow could feel it had reason to fear a U.S. first strike and decide to launch in anticipation of such a strike."

It wasn't just the Russians who were complaining about government by "authorized leak." Carter's weepy Secretary of State Muskie moaned that he had not been consulted about the major nuclear policy statement developed by his nemesis in the White House basement, Zbigniew Brzezinski. Nor, for that matter, were "the allies." And Henry Kissinger, himself a former "high Administration source" under Ford and Nixon, backed Reagan's complaint that leaking information about the "invisible plane" was politically motivated and had "breached one of this nation's most closely held military secrets." (Some "secret"! A special 16 June issue of *Aviation Week* on "Modernizing Strategic Forces" reported and even printed drawings of "Boeing strategic penetrator aircraft concept designed for stealth operations....")

Waving their ten-gallon hats like Slim Pickens riding an H-bomb to glory in *Dr. Strangelove*, the U.S. presidential contenders are calling each other out as the fastest nuclear triggers in the West. Carter's cold war drive against the Soviet Union has created the climate for ominous atomic bravado from Reagan. The Republicans argue with Orwellian "war is peace" logic that the Democrats' arms build-up, which projects spending $1 trillion in the next five years, is "disarmament." The GOP platform assails as "not credible" the nuclear strategy limited to "threatening mass extinction of civilians." Candidate Carter answers with PD 59: see, we're already going after Soviet military targets. Reagan hails the genocidal Vietnam War as "a noble cause"; the Democrats run TV campaign commercials like something out of *The Big Picture*: jets, rockets, napalm aflame and ending up, "Jimmy Carter, A Military Man, A Man of Peace."

The new wave of high-technology imperialist militarism is already reflected in popular culture. Millions groove on *Star Wars* and *The Empire Strikes Back* with their contest between the

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Poland and the Left...6

KKK Terrorists Invade Connecticut

Labor, blacks must stamp out hooded cross-burners.

The Ku Klux Klan invaded Connecticut with the protection of state police to hold a cross-burning on September 14 in the township of Scotland. Two hundred state troopers, including a police team armed with automatic weapons and dogs, defended "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson's "Invisible Empire" as they held their racist, terror-inspiring cross-burning. Almost 500 anti-Klan protesters, inspired by Progressive Labor's Committee Against Racism, skirmished ineffectually with KKKers along the narrow road leading to the cross-burning site. Reportedly six anti-Klan demonstrators (at least) were arrested.

The Louisiana-based "Imperial Wizard" was in Connecticut to anoint his Connecticut lieutenant, "Gary Peterson" (a/k/a Gary Piscottano) of New Britain. Local news media made much of the fact that the cops forced Piscottano to remove a cover on his car's rear license plate which read "K's car" (real license number SL3699). But he got to keep his gun—for which he had a state permit allowing him to carry it concealed, granted after he applied to be an auxiliary policeman! Wilkinson was so pleased with his Saturday night terror-show that he held another cross-burning Sunday night, also heavily protected by the cops ("The Wiz is coming. Let him go through," the police radioed to each other).

Wilkinson's arrest later on a technical weapons violation—carrying a .45 automatic—was just window-dressing to make the liberals feel better. But everyone knows the Klan got what they wanted, with the cops' help. In Greensboro the KKK murdered in cold blood, in Chattanooga they shot to kill at defenseless black women, seriously wounding some of them. The ominous growth of the Klan and other fascist terror groups is marked by the growing tolerance of the American state, from Carter (who kicked off his presidential campaign in Alabama Klan territory) and Reagan (*he* went to Mississippi's state fair, traditional bastion of "Old South" segregationism), on down to the local cops. Only labor/black mass mobilizations can stop the growing fascist terror! Drop the charges against the anti-Klan demonstrators! ■

No "Free Speech For Fascists"!

SWP Shares Platform with Klan Terrorist Metzger

Greensboro, Chattanooga, Connecticut, southern California—Klan terror is riding again in America, and that means murder of blacks, trade unionists, socialists. The new star-spangled "Speak Up America" TV show September 5 featured Grand Dragon Tom Metzger, who's the Democratic Party candidate in California's sprawling 43rd Congressional District. What the Klan's "program" consists of was clear enough—film clips showed KKKers armed with clubs and dogs savagely assaulting anti-Klan protesters in Oceanside. Within the 43rd District the Klan has already been carrying out its program of race-terror—from Imperial County, where it runs night-riding patrols to murder Mexican workers crossing the border, to Riverside, only a few miles from where Dovard Howard, a black telephone worker, was the victim of a racist shooting shortly before a Klan rally in July.

Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate Mark Friedman sat placidly in the audience watching these terrorist atrocities—after all, the SWP believes the KKK/Nazis have the right to "free speech." He rose only to politely rebut his "Democratic Party opponent," and state that the SWP calls for "unions, civil rights, and women's rights groups to unite to defeat the Klan." Friedman had nothing to say about the Klan's real atrocities, though—because the SWP does *nothing* but sit on the sidelines while they rampage and murder! The SWP's *Militant* bragged about how Friedman "confronted" the Klan in the safety of the TV studio. But on the streets, where the Klan does its dirty work, the SWP isn't around.

Communists do not support "free speech for fascists." The KKK is a gang of killers. The Spartacist League has mobilized labor and the left to confront and *stop* the Klan—in Detroit following the Greensboro massacre and in San Francisco, where 1,200 trade unionists, blacks, Chicanos, gays, Jews and socialists rallied to stop the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday. On those days the SWP stayed home. Obviously they prefer "debating" the Klan to fighting it. ■

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Detox Koch!

On September 15, twelve hours before New York City mayor Ed Koch's racist administration planned to shut it down, Harlem's Sydenham Hospital was taken over by doctors, hospital workers and members of the local black community. While hundreds of supporters marched outside chanting such slogans as "Koch has got to go!" they kept the emergency room, admitting desk and administrative office functioning.

The confrontation had been brewing for a long time. After the austerity-crazed city government drastically slashed city workers' jobs and wages in 1974-76, the next target was the city's black and Latin ghettos. Koch promised funding for Sydenham when he ran for mayor in '77, but later included the 119-bed facility on a list of six ghetto hospitals he wanted closed. Harlem, which the federal government classes as one of the most "medically underserved areas" in the U.S., was sentenced to lose both Sydenham and Metropolitan hospitals. Federal funds were scraped together to keep Metropolitan going, but Sydenham, the second-largest employer in Harlem, was written off, to be downgraded into a drug and alcohol detoxification center.

Harlem didn't sit still—they sat in. Tempers had been boiling for months, and the Coalition to Save Harlem Hospital, supported by AFSCME Local 420 representing Sydenham workers, announced it was occupying the facilities to force the city to keep them open. As we go to press Sydenham Hospital is still functioning under a "people's administration" while hundreds of cops mass outside waiting for the word from Koch to move in. Ed Koch is a virulent race-hating and labor-hating capitalist politician—an honest-to-goodness enemy of the people of New York. But the black Democrats who oppose him today have no solution to the capitalist cutbacks being pushed by all sectors of the ruling-class parties. Only the power of the NYC labor movement—demonstrated so impressively in the May transit strike, despite the defeatist TWU leadership—has the social power to beat back the bosses' racist austerity drive. ■

Hospital workers protest racist shutdown at Sydenham.

WV Photo

Unemployment and Wage Slashing

"The stagnation of production would have laid off a part of the working-class and would thereby have placed the employed part in a situation, where it would have to submit to a reduction of wages even below the average."
—*Karl Marx*, Capital, *Vol. III*

There's a common belief that while an economic downturn is certainly painful for those workers who lose their livelihood because of it, mass unemployment has little or no effect on those who still hold on to their jobs. This attitude was caught in a cynical joke from the late 1950s: What is the difference between a recession and a depression? Answer: a recession is when your neighbor is unemployed; a depression is when you are unemployed.

In reality, recessions/depressions hurt *all* workers, not only those laid off. And that is exactly their function in the capitalist system. As Marx explained over a century ago, a periodic collapse of production and with it increasing, mass unemployment are a necessary means whereby capitalism restores a higher rate of profit. On the one hand, obsolete plants are scrapped, bankrupt firms are taken over by more efficient operations, capital is devalued thus increasing the rate of return on new investment. At the same time, the mass of unemployed desperately seeking jobs drives down the general wage level and so increases the rate of exploitation.

When Marx wrote *Capital* trade unions were few and weak. During economic crises workers who refused to take a pay cut were simply fired and replaced by members of the swollen reserve army of the unemployed. Eliminating this cutthroat practice was one of the main goals of mass unionization, for example, of the great CIO organizing drive of the 1930s. But saddled with a cowardly, cynical and defeatist bureaucracy, even unionized workers in the U.S. once again face the ultimatum: take a wage cut or you're out on the street. A recent article in *Business Week* (8 September) expresses pleased surprise that:

> "Spurred by mounting layoffs and major plant closings, unions are granting concessions—in midcontract—to some of the nation's largest companies. "These concessions will serve to improve the chances of affected employers to survive until business turns up again."

And for Detroit blacks the unemployment lines go on and on.

Der Spiegel

Leading the charge to break their own contracts in order to negotiate *lower* wages is the United Rubber Workers (URW). An old Midwest-centered industrial union, the URW is right in the heart of the disaster area that is the American auto industry. The union is also the victim of the long-term strategy of the Big Four tiremakers (Goodyear, Firestone, Uniroyal and Goodrich) of moving to runaway shops in the South and Southwest. Needless to say, the Rubber Workers leadership, like the AFL-CIO bureaucracy as a whole, has long refused to organize the "right-to-work" South. Among other things, such a major unionization drive would involve bloody fights with the Ku Klux Klan and a general labor assault of the Jim Crow system. But for this kind of fight the conservative AFL-CIO bureaucracy, like the Rubber Workers' Bommarito, has no stomach.

So instead they cut their members' wages—hoping the capitalists will find this higher rate of exploitation more acceptable. In August 5,000 Uniroyal employees took a cut of *13 percent* in wages and benefits. With the rate of inflation now about 12 percent annually, this means that those rubber workers will suffer a decline of roughly *one-quarter* of their income in the next year or so! No wonder Firestone vice president John Zimmerman waxed eloquent over how "responsible" the unions have become toward the interests of American capitalism:

> "Organized labor in general is taking an increasingly responsible position in regard to productivity and the competitiveness of American industry."
> —*Business Week*, 8 September

Another union being ever so "responsible" toward its exploiters is the United Steelworkers (USWA). This is also an industry both hard hit by the current depression—devastating its markets in auto, construction and heavy machinery—and suffering a long-term contraction due to superior foreign (especially Japanese) competition. So while screaming for import protectionism (let Japanese workers be laid off), the McBride bureaucracy of the Steelworkers is selling its members' labor cheaper.

When the Kaiser Steel Corp. threatened to close down its Fontana plant in southern California, the only full-scale, integrated steel mill on the West Coast, USWA Local 2869 vice president Rick Flores assured them that "the union will offer whatever is necessary for the plant to continue" (*Los Angeles Times*, 6 September). So far it has agreed to give up $1 an hour in scheduled wage increases plus lower the cost-of-living escalator for Fontana's 5,500 workers. Kaiser is not the only company benefiting from the USWA's current giveback policy. The 8,000 workers at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel were forced by the bureaucracy to defer two cost-of-living increases and a $150 per worker bonus, cutting the company's labor costs by some $6 million.

The pacesetter for the current wave of union givebacks was the United Auto Workers (UAW) over Chrysler. In order to go for a government bailout of the near-bankrupt firm, the UAW's Solidarity House abandoned the 40-year tradition of Big 3 wage parity on which the union was built. Last fall Fraser & Co. signed a contract which gave Chrysler workers $4,000 per man or *25 percent less* than union members in General Motors and Ford.

Marx called trade unionism a kind of guerrilla warfare by the workers against the capitalists. But in periods of sharp economic crisis like the present, the usual reformist, trade-unionist policies obviously don't work. Today's conservative labor fakers are not even promising to better the workers' conditions. Quite the contrary! Their response to depression, to mass layoffs, to plant closings is exactly the same as the capitalists': the workers must cut their wages to secure higher profits. The only way the workers can break out of this "choice" between unemployment or wage slashing is with a class-struggle leadership that goes beyond business unionism to struggle against the capitalist system. ■

Ohio CP: No Program to Fight Plant Closings

Strike for Jobs!

YOUNGSTOWN, 14 September—It was billed as a flashy demonstration of hundreds of steel and auto workers to demand "Save Jobs." But the Communist Party (CP)-supported rally held in deserted downtown Youngstown yesterday was a dismal flop, drawing some 100 unionists, campaigners for Republican "independent" John Anderson, assorted politicians and the like. CP supporters as much as admitted they have no program for workers here facing depression-level unemployment. A United Electrical Workers speaker announced the union is petitioning for "unlimited extension of unemployment benefits," a quite minimal demand, while the CP's election platform calls for jobless benefits at only 75 percent of the prevailing wage!

The Stalinists also brought a bosses' politician onto the labor platform—Democratic Party senator Howard Metzenbaum, who called to "bar Japanese imports from coming into this country until we can get the auto industry back on its feet." Scandalously, while supporting Metzenbaum's toothless "plant closing legislation," not one of the CP supporters felt compelled to denounce this anti-Japanese protectionist tirade. (Then again, it was the CP who hailed Truman's atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a blow for democracy!)

So who could blame Youngstown steel workers for going fishing yesterday when all the CP had to offer was the same defeatist program sold to them by do-nothing local union bureaucrats who have refused to mobilize the union in a real fight for jobs? Union-conscious steel workers have repeatedly shown their willingness to fight against all odds for their jobs. Now it is literally a question of their daily bread. What is needed are sit-down strikes against layoffs, a national steel strike for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay to save jobs, and a break from the Democratic Party of war and depression—for a workers party to fight for a workers government!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Nuclear War Fever...

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"progressive feudalist" Federation and the "burcaueratic collectivist" Empire. But when Carter and Brzezinski brag in public about their schemes to "take out" the Soviet Politburo with "smart" bombs and "invisible" bombers, it is not sci-fi fantasy. The U.S. president is demanding, in the words of the *Time*'s Lewis, "the choice of liquidating the enemy's leadership." How does Carter expect the Russians to reaet to this one? Has he never seen the *Godfather* movies? The choice posed in the midst of the first imperialist world war by German-Polish revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg still stands:

> "Friedrich Engels once said: 'Capitalist society faces a dilemma: either an advance to socialism or a reversion to barbarism'... This World War—that is a reversion to barbarism. The triumph of imperialism leads to the destruction of culture, sporadically during a modern war, and forever if the period of world wars which has just begun is allowed to take its course to its logical end."
>
> —"The Crisis in German Social Democracy" (*The Junius Pamphlet*), 1916

Today a new imperialist global conflagration would have as its target the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. Thus the "Russian question" is directly posed: which side are you on. "Disarmament" schemes, as shown again by the experience of SALT, merely allow the capitalist merchants of death and imperialist warmongers breathing space to improve their armaments. The choice now is proletarian revolution or irradiated barbarism.

"Evolving" Toward World War III

U.S. Defense Secretary Brown quickly attempted to reassure the world that Presidential Directive (PD) 59 was really "defensive" and not so radically new: just an "evolutionary step" in nuclear war strategy as usual. U.S. war plans always included knocking out Soviet military and eommand targets, we are assured. Contrary to the illusions of liberal doves and starry-eyed reformists, despite all the talk of a "balance of fear," the Pentagon was always ready and willing to unleash an atomic holocaust. There is little reason to doubt Brown's assertion that PD 59 "takes the same essential strategic doctrine and restates it more clearly... in the light of current conditions and current capabilities." But there is even less reason to be reassured, for the "evolution" is clearly toward a nuclear Third World War.

The *New York Times* voiced the liberals' concern in a 21 August editorial on the "countervailing" strategy:

> "The new policy carries other dangers. Mr. Brown considers it 'very likely' that limited nuclear strikes would get out of control and escalate into full-scale nuclear war. Moreover, Soviet leaders may conclude that the United States is seeking a first-strike capability to wipe out their forces by surprise. True, Mr. Brown denies that, but he also endorses the MX missile, which the Soviets might perceive to be a first-strike weapon."

Military sources admit that the policy "could not be carried out" without the Air Force's new mobile MX missile, 200 of which (with ten warheads apiece) are to be made invulnerable to attack through an elaborate 4,600-mile underground "racetrack" annoying the inhabitants of Nevada and Utah. The highly accurate warheads are judged capable of destroying the entire USSR force of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM), almost three-quarters of the Soviet nuclear potential. Meanwhile, over two-thirds of U.S. warheads, those launched from strategic bombers and nuclear-powered submarines, would be secure from attack. And as President Carter boasted in his January 1979 "State of the Union" speech,

> "Just one of our relatively invulnerable Poseidon submarines, comprising less than 2 percent of our total nuclear force, carries enough warheads to destroy every large and medium-size city in the Soviet Union."

The MX missile, which makes the U.S.' now-explicit "hard-target counterforce" strategy possible, was excluded from the current strategic arms limitation talks (SALT II) limits and went into production in 1979. It is estimated that its total cost would be over $100 billion, making it the largest construction project in history. A leading bourgeois critic of the program, Herbert Scoville, has pointed out that the only rationale for such a huge missile is to carry more warheads, that the only conceivable target for the projected 2,000 warheads is the Soviet ICBM fleet (presently estimated at 1,400 missiles), and that "a silo-busting force is of value only for a 'first strike' since an attack in response would only hit empty silos." He also thinks it won't work, that it will induce the Soviet Union to build unverifiable missile systems and thereby greatly increase the risks of nuclear Armageddon.

Famous super-secret invisible plane (courtesy of *Aviation Week*, 16 June).

Planning the "unthinkable" is nothing new for the U.S. imperialists. And they are prepared to go way beyond the planning boards. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed in an act of calculated savagery—calculated to keep the USSR out of the Pacific basin. It was not so much the last explosion of World War II as the first shot of the post-war Cold War/hot war against the Soviet Union. Capitalist class hostility toward the Russian degenerated workers state has been at the heart of U.S. nuclear policy ever since. And they were ready to push the button all along: Truman contemplated it in 1951 over Korea, Eisenhower's National Security Council discussed it in 1954 over Vietnam, and Kennedy threatened it over Cuba in 1962 (see box on facing page).

After the "golden years" of nuclear blackmail in the post-war "American century" (which actually lasted only twice as long, 25 years, as Hitler's "Thousand Year Reich"), the warhawks on the Potomac were forced to come to terms with the Russian Bomb. After Sputnik they launched a major nuclear armament drive which Kennedy justified by the claim of a bogus "missile gap." On the basis of clear U.S. atomic superiority, JFK put Khrushchev up against the wall in the Cuban missile crisis. But to assure nervous liberals, his university think-tank advisers devised a strategic policy known as MAD—Mutual Assured Destruction—which, as Flora Lewis noted, is the aptest acronym ever. MAD had a simple premise: if the U.S. bombed Russia's major cities, the Russians would do the same to the U.S. Thus the impulse to a first strike was supposedly checked, and it was fatuously argued nuclear war had become "unthinkable."

Liberal doves advertised this holocaustal scenario as a policy of peace. Atomic war by accident was impossible ("fail-safe"), they claimed, and it would take a madman ("Dr. Strangelove") to set it off. Yet it was clear that in the war-simulation rooms of American imperialism the generals, braintrusters and presidents thought of little else than winning against the Soviets. The same Kennedy advisers who concocted MAD came up with "graduated escalation" to cover U.S. aggression in Indochina, and "flexible response" providing for NATO plans to use "tactical" nuclear weapons to offset superior Warsaw Pact conventional forces in Europe. If the U.S. nuclear arsenal came to be considered "political deadwood," as Kissinger put it later, it was not for qualms about being the first to unleash atomic annihilation but for a very different reason: relative nuclear parity with the USSR.

The Soviet Union had substantially caught up with the West in numbers of ICBMs while the United States was bogged down spending billions on rifles and helicopters for its Vietnam "quagmire." Ever since the North Vietnamese drove the American army off the peninsula, the Pentagon has sought to recover from this humiliating rout by regaining global nuclear superiority over Russia. Henry Kissinger wrote in his memoirs of the "defense debate" at the beginning of the Nixon administration:

> "Our capacity to maintain a rough strategic balance was not endangered—provided our technological superiority was fully exploited. We could deploy an ABM to protect our cities or our missile sites. We could also speed up preliminary work on a more advanced bomber (later known as the B-1), a new submarine and submarine-launched missile (the Trident), and a new ICBM (the MX). After 1978 we would thus be in a strong position, provided all the programs started in the early 1970s were maintained. We took all these steps, but each was attacked both in the Congress and in the media."
>
> —*White House Years* (1979)

All of these programs aimed at securing first-strike capacity for the United States, the ability to destroy the Soviet nuclear arsenal so that imperialism could dictate its terms with the threat of annihilating Russia's peoples and industry. And this has been official policy of the U.S. government for more than a decade.

Already in 1974, U.S. war minister Schlesinger proposed to replace the MAD doctrine with a "counterforce" nuclear strategy. But in the post-Vietnam political climate of pervasive bourgeois defeatism, the Republican administration was unable to mobilize support even for a modest imperialist adventure in Angola, much less a massive arms drive. What is new and most dangerous now is that the U.S. bourgeoisie has reestablished a political base for aggressive militarism. This has been the constant goal of the Carter administration, as we have pointed out from the very beginning (see "'Human Rights' Crusade Fuels U.S. War Machine," *WV* No. 154, 22 April 1977). While the rest of the left was calling on Carter to "live up to his words," we warned that this moral rearmer would soon be militarily rearming American imperialism for war against the USSR. Now the chauvinist furor over the Teheran hostage seizure and U.S. threats over Soviet intervention in Afghanistan have created the Cold War climate for the biggest weapons build-up since 1945.

And in order to reestablish U.S. hegemony, Washington fully intends to use nuclear blackmail as an instrument of foreign policy. Following its defeat in Vietnam and given relative nuclear parity with the Soviet Union, the United States could no longer count on unconditional support from its capitalist "allies." Now, with the increasing rivalry of West Europe and Japan, it is clearly looking for an opportunity to flex some military muscles. Even before PD 59 was issued, Brzezinski announced in a *New York Times* (30 March) interview the "serious thought being given to our nuclear targeting plans, in the much higher emphasis being placed on command and control centers." He added, "All of these reviews are designed to enhance our ability to *bargain* in the context of a severe crisis...." And he promised "increasingly energetic efforts to revive the critically important role of American power in world affairs and make that power credible and if necessary to demonstrate through action that aggression does not pay."

It's a Class Bomb

It is the relative decline of U.S. imperialism that has made it so desperate to become "credible" again. And as Washington seeks to redress economic and political weakness by sharply escalating its military power, it plans to capitalize on American technological superiority. The $50 billion annual weapons budget will concentrate on new tactical missiles based on the use of semiconductors (silicon chips which make it possible to give warheads a minicomputer "brain"). These "fire-and-forget" weapons increase the sensory capacities of missile guidance systems by thousands of times, and unlike laser-guided missiles the launching aircraft doesn't need to stick around exposed to retaliatory fire. "Our missiles will be not just smart but brilliant," boasts one of America's leading merchants of death. And the Pentagon planners are already drawing up scenarios for their push-button "science-intensive war." "Defense" Secretary Brown puts it simply: "Given our disadvantage in numbers, our technology is what will save us."

But while the General Wastemorelands and Jack D. Rippers prepare for sci-war and the Daddy Warbucks drum up publicity for their "brilliant" missiles, the imperialist war machine has feet of clay. The volunteer army is no more reliable than the disaffected U.S. conscript army which lost the Vietnam War. And while they're investing billions in Star Wars technology, the Pentagon needs military cadre to run the sophisticated equipment. This is an additional reason why the government is pushing for a draft right now in order to get petty-bourgeois students. But, of course, the equipment itself is unreliable. A military which botches a "hostage rescue" attack on Iran due to the loss of three helicopters had better not be too confident about its ability to carry off a first-strike or surgically limited nuclear war.

Curiously, the technocratic euphoria of the imperialist warmongers has a distorted reflection in the petty-bourgeois pessimism of radical disarmament circles. If Brown thinks "technology will save us," the no-nuke pacifists say "technology will kill us." Buck Rogers meets Jane Fonda. Both hide the fact that it is not military technique but class forces that determine the course of history. How soon they all forget Vietnam where the computer bombs and laser beams burped and hummed and twinked destruction, but American imperialism was defeated nonetheless. Brown's optimism aims at selling his monster arms budget in preparation for war; the pacifists' pessimism is an excuse to duck the fundamental class questions

posed by the threat of nuclear World War III, principally defense of the Soviet Union. Against the "pretense of disarmament" Leon Trotsky wrote in 1934 words that speak no less sharply to the technocratic disarmers of today:

> "*Disarmament* is not a means against war, since, as the experience of Germany itself shows, episodic disarmament is only a stage on the road to new rearmament. The possibility of new and very rapid rearmament is inherent in modern industrial technique. 'General' disarmament, even if it could be realized, would only mean the strengthening of the military superiority of the more powerful industrial countries. 'Fifty percent disarmament' is the road not to complete disarmament but to 100 percent rearmament. To present disarmament as 'the only real means to prevent war' is to mislead the workers for the sake of a common front with petty-bourgeois pacifists."
>
> —"War and the Fourth International"

Not in a generation has the threat of atomic holocaust entered so alarmingly upon the political stage. Particularly in Europe, the designated "theater" for the Pentagon's "nuclear event," there is being revived the "ban the bomb" politics of the early '60s. In Britain, E.P. Thompson has published an article, "Notes on Exterminism, the Last Stage of Civilization," in the June-July issue of *New Left Review*, written as if he were the first man to look into the nuclear abyss and come back a peacenik. Behind Thompson's new-fangled jargon is the old pacifist saw that the technology of destruction is autonomous and the real enemy is the "hawks," both East and West, rather than the capitalist ruling classes. He concludes with a call for a broad coalition of the anti-Soviet "left" and right:

> "Only an alliance which takes in churches, Eurocommunists, Labourists, East European dissidents (and not only 'dissidents'), Soviet citizens unmediated by party structures, trade unionists, ecologists—only this can possibly muster the force and the internationalist élan to throw the cruise missiles and the SS-20s back."

But the petty-bourgeois left doesn't need an E.P. Thompson to persuade it to fall in behind a social-patriotic pro-détente movement. At a recent demonstration called by the British Labour Party against the planned stationing of NATO cruise missiles in England, only the Spartacist League/Britain called for military defense of the USSR against imperialism. The London *Daily Mail* (23 June) reported that the Labourites were embarrassed by the active intervention of "scores of supporters of a Marxist group, the Spartacist League, [who] occupied a section of the column set aside for Labour moderates and refused to budge. 'Smash NATO!' the Spartacists yelled back. 'U.S. Hands off Iran! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!' ... 'One, two, three, four, we don't want Imperialist war. Five, six, seven, eight, defend the Soviet workers state'."

Defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack is the central question separating Trotskyists from every sort of radical pacifist, reformist and centrist in this period of renewed Cold War. The "Euromissiles" have a target, the USSR, whose collectivized property represents a historic gain for the entire proletariat despite subsequent degeneration of the revolution under Stalinism. There is and can be no middle road.

Will They or Won't They?

Would the people who run this country do it? After their monstrous devastation of Indochina, where more tons of explosives were rained on an area the size of New Mexico than on Europe in all of World War II, who can doubt the lengths to which imperialist terrorism will go? But the Vietnamese could hardly retaliate in kind. What about dropping The Bomb on the Russians, pushing the button that could send the world into a nuclear holocaust? Is it, as they claimed, "unthinkable"?

We shall let the capitalist rulers speak for themselves:

Exhibit 1: Recently President Harry Truman's private diary became available and it was revealed that during 1952 he "twice considered using the threat of nuclear war against China and the Soviet Union as a means of ending the stalemated Korean War and forcing Moscow to free Eastern European satellite countries" (*New York Times*, 3 August). His 27 January 1952 memorandum stated: "This means all-out war. It means that Moscow, St. Petersburg [Leningrad], Mukden, Vladivostok, Peking, Shanghai, Port Arthur, Darien, Odessa, Stalingrad and every manufacturing plant in China and the Soviet Union will be eliminated," if the USSR and China did not get out of Korea within ten days. Remember, by this point the Soviet Union already had the bomb. And Truman had already dropped it twice before, on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Exhibit 2: As the French colonialists were on the verge of being driven out of Indochina in 1954, possible use of nuclear weapons against Ho Chi Minh's liberation army was discussed at the highest levels of U.S. government. Richard Nixon reports: "The next morning [30 April 1954] I met with Eisenhower and General Albert Cutler, his Special Assistant for National Security Affairs. Cutler reported that the NSC planning board had been discussing the possibility of telling our allies that if we went into Indochina, we might use the atom bomb" (*RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*). A week later Dienbienphu fell.

Exhibit 3: The Cuban missile crisis, October 1962. JFK had launched a major arms drive to develop the ICBM; he had "faced down" Khrushchev over Berlin a year before. Eager to make up for the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs invasion, he now challenged Soviet delivery of missiles to Cuba for protection against new U.S. aggression. Khrushchev eventually withdrew the missiles when the U.S. "quarantined" Cuba with a naval blockade and threatened massive retaliation. But Robert Kennedy said later: "We all agreed in the end that if the Russians were ready to go to nuclear war over Cuba, they were ready to go to nuclear war, and that was that. So we might as well have the showdown then as six months later" (quoted in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days*).

And today? In his 30 March *New York Times* interview, U.S. "national security adviser" Brzezinski says that it has to be made clear that "our decision makers will not shrink from using American power...." The ever-gullible détente liberals and reformists will claim, perhaps, that Carter's Dr. Strangelove means "using American power" metaphorically. But would you take odds on it?

MAD Delusions of Disarmament

The Kremlin bureaucracy has become rather alarmed by the Carter administration's escalating nuclear threats and recently had a leading military official, Lieutenant-General Mikhail Millshtein, grant a rare interview with the *New York Times* (25 August) to explain Soviet views. He points to an article in the recent issue of *Foreign Policy* by Colin Gray of the Hudson Institute, entitled "Nuclear Strategy: Victory is Possible" and containing the statement, "The United States should plan to defeat the Soviet Union and to do so at a cost that would not prohibit the United States' recovery." Millshtein has some hard words to say to "some people in the United States" who hope that with the improved accuracy of new missiles they can shift the balance of nuclear forces in their favor: "The Soviet Union will never permit parity to be upset," he warns. But politically his alternative is détente and a return to the doctrine of "mutual assured destruction."

Millshtein denounces the "erosion of the concept that nuclear weapons simply cannot be used," and "abandonment of the old war-preventing concept." An article in the Moscow publication *New Times* (No. 35, August 1980), "Behind Directive No. 59," claims that under MAD, "it was admitted that since the potential enemies could totally destroy each other, further arms race was senseless and, consequently, had to be replaced by arms control talks." Nonsense, the American imperialists never admitted any such thing. As we pointed out in our two-part article, "That Was the Détente That Was" (*WV* Nos. 254 and 255, 18 April/2 May 1980), and as Kissinger openly admitted in an *Economist* (3 February 1979) interview, the United States merely used SALT I in order to prevent the USSR from adding missiles while the U.S. MIRVed its own force like crazy. Soviet illusions in détente are simply the expression of the Stalinist bureaucracy's pipedream of achieving "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. In fact, MAD and "counterforce" strategies are merely different tactical approaches in a general strategy whose goal is the destruction of the Soviet Union

The same illusory argument for disarmament is also offered by the cringing reformists of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The method to their MADness is obviously the liberal pacifist concept of "overkill." In one of his last polemics, late SWP leader Joseph Hansen threw the Trotskyist position of unconditional Soviet defensism to the imperialist wolves. Sounding like Norman Thomas, Hansen calls on the Soviet Union to stop "participating in this mindless race":

> "But the fact is that each side possesses a stockpile much larger than needed to wipe out all human beings once.... 'Military defense' has obviously become *meaningless*...."
>
> —*Militant*, 12 August 1977

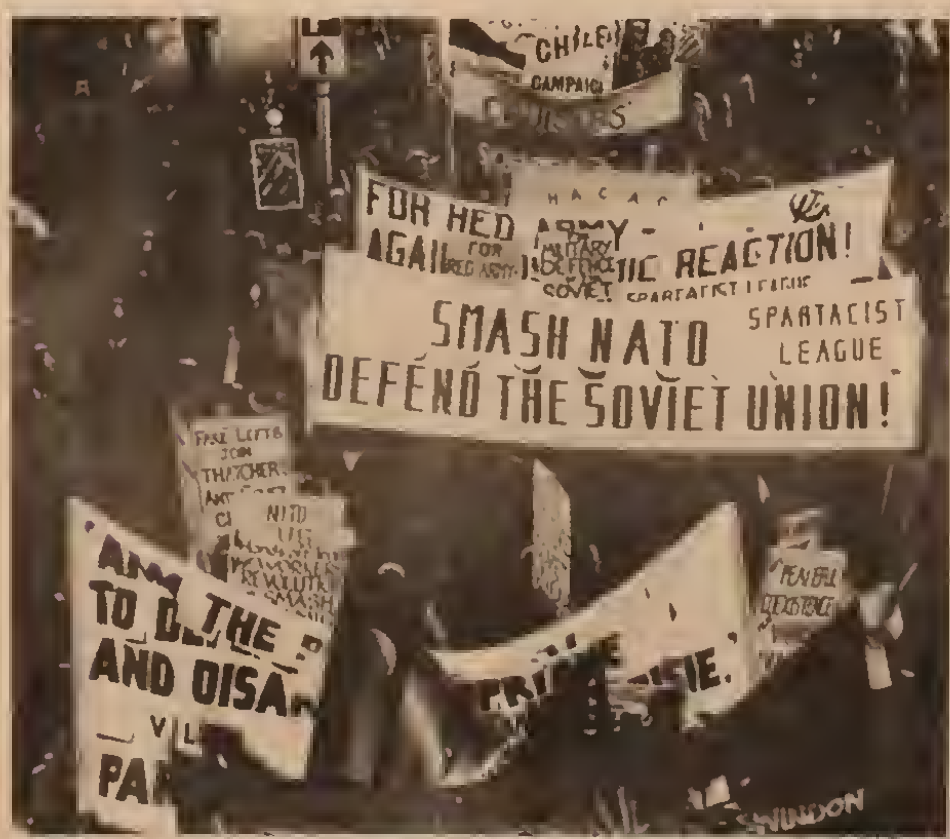
So under the cover of the Kennedy liberal MAD, the SWP holds that defense of the USSR is "meaningless." (The same identical argument, incidentally, is made by Eurocommunist Santiago Carrillo, in his book *Eurocommunism and the State*, and innumerable other anti-Soviet renegades.) In the meantime, the U.S. is busy building the MX, deploying the cruise missile and Trident and arming for a "first strike."

Defense of the Soviet Union is dependent precisely upon keeping up in the "mindless race." If the U.S. can shoot 200 missiles out of 4,600 launch sites in the desert, then Moscow had better target all 4,600 ASAP. Far from being a meaningless game, the arms race is the most serious business on earth. Ultimately, defense of the Soviet bloc cannot be left to the Stalinists and their dangerous illusions of détente with rapacious imperialism, and still less to the pacifist SWP types. Only proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states, led by Leninist vanguard parties, can sweep aside the bureaucratic caste with its dangerous nationalism (witness China's open military alliance with U.S. imperialism against Russia) illusions in détente and stultifying mismanagement. Only workers democracy can fully mobilize the planned socialized economy and provide communist unity against imperialism.

In contrast to Hansen's call on the Kremlin to "seize the initiative on disarmament," American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote three decades ago:

> "The ultimate aim [of American diplomacy] is nothing less than the overthrow of the Soviet Union, its dismemberment, and the re-establishment of the private property and landlord system, overthrown by the Revolution in 1917. The United States is driven, as the price of its own existence as the leading imperialist power of the world, to include all these aims in its program. That is what its diplomacy works for and that is what they are arming for.
>
> "Pacifist sermons will not deflect them from their course. Pseudo-serious chatter about the 'necessity and desirability of peaceful coexistence' can deceive and disarm workers and sincere but impractical people who think the boon of peace can be bought with shibboleths. But peace cannot be secured that way. The only road to a stable and enduring peace for the people of the worlds is the hard road of struggle pointed out by Lenin."
>
> —"The Road to Peace" (1951)

Or as Trotsky put it in the 1938 "Transitional Program," "The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers." ■



Spartacist Britain

London June 1979—Spartacist League/Britain stands for Soviet defensism, denounces pro-NATO "pacifism."

Eurotrotskyists Whitewash Catholic Reaction

Poland and the Left

Baltic coast general strike ha
clerical-nationalist counterre

"Poland: A Workers Victory" hailed the liberal *Newsweek* (8 September), "Poland: A Victory for Workers Power" echoed the "socialist newsweekly," the *Militant* (12 September). Their coincidence was not accidental—in recent weeks there has been a remarkable consensus over Poland stretching from ultra-reactionaries such as Ronald Reagan and Germany's Franz Josef Strauss to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats to would-be far-left "Trotskyists." Only the Kremlin-loyal Stalinists are left out, it seems. "Free trade unions," they all agree, are the next best thing to "democracy." Catholic unions, socialist unions? Workers democracy, bourgeois democracy? These questions the pseudo-leftists leave unasked as they chant "Polish, American workers—same struggle, same fight." Yet these questions must be answered by revolutionaries who seek to lead the upsurge in Poland in the direction of socialism and combat reactionaries who would exploit the justified grievances of the Polish masses to create a mass base for counterrevolution.

For Trotskyists who struggle to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies based on our unconditional defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism, there can only be war to the death between the two programs of workers political revolution and social counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc. But if the capitalist media is gleeful at the evidence of church influence among the strikers, the bulk of the anti-Stalinist left does its best to ignore or minimize this dangerous sign. Such willful blindness can be lethal: ever since the days of the victorious Russian Revolution, the imperialists have sought to organize the restoration of capitalism under the star of "democracy" and the sign of the cross.

Events in Poland may reshape the political map of Europe and as such they are a litmus test for those who claim to speak in the interests of and lead the working class. In our last issue we wrote that the crisis in Poland was heading toward an explosion which could "*bring either proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy or capitalist counterrevolution led by Pope Wojtyla's church.*" The Baltic strikers showed a powerful mobilization of the power *of* the working class, but was it a mobilization *for* working class power? And we warned:

> "Insofar as the settlement enhances the Polish workers' power to struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, revolutionaries can support the strike and its outcome. But only a blind man could fail to see the gross influence of the Catholic church and also pro-Western sentiments among the striking workers. If the settlement strengthens the working class organizationally, it also strengthens the forces of reaction. Poland stands today on a razor's edge."
> —"Polish Workers Move," *WV* No. 263, 5 September 1980

But these considerations were totally alien to ostensible Trotskyists like the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the British International Marxist Group (IMG) and their co-thinkers in the United Secretariat (USec) who flatly deny that there is a danger of counterrevolution in Poland. In Iran these fakers told us that the mullahs were incidental to the spontaneous rising of the masses. Now they try to tell us that the Catholic church is peripheral to the Polish situation, too.

This is no question of splitting hairs. Those who fall into the procession behind the president's pope John Paul Wojtyla and cheer on the anti-Marxist Polish dissidents, whose main goal is to spur the Catholic church into leading a Polish nationalist revolt, in practice have thrown overboard the Trotskyist program for the deformed and degenerated workers states. The policy of these renegades is derived not from the International Left Opposition of the 1930s but from the revisionist tendency led Max Shachtman, which on the eve of World War II abandoned the Fourth International, objecting to Trotsky's unflinching defense of the USSR against imperialism. Whether they called the Soviet state "bureacratic collectivist," "state capitalist" or even (for a time) formally maintained a Trotskyist position, the Shachtmanites deny that the need to defend revolutionary gains—in spite of bureaucratic deformations—is posed.

Poland throws into bold relief the advanced social-democratization of the ostensible Trotskyist groups. For the last five years as the Trotskyoid tail on the Eurocommunist dog, they cheered as the Carrillos and Berlinguers crossed out "Leninism," the "d of the p" and other "totalitarian" points from their program. They clapped their hands for every Russian dissident from Solzhenitsyn who wanted to bring back the tsar, to Shcharansky who passed Soviet defense secrets to the U.S., to Sakharov who wanted to starve the Russian people through an imperialist boycott of wheat. In Afghanistan, whether or not they joined the imperialist chorus against Soviet "aggression," they all agreed that defense of the USSR was "not the issue." Now Poland brings it all home.

It is no longer a matter of chasing the mullahs in faraway places, but of enlisting in the pope's divisions next door. Already they are publishing the addresses and urging contributions to the Polish dissidents. In the 1960s their predecessors carried the bags filled with literature and arms for the Algerian nationalists struggling against French colonialism, the subject of a recent book entitled *Les Porteurs de Valises*. But those who would call themselves Trotskyists today had better look in their suitcases to see that they are not in reality carrying counterrevolutionary propaganda for Zbigniew Brzezinski, John Paul Wojtyla and their imperialist masters.

SWP: Same Struggle, Same Fight?

For the SWP, the largest self-proclaimed Trotskyist organization in the United States, the strikes in Poland are just another trade-union struggle. "Polish Workers Fight Price Hikes, Demand Union Rights," said the lead article in the 29 August *Militant*. The next week was an editorial headlined, "Poland: Example for U.S. Workers." Then it was "Polish Workers Win Union Rights." And the 19 September *Militant* front-page headline proclaimed, "Polish Victory Shows How Workers Can Fight Back Here." The article goes on:

> "Many of the Polish strikers' demands are sorely needed in this country, Pulley pointed out: automatic increase in wages whenever prices go up; a shorter workweek with no cut in pay; more child-care centers; greater safety on the job, including an end to inhumane shift-work schedules."

As in the early days of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade, these reformists harp on the hypocrisy of the U.S. government. The same *Militant* 19 September article asks, "How about unions free of government interference? Carter says he likes to see it in Poland. Why not here?" But what Carter really wants in Poland is counterrevolution under the catchwords of "free unions" and "democracy." Strangely enough, these are the main slogans of the SWP as well. The *Militant* quotes SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley: "'Democracy is a revolutionary idea,' the socialist candidate declared. 'There's lots of talk about it in the United States, but little implementation'." So by implication all you need, in Poland and

Gamma

Strikers kneel before Pope Wojtyla's Catholic church.

Atlan/Sygma

hrown Poland into deep crisis, posing either proletarian political revolution or ution.

at home, is more consistent democracy and more consistent liberals.

The program of counterrevolution under the slogan of supposedly "classless" democracy has been the hallmark of social democrats since the time of Karl Kautsky. Then it was the cause of "democratic Georgia," the social-democratic-ruled Caucasian republic that was backed by the admirals and generals of Lloyd George's Britain against the Bolsheviks. In 1940 it was Baron von Mannerheim's "poor little Finland" loosely tied to the "democratic" imperialist powers. And of course now it is "fiercely independent Afghanistan" whose "freedom fighters" were armed by the CIA. We refer our readers to Lenin's pamphlet "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," written over six decades ago, which demolished this liberal nonsense.

The SWP straight-out denies the threat of counterrevolution in Poland:

> "The workers and the dissidents allied with them have denied that they are antisocialist. None of the strikers are demanding a return of the capitalist class that ruled Poland until the late 1940s."
>
> —*Militant*, 5 September

Ignoring strike leader Lech Walesa's private meetings with Catholic Primate Wyszynski, his battery of Catholic liberal advisers, his flaunting of Catholic and Polish nationalist symbols, the SWP quotes Walesa's call for the workers to be "masters of the factories." Hell, a *New York Times* (24 August) editorial hailed the formation of the Polish workers' strike committees as precursors of "spontaneous soviets [which] are precious emblems of what is best in the revolutionary tradition"! Does this mean the *New York Times* is not anti-socialist? There are words; then there is reality.

SWP: Democratic Rights for Counterrevolution?

For the SWP the reimposition of the veil in Iran was a "symbol of resistance" against imperialism. What does that make the pictures of Pope John Wojtyla on the Lenin Shipyard gates—symbols of the struggle for "human rights"? The *Militant*'s first response to the Polish strikes (29 August) was a front-page article that doesn't even mention the Catholic church. But pretty soon the church's role became so obvious even the SWP couldn't ignore it, what with mass confessions in the shipyards. So their next answer was to claim that the church and the Stalinist bureaucracy work hand in hand. A column by Harry Ring in the 5 September *Militant* argues, "But when the chips are down the Pope and his top brass within Poland line up with the bureaucrats against the workers."

Ring refers back to the pope's visit to Poland last year about which a *Militant* editorial commented that the bureaucracy "need[s] the Polish Catholic Church" to help keep the workers down. As we said at the time, "Gierek needs this pope like a hole in the head." Our article continued:

> "The Stalinists are unable to wipe out the church's influence and forced to concede to it, but they surely don't like it very much. Why does the SWP insist on their identity? Above all, it seeks to deny that there can be any conflict between imperialism and the Stalinist regimes of the deformed workers states, in order to avoid the basic Trotskyist duty of *defending* these states against American imperialism's growing onslaught. Particularly, the SWP denies that the U.S. 'human rights' offensive, of which the pope is an integral part, has any connection with counterrevolutionary imperialist designs because it wants to act as a left pressure group on Carter, posing as the most 'consistent' defender of (supposedly classless) democracy in the Sino-Soviet states."
>
> —"Pilgrimage for Anti-Communism," *WV* No. 234, 22 June 1979

With all their enthusiasm for the strikers, the SWP seems to have had a little trouble with their demand for air time for the Catholic church. The 19 September *Militant* "Questions and Answers" column begins:

> "What do Marxists think about the demand made by the strikers in Poland that all religious groups be given access to the media?
>
> "We support this demand."

At the SWP forum in New York City 30 August, *Militant* journalist Fred Feldman went further. Not only was privileged air time for the church "progressive," Feldman said, he'd even like to see a "daily Wyszynski Hour on television"! This is no democratic demand at all, but a call for building up the authority of a *necessarily counterrevolutionary* institution, the Roman Catholic church. How's about calling instead for TV time for Polish Leninist revolutionaries to attack pro-imperialist "human rights" dissidents and advocate proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy?

SWP vs. SWP

To back up its social-democratic program for Poland, the SWP pretends as if the church is just another misleader of the working class that will be discredited by enabling the workers to go through their own experience. "Only experience with the role of the church hierarchy in the class struggle will convince the Polish working masses of its fundamentally reactionary anti-working-class outlook," the SWP writes: Well, it's probably true that the experience of a bloody counterrevolution which drowns the Polish workers in blood would convince the Polish masses not to place their trust in the church. With the same sort of reasoning, the SWP defends "free speech" for fascists. But it is the antithesis of a revolutionary program to advocate clerical counterrevolution or fascist

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Poland Draws RWG Toward "Third Camp" Bloc for Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Detroit

The Polish workers strikes have become a focal point for anti-Sovietism in this country. Ronald Reagan embraced strike leader Lech Walesa's father at a Jersey City "ethnic picnic" as Russia-hating Eastern European reactionaries waved the flags of their "captive nations." The aging Cold Warriors in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, who have never seriously tried to organize the open-shop American South, offered to finance what they hope will be Catholic, anti-Communist "free trade unions" in Poland. And on the left-wing fringe of this anti-Soviet mobilization, a variety of left-social-democratic sectlets also rushed to proclaim the strikes a challenge to "Russian imperialism" in Eastern Europe.

On September 6 in Detroit three of these groups, all tracing their political ancestry to Max Shachtman's 1940 split from the Trotskyist movement over his refusal to defend the USSR from imperialist attack, staged a panel discussion of "Why Socialists Support the Polish Workers." Under that banner the Workers Power group (WP), International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) staged a typically anti-Soviet, social-democratic forum. What was interesting about this Shachtmanite confab, however, was that a fourth organization, the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG), which claims to defend the Soviet Union against the capitalist restorationists, spoke from the platform and made common cause with the three denizens of the "Third Camp" swamp.

The RWG is a little-known cult/sect with no public press, a history of masquerading behind an array of front groups with ever-changing names and a habit of crossing picket lines (see "What is the Revolutionary Workers Group?" *Young Spartacus* No. 80, March 1980). Significantly, the RWGers did not have one piece of literature on the Polish events. In fact their *first* statement on Poland was participating in this anti-Soviet, social-democratic forum. The RWGers portray themselves as "orthodox" Trotskyists. But when the September 6 meeting was polarized by the intervention of the Spartacist League (SL), insisting on the primacy of Soviet defensism as a touchstone of genuine Trotskyism, these scabby centrists revealed that their real political affinity is for the Shachtmanite Russia-haters.

Just before RWG guru Peter Sollenberger spoke, Brent Davis of the RSL spelled out in detail the counterrevolutionary conclusions of the Shachtmanites' "Third Camp" line. The Polish workers, Davis said, must smash "Russian imperialist domination" and "the alliance of U.S. and Russian imperialism that is sucking Poland dry." He scorned the collectivized industry, state economic planning and integration, however limited, of the economies of the East European deformed workers states with that of the USSR. All of these historic gains for the East European workers and peasants mean nothing to the RSL's Davis, who shrilly called for "the mobilization of armed struggle on the part of the Polish workers and soldiers to inflict serious military damage on the Russian army."

Authentic Trotskyists, who advocate proletarian political revolution in the USSR and East bloc states in order to *defend* and *extend* the gains of the social revolutions in those countries, would immediately have condemned Davis' program as a left-wing cover for capitalist restoration. When Max Shachtman similarly declared his indifference to whether the Red Army or Hitler's Wehrmacht occupied the Kremlin, the Trotskyists attacked him as a traitor to the world revolution. But Sollenberger was too busy playing political footsie with the Shachtmanites. Although he spoke right after RSLer Davis' rabid denunciation of "Russian imperialism," Sollenberger did *not* speak to this question at all, much less fight for the Trotskyist program of defending the Soviet Union against capitalist-imperialism. He ducked the key issue of military defense of the USSR with an ever-so-polite, abstract,

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Poland...

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holocaust for their "educational" value!

Perhaps the most powerful condemnation of the SWP comes from the SWP itself, in the late '50s when it was still a revolutionary organization. Trotskyists resolutely supported the 1956 Hungarian uprising against Stalinist oppression as the beginning of the proletarian political revolution. Nevertheless, it warned about the dangers of counterrevolution. In 1959 the SWP's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, distributed a pamphlet by Shane Mage (who was later a founder of the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, precursor of the Spartacist tendency) entitled "The Hungarian Revolution." The first part of the pamphlet is a reprint of a document by Mage written for a left faction in the Shachtmanite Young Socialist League (YSL), which had split and joined the SWP as Shachtman & Co. were liquidating into the State Department social democracy. Polemicizing against the "purely democratic" program of the YSL majority on the 1956 events in East Europe, Mage wrote:

> "The authors of the draft have made the most stupid omission possible in a resolution on Poland and Hungary: *there is no mention whatever of the Catholic Church*, either as a religious institution or as a social force!
>
> "Yet in both Poland and Hungary the Church is the *one* institution to emerge full blown from the Stalinist regime, with a highly organized and stable apparatus, a long tradition of continuity, and a high degree of popular prestige....
>
> "What role does the Church desire to play in these revolutions? The draft Resolution states that in Poland and Hungary 'forces which advocate a capitalist restoration...were extremely small and carried no weight.' It is true that neither in Poland nor in Hungary did the Church present an openly capitalist program. But it is not necessary for it to do so. The Catholic Church, by its very nature as an international body completely controlled from the Vatican, plays a certain role in world politics—the role of an important ally of U.S. imperialism and of capitalist reaction in all countries. *If it felt free to do so*, what reason is there to think that the Church headed by a Mindszenty would act differently than does the Church in Italy, Spain, or Austria?"

Today the church is a far more active force in Polish society than in either Poland or Hungary of 1956; for the SWP to hold its position today is even a more consciously anti-Marxist policy than it was for the Shachtmanites at that time. Today, the SWP has come to occupy the political space of the YSL and YPSL social democrats, not only in its propaganda but in its reformist role in the antiwar movement and elsewhere.

Their "21 Demands" and Ours

In Europe the capitulation of ostensible Trotskyists to imperialist "human rights" propaganda was not always so direct as in the U.S. For many years the followers of Michel Pablo and his successors (Ernest Mandel & Co.), the leaders of the United Secretariat, were deeply buried in the Stalinist parties; more recently they've tailed after left-talking social democrats. But the deep-going events in Poland have forced them to take a position on the most visceral right-wing anti-Sovietism...and "define themselves" they did. When Pinochet-lover Franz Josef Strauss declared "the 16 demands of the strikers are justified and taken for granted in our democratic conditions," the German section of the USec, the GIM, replied "Right: these demands are justified," and only objected that they weren't taken for granted under capitalism.

The GIM went even further, giving the strikers' demands their "full support" and declaring that they constitute the "decisive component for a transitional program for Poland today" (*Was Tun*, 30 August)! A leader of the French USec section, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) made the same claim even more emphatically: "Taken together the 21 points are already the first actualization of the program of political revolution for the Poland of 1980" (*Rouge*, 28 August). LCR and GIM militants who have read the "21 points" will be astonished to learn that broadcasting Sunday mass on state television is part of the program of political revolution!!

In contrast, authentic Trotskyists seek to crystallize a revolutionary left wing among the Polish workers by raising within the new workers organizations a series of demands including: for independent trade unions based on a program of defending socialist property; for the strict separation of church and state, fight clerical-nationalist reaction; for the collectivization of agriculture; workers control of production; break the imperialist economic stranglehold—cancel the foreign debt; for the military defense of the USSR against imperialism; for the revolutionary unity of Polish and Russian workers. In this way we seek to drive a wedge between the reactionary Catholic forces and pro-imperialist dissident groupings, winning pro-socialist workers to the program for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and for a government based on workers councils.

This is the program put forward by the international Spartacist tendency, while USec Pabloists join Pinochet-friend Franz Josef Strauss, McCarthyite witchhunter Ronald Reagan and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy (which supported the U.S.' imperialist war in Vietnam) in uncritically supporting the strikers' "21 demands." We stand on a rather different set of "21 demands," the Conditions for Admittance to the Communist International as set forth by the Comintern's Second Congress in 1920—including calling for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, support for the dictatorship of the proletariat and unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against counterrevolution! Every one of the sections of the USec would fail these 21 conditions of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International!

Eurotrotskyists and the Church

On the role of the Catholic church, the British section of the USec, the International Marxist Group (IMG) commented laconically, "Many workers are of course Catholic." Oh yes, we almost forgot. "But," they go on, "most people are scandalised at any suggestion that the church should play a directly political role" (*Socialist Challenge*, 11 September). Would they like to tell us that Wyszynski's reception of strike leader Walesa in Warsaw following the settlement was "not directly political"? But for the French LCR, there was none of this ambiguity. *Rouge*'s eyewitness reporter reports: "The support of the church and the pope's letter are highly appreciated. They are interpreted as unconditional support for the strike." He also quotes without comment a "militant" according to whom "God helped the strikers" and that they were also protected by the Virgin of Jasna Gora (*Rouge*, 5 September). Perhaps the protection of the Virgin is also a "part of the transitional program for Poland" today.

And what of the threat of

New York Times for Soviets?

Fake-Trotskyists tailing social democracy have uncritically enthused over the Polish strikers, ignoring, denying or dismissing the considerable influence of the Catholic church and of nationalistic, pro-Western sentiments among them. But the imperialist bourgeoisie is very much aware that politically contradictory mass protests against Stalinist rule in East Europe can be subordinated to the forces of capitalist restorationism. And on those rare occasions when the bourgeoisie can use the *forms* of proletarian organization for counterrevolutionary ends, they are quite willing to voice vague rhetoric of "workers power." In the latter stages of the Russian civil war, for example, the liberal-monarchist Cadet Party launched the slogan of "soviets without communists."

Now in an extraordinary editorial entitled, "What 'Soviet' Means in Poland," so has the *New York Times* (24 August), *the* central organ of the American ruling class. It begins by paralleling the *Communist Manifesto*: "There is a specter haunting the Soviet Union, and it is the ghost of genuine revolution by the workers." It goes on to hail the revolutionary traditions originating with the Paris Commune:

> "The Polish workers' councils have other antecedents. Recurrently, from the days of the Paris Commune in 1871 to the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, workers have sought social regeneration through committees that owed little to cafe intellectuals. As Hannah Arendt contended in her essay on revolutions, these spontaneous soviets are precious emblems of what is best in the revolutionary tradition."

The *New York Times*' present enthusiasm for soviets in Poland is more than just rhetoric. The more sophisticated leaders of the bourgeoisie know that there can be soviets under reactionary as well as revolutionary leadership. They know, for example, that the Social-Democratic-led soviets in Germany in 1918 were a bastion against Bolshevism and a force for the restabilization of capitalism. (In fact these very same Social Democrats were responsible for the murder of the Communist Luxemburg—who is also praised, along with the fascist dictator Pilsudski, in this amazing editorial.)

That is why the *Times* is for anti-communist soviets in Poland. The key to *proletarian* political revolution in East Europe is the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist party. We can assure our readers that there will never be a *New York Times* editorial in favor of *that*!

RWG...

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academic critique of the theory of state capitalism.

Instead Sollenberger concentrated his polemical fire on the SL, not the Third Campers, attempted to smear the real Trotskyists as apologists for the Polish bureaucrats and tried to create an amalgam between the SL and the pro-Stalinist Marcyites of the Workers World Party. The RWG's abandonment of the Trotskyist position on the "Russian question" as applied to Poland was so obvious that the RSL's Davis observed in his summary that "There's one basic division in the room, politically, that puts everybody on one side and the Spartacist League standing on its head on the other." (Naturally those who think that capitalism is in full bloom in Moscow have a little trouble figuring out which end is up.) Davis was sharp enough to point out that the RWG "stands in the middle and doesn't really know where it stands, despite its sympathies and desire to make a revolution [i.e., a *social* revolution] in Poland."

The same observation had been made earlier by an SL spokesman in the discussion period, albeit from the other side of the fence:

> "There are really only two sides in this debate: one is State Department 'socialism' and the other is the Trotskyism of the Spartacist League. The position of the RWG has been simply to run back and forth between the two and obfuscate the questions. Their role is basically the role played by Shachtman in the '39 fight, which was that Shachtman hadn't gone over on the Russian question all the way yet. He simply provided cover for the passage from Trotskyism to State Department socialism.
>
> "So, the RSL, the ISO and Workers Power, although they tried to avoid it in their speeches, have an open position of supporting Carter's 'human rights' campaign in Afghanistan. There was a *civil war* in Afghanistan—which side are you on? Are you on the side of the Red Army, which in contrast to many other places, like Ethiopia, where it sided with reaction, is intervening on the side of social progress? Or are you on the side of the mullahs, landlords and bankers? *That's* the side these people are on!"

In the discussion which followed the forum an RSL member confirmed that his group would support Catholic-dominated unions, state-supplied media access for the church's counterrevolutionary propaganda and would even have stood with the Pilsudski-led Polish army against the Red Army before World War II. RWG honcho Sollenberger, who was standing around listening to this anti-Communist garbage, just smiled and walked off.

Has the RWG found its niche, as the tame "defensists" in the Shachtmanites' "Third Camp" swamp? Maybe so, maybe no. The anti-Spartacist cliquists of the RWG used the forum provided by the Shachtmanite social democrats to attack the Trotskyism of the SL. Yet a few days later, when the Spartacus Youth League gave a forum on Poland at their home turf of Ann Arbor, the RWG lacked the political courage even to show up! Above all they are political cowards. ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Forums

A Workers Poland, Yes! The Pope's Poland, No!

Speaker: Joseph Seymour,
Spartacist League Central Committee
Editor, *Spartacist*

Cambridge
Thursday, September 25, 7:30 p.m.
Phillips Brooks House, Parlor Room
Harvard University
For information call: (617) 492-3928

Boston
Friday, September 26, 12:00 noon
315 George Sherman Union
Boston University
For information call: (617) 492-3928

Berkeley
Saturday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
For location and information call:
(415) 835-1535

San Francisco
Friday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
55 Laguna, Room 202
UC Extension
For information call: (415) 863-6963

Los Angeles
Sunday, October 5, 7:30 p.m.
For location and information call:
(213) 662-1564

Speaker to be announced

Chicago
Friday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Embassy Room
(Michigan Avenue & Balbo)
For information call: (312) 427-0003

counterrevolution? IMG's *Socialist Challenge* (28 August) dismisses this out of hand. It states categorically, "The strikers offer no prospect for a return to capitalism in Poland." Through the attempts of the Polish dissidents to woo the church hierarchy in their favor, their calls for Finlandization, the USec pseudo-Trotskyists will find themselves hand in hand with the class enemies. Thus earlier this year the French LCR wrote, "So when the Polish oppositionists push the slogan, 'Down with the government,' we support them even if they are looking for a return to a private economy, because a mass movement capable of bringing about this goal [toppling the government] will never allow the factories to be returned to their former bosses" (*Rouge*, 1 February 1980). Amazing! And all that in the name of the "dynamic"!

And what about the USec's main competitor, the "Parity Committee"? Its main European component, the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of Pierre Lambert openly courts pro-capitalist-restorationist elements in Poland. It supports a Polish organization, Szerszen ("The Gadfly"), whose leader is Edmund Baluka, a former leader of the strike committee at the Warski docks in Szczecin during the 1971 strikes. Baluka's newspaper calls for a "democratic parliament" and a "broad movement of diverse socialist organizations whose goal is democracy and independence for Poland" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 31 May 1980). This sounds like Kronstadt 1921, with its pseudo-democratic call for "free soviets" and "free elections"—free from Communists, that is. In reality it is a call for counterrevolution. But for the social-democratic OCI, which hailed Soares' CIA-financed counterrevolutionary movement in Portugal in 1975, this is no problem. The conference of Baluka's Szerszen in December 1978 was attended by the president of the Polish Peasants Party of pre-war (Pilsudskiite) Poland!

The "Eurotrotskyist" accolades for the pro-Western Soviet bloc dissidents is a reflection of the general rightward drift of the European labor movement over the past decade, in particular the phenomenon known as "Eurocommunism." Arising in the context of Soviet-U.S. détente, Eurocommunism represented the attempts of Communist party leaders to prove to their "own" bourgeoisies and to Washington they could be trusted with ministerial portfolios—through their much-touted independence from Moscow, their shedding of even the pretenses of Marxist/Leninist phraseology, and 100 percent support to East European "dissidents." So today Eurocommunists and Eurotrotskyists join Carter, Brzezinski and Pope Wojtyla in campaigning for "human rights" and "democracy" in the Soviet bloc.

When the first shots in the new Cold War were fired over Afghanistan, the USec, as usual, was all over the map. But now they all agree that defense of the USSR is irrelevant and that the Russian intervention (against Islamic reactionaries who shoot schoolteachers and imprison women behind veils) is "reactionary." And in Poland not only are they giving direct material support to the pope's dissidents, but there are domestic repercussions as well. As over Afghanistan, there's practically no difference between the reaction to the Polish strikes by the Pabloists and various "state capitalist" groupings. In the U.S., the SWP has already fused with the non-Soviet-defensist Landau grouping (in 1977) and are now ogling another Shachtmanite splinter group, the ISO.

In England the IMG has been discussing the conditions for liquidation into the much-larger "state capitalist" SWP of Tony Cliff. The initial response on Afghanistan by both groups was "Soviet Troops Out." And while they drew out parallels over Afghanistan, Poland could be the place where they get down to talking business. Already they have a joint operation going on in the publication *Labour Focus in Eastern Europe*. *Labour Focus* is so anti-Soviet that it printed without criticism calls for boycotting the Moscow Olympics, a fact which provoked the resignation of Tamara Deutscher. Where *Labour Focus* differs with the social-democratic KOR dissident group in Poland, it is only to endorse the more "militant" Pilsudskiite, anti-Semitic, Catholic nationalist PLN (see "All the Pope's Dissidents," *WV* No. 263, 5 September).

In Iran, the leaders of the USec demonstrated their devotion to the imam Khomeini by chanting "Allah Akbar" (God is Great) and endorsing reimposition of the veil. (Not long after the "anti-imperialist" ayatollah showed his gratitude by arresting their Iranian comrades.) Those USec militants who don't want to end up singing "God Who Protects Poland" in the cause of Jimmy Carter's human rights had better wake up soon! Who knows what Pope Wojtyla has in store for them?

Laski/Sipa-Black Star

Strike leader Lech Walesa bows his head before cardinal Wyszynski.

Marx vs. The Militant

"Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the 'parson-power', by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the apostles."

—Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (1871)

"What do Marxists think about the demand made by the strikers in Poland that all religious groups be given access to the media?

"We support this demand. Not only because Marxists support the principle of freedom of religion, and are against the use of coercion for or against it. The demand was also justified as a *political* move to broaden support for the workers' struggle."

—*Militant*, 19 September 1980

Whither Workers Power?

In contrast to the rightward motion of most of the ostensible Trotskyist outfits, in Britain the Workers Power (WP) grouping has lately been on a leftward course. WP, whose origins are in the Cliffite SWP, formally abandoned its "state cap" analysis of the Soviet-bloc states over Afghanistan. But while adopting some general positions of orthodox Trotskyism they have flinched when it comes to hard issues of concrete policy where the differences between Bolshevism and centrist confusionism are concretely posed. Thus, while recognizing that the USSR is a degenerated workers state, Workers Power denies any progressive content to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. While recognizing, unlike the rest of the left, the reactionary character of the mullah-led movement in Iran, Workers Power nevertheless could not break with the "mass movement" led by the clerical/reactionary Khomeini.

On Poland *Workers Power* (September 1980) notes: "The poison of the Catholic church hopes to use the struggles and sacrifices of the Polish workers to increase its bargaining position within society." But what is the conclusion drawn from this? Nowhere do they warn that the international organization led by the Vatican represents a counterrevolutionary threat. On the contrary, they write:

> "It [the church] is not interested in breaking the political stranglehold of the Stalinists at present, only in proving its indispensability as a force for conservatism and stability in exchange for a greater licence to peddle their obscurantist and reactionary message. This they can do better as props for Gierek than alongside victorious striking workers set on destroying all privilege and inequality."

Only, that is, until it sees a chance that counterrevolution might succeed. The idea that the church (and Western bankers) are four-square behind the Soviet-bloc bureaucracy is a "state cap" myth. A temporary coincidence of interests, perhaps, but in spite of the Stalinists' treachery there is the "little matter" of the class line which separates them from the capitalist ideologues and businessmen. Whoever fails to see this cannot possibly present a revolutionary program for the Polish workers.

As for the strike leadership, *Workers Power* declares the Interfactory Strike Committee, the MKS, as "in embryo a workers council, a Soviet." So what? The *New York Times* says the same thing (see page 8). Elsewhere in the same article, it indicts the post-war overturn of capitalism in Poland carried out by the Soviet army because "that transformation ran counter to the immediate pattern and rhythms of the class struggle, and served to isolate and demobilise the most class conscious sections of Poland's working class." What fatuous garbage! The "rhythm" of the class struggle in Poland in 1944-45 was measured by the beat of Red Army heavy artillery pounding away at the Germans. What workers? It was hard enough to find a house standing in Poland at that time. So the Soviets won, and social transformation was the outcome. The bottom line is: which side are you on? That is where the open or disguised "Third Campers" are caught out. If militants of Workers Power wish to continue their leftward motion to embrace authentic Trotskyism, they cannot wish away these questions.

Over the past couple of years, a series of key questions have tested the political capacity of various groups claiming to stand for Marxism and Leninism. When China invaded Vietnam and the USec called for an even-handed policy, we were unique in pointing to U.S. complicity as part of a developing anti-Soviet Washington/Peking axis and demanded "China: Don't Be Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism." At the time of the overthrow of the bloody shah, when millions were chanting "Long live Khomeini," we alone warned there must be no support to the clerical/reactionary mullahs. Our slogan "Down With the Shah, Down With the Mullahs—For Workers Revolution in Iran" was angular and did not gain us popularity at the time. But it has now, tragically, been proved tenfold.

As we wrote in the document of the first delegated conference of the international Spartacist tendency, "The Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the gains of the October Revolution will have the same cutting edge as our opposition to the popular front in West Europe and Chile had in the previous period" (*Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80). Events soon confirmed our analysis. For in the face of Carter's Cold War propaganda about "Afghan self-determination," when most of the left condemned Soviet intervention, we raised the slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

And now on Poland, where everyone from ultra-reactionaries to pseudo-Trotskyists has unconditionally hailed the strikers, we insist there are the possibilities both of proletarian political revolution and capitalist restoration. It could go either way—*it is the job of Trotskyists to see that it turns out to be the former and not the latter.* ■

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Poland 1956, Poland 1980

We reprint below excerpts from a speech given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at a forum in New York City on 5 September.

Poland is unique in the history of what we call the degenerated and deformed workers states. That is, on the one hand you have a highly combative working class with a history of struggle for independent organizations, of struggle against the bureaucracy, for independent organizations going back now approximately 25 years [to] the mid-'50s. On the other hand, it's the only country in East Europe where you actually have what amounts to a counterrevolutionary institution, having some of the characteristics of a political party, in the Catholic church.

One way of looking at Poland is that in Hungary in 1956, and then again in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the whole dynamic of the situation was toward a proletarian political revolution, whatever its ultimate outcome. Or as in Afghanistan you have a situation where the Soviet Army is playing a progressive role in suppressing a clerical-reactionary movement, this time of an Islamic nature. Poland stands somewhere between the two of them. It can either go the way of Hungary in '56 or it could go the way of Afghanistan. (Although it's a deformed workers state and Afghanistan is not, but nonetheless the analogy holds as far as it goes.)

Now, of the various East European countries, Poland was the one which suffered least from Stalin's terror in the late '40s and early '50s. And that had its good side and its bad side. Its good side is that a great many Communist workers, honest Communist workers and cadre, were not killed. Its bad side is that a lot of reactionary priests and noblemen were also not killed [laughter]. And in Poland, like a number of East European countries, there was a severe crisis, so-called crisis of de-Stalinization.

Now what was de-Stalinization? In the first place it was an attempt to end the tyranny of the secret police within the bureaucracy itself, to end the kind of irrational state terror among the bureaucrats themselves. The first act of de-Stalinization shortly after Stalin died was that the secret police chief in Russia, a chap known as Lavrenti Beria, was invited for tea in the Kremlin with other members of the Politburo. He was informed that these days it was not proper etiquette to carry guns around. And when he walked in for tea, while he was drinking or before he got to, two Russian generals blew his brains out. That was de-Stalinization.

But of course, once you take away Stalin and the secret police, then you have differences within the bureaucracy, differences on economic policy, differences on policy toward dissident intellectuals, differences on peasant policy, you have all kinds of differences. It's not so easy to resolve them. When you have Stalin and Beria it's easy to resolve them: you just shoot someone. So you have divisions within the bureaucracy which were particularly severe in East Europe where many of the elements of the bureaucracy had been persecuted by Stalin's immediate followers. In '53, '54, '55, sections [of the bureaucracy] appealed to the masses. They promised socialist legality. They promised higher living standards. And you had a period in many of these countries, including Poland, of a kind of rising line of social struggle, both among the intelligentsia and the workers.

In Poland this culminated in the so-called Poznan uprising, where a large number of workers among the big factories were demonstrating for higher wages and lower prices. The militia either refused to or weren't able to disperse them and they attacked the seats of government power. They attacked the prison, they attacked the radio station. The army moved in and a lot of them were killed. And the regime's initial response was to cry, "imperialist provocateurs!" But everybody knew that was a lie. So under the conditions of general unrest, the country was brought almost near to some kind of revolutionary upheaval, which in fact occurred a few months later in Hungary.

It was avoided in Poland by a change of government which [brought in] Wladyslaw Gomulka, who had been a leader of the Polish party in the underground and was purged by Stalin in 1948 as a Titoist, as a national-liberal. But, as I said, in Poland the terror was not as severe, and instead of being killed like his opposite numbers in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, he was merely placed under house arrest. And one has to remember that at this time the majority of the Polish workers were not anti-Communist. What they wanted, what they strived for, was to replace what was in their eyes a bad Communist government with a good Communist government. They had the illusion that Gomulka was that. He was not responsible for most of the crimes and he talked a pretty good line. So in this situation of mounting revolutionary unrest, they brought Gomulka to power and he promised great things.

I'll read a quote because it's important to get a sense of what the Polish workers had been hearing, the kinds of promises they've been hearing for decades. This is Gomulka in '56:

> "Only by marching along the path of democratization and eradicating all the evil from the past period can we succeed in building the best model of socialism. A decisive part on that road must be played by widening the workers democracy, by increasing direct participation of the workers in the management of enterprises, by increasing the part played by the working masses in governing all sectors of the country's life."

Now what's significant is not that Gomulka said it but that the workers *believed* it. And moreover the workers were very conscious that workers democracy was not bourgeois parliamentarianism. So that the Communist Party cell in what was then sort of the vanguard factory of the workers, the Zeran auto factory, said: anybody who thinks that this democratization is the first step toward bourgeois democracy is going to have to contend with us.

Now, the Russian leadership still believed that Gomulka was perhaps the Polish Tito. So they seriously considered military intervention to oust Gomulka from being reinstated. But unlike Dubček [in Czechoslovakia], Gomulka was a pretty tough cookie. He'd been an underground leader. So Dubček and his friends mainly it seemed went around petting dogs and dancing with peasant women, activities which are in themselves not objectionable and perhaps even pleasant. But when the Soviet leadership is building up masses of armies to invade you, this is not exactly the thing that a good leader would do. Well Gomulka didn't do it. So when Khrushchev hit Warsaw to demand that Gomulka step down, he was met at the airport by an honor guard of armed Communist workers from the Zeran factory. And Gomulka indicated that there were a lot more like them.

The Communist Party had sufficient confidence so that at least in many key areas, if not all, they armed the workers, partly spontaneously and partly developed at the base by the Communist fractions. There were workers councils which were genuinely independent, certainly no less independent organizationally than this trade union [in Gdansk today]. And the real crime of Polish Stalinism under Gomulka, the real crime was not the incidence of terror, because if you discount the massacre in December 1970 it wasn't great. It was that in 1956 the majority of the Polish workers, the majority of the intellectuals and maybe even, certainly a lot of the peasants, wanted a socialist democracy and they saw that through a reform of the existing Communist government.

Gomulka betrayed those expectations. And you could see kind of a trajectory from '56 to '70 to '80: that in '70 the workers had more or less given up hope on democratization, what they demanded was mainly economic. They still had illusions in the ability of the bureaucracy to grant their economic demands. They had lost complete faith in promises of democratization. And now, with the economy going to hell, they've sort of gone over to what they see as the opposition, namely the Catholic church.

Today all of the organized forces in Polish political life—the Polish Communist bureaucracy, the Catholic church, the various dissidents—all of them continually pound the idea that Soviet Russia is the enemy of the Polish people. The church and the dissidents claim that their desire is to turn Poland into Finland, some kind of neutral bourgeois state "liberated" from "red imperialism." But the hallmark of a revolutionary party in Poland is a positive orientation toward the Russian, the Ukrainian, the Soviet Central Asian workers and peasants. This has historically distinguished genuine Polish Marxism from Polish nationalism.

This is not simply a question of abstract proletarian internationalism. Because you had better believe that Brezhnev thinks that anything that happens in Poland—workers revolution, liberal Stalinism, counterrevolution—that a Russian conscript army could be depended on to suppress it. For the political consciousness of the Soviet masses is very different from that of Eastern Europe where the overthrow of capitalism was from without. The Russian masses are very much aware, having fought and survived Hitler, that all of the nuclear weapons are aimed at them...and Carter has made them more aware in the last couple of weeks.

A proletarian political revolution in Poland must extend itself to the Soviet Union, the central locus of proletarian state power, or one way or another it will be crushed. That is simply the concrete application in that area at this time for the classic Marxist formula of "Workers of the World Unite." ■

Marcy to the Rescue

And then there is Sam Marcy, Monday-morning quarterback for Polish Stalinism. While most of the fake-Trotskyists cheer-lead for the Polish social democrats and the "human rights" pope, the American Marcyites root for the Stalinist bureaucracy. What both have in common is a profound defeatism, a disbelief in the capacity of the working masses to embrace a genuinely revolutionary program and adhere to a Leninist vanguard party. Marcy broke from the Socialist Workers Party in the late 1950s after supporting the Kremlin's suppression of the insurgent workers in Hungary.

Now Marcy sets for himself the uphill task of restoring the popular authority of the ruling Polish United Workers Party. Sounding like a disappointed schoolmaster he expresses mild dismay that Gierek, "a worker himself who once toiled in the mines," should have known that a "critical situation" was evolving in Poland. But once he got into the mess, says Marcy, Gierek (à la Nixon?) should have tried to stonewall: "By officially admitting grave and serious errors...Gierek weakened his own hand" (even Gus Hall and Brezhnev were more critical than this)!

But never fear, Polish Stalinists. All is not lost, Sam Marcy is here. All you have to do is distance yourselves a bit from the state:

> "The party, however, is the historical instrument of the proletariat and the ideological and political vanguard of the workers.... In times of tension between the state and the workers, as is the case now, and in times of worker dissatisfaction and even outright hostility, the party of necessity must be ready...to partially detach itself from the state with which it is so intimately interwoven and connected, and which it has been leading; the party must be ready to create some distance between itself and the state and stand by the workers...."
>
> —*Workers World*, 29 August

No doubt Marcy, who was once upon a time a Trotskyist, has forgotten that a mere 50 years ago Trotsky pointed out that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was not a party at all (much less a revolutionary vanguard), but was simply an extension of the government bureaucracy. We can safely predict that Stanislaw Kania, despite comrade Sam's well-meaning advice, will not "detach himself from the state" and "stand by the workers."

Sam Marcy must now be one of the few people on earth who thinks the Polish Communist party is the "political vanguard of the workers." If there is any country where the Stalinist bureaucracy is thoroughly discredited and despised, it is Poland. More than three decades of endless lies and broken promises, of blatant corruption, of bureaucratic oppression have made many Polish workers look favorably to Pope Wojtyla's church and the Meanyite AFL-CIO. Where Marcy's program is to act as a pressure group on the bureaucracy, Trotskyists seek to mobilize the power of the proletariat in soviets, as the only force capable of leading humanity to communism.

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Friday 3:00-6:00 p.m. Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tuesday 5:30-9:00 p.m. Saturday 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tuesday 6:00-10:00 p.m. Saturday 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St.
(one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Saturday 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W. Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

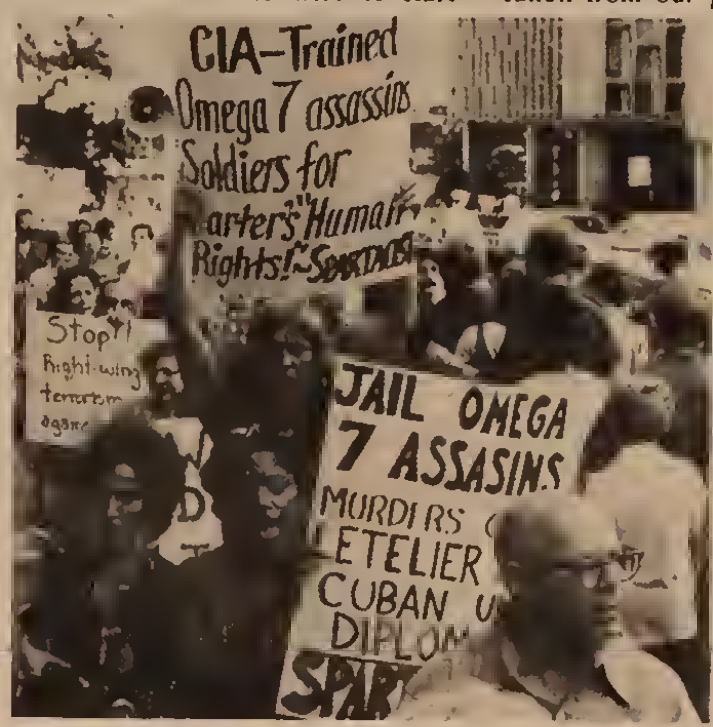
Jail Omega 7 Killers!

Félix García Rodríguez, an attaché at the Cuban mission to the United Nations, was blasted to death as he drove down Queens Boulevard on Thursday, September 11. Minutes later a group of right-wing Cuban-exile killers called to claim credit for the assassination. Not only was this the first time ever that a UN diplomat had been murdered in the United States, but Omega 7 (the gusano group) is the same terrorist outfit that worked hand in hand with Pinochet's DINA to carry out the assassination of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier in Washington, D.C. in 1976. And the Omega 7 hitmen are trained by the CIA, veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion. (As we go to press, a U.S. appeals court has overturned on technical grounds the convictions of the three gusano terrorists jailed for participation in the Letelier slaying.)

Over 400 people marched outside the United Nations the next day, September 12, to protest this hideous atrocity. The Spartacist League joined the demonstration carrying signs, "Jail Omega 7 Assassins—Murderers of Letelier and Cuban UN Diplomat" and "CIA-Trained Omega 7 Assassins—Soldiers for Carter's 'Human Rights'." The SL participated not only to protest gusano terrorism, but to place responsibility for these acts where it belongs—at the feet of the U.S. government and its offspring. The FBI obviously keeps close tabs on Omega 7. "We had indications some months ago that the bombings [of buildings] may stop and other activities may accelerate," the head of the Bureau's New York office reported. "The other activities were to start killing people" (*New York Times*, 13 September). But somehow the Feds never manage to stop them before they strike.

The organizers of the protest in New York City, the Committee to End the U.S. Blockade Against Cuba, under the influence of the Communist Party, were more interested in orchestrating an outpouring of liberal grief than mounting an effective political protest demonstration. After a few minutes on the picket line, SL comrades were told to remove the organizational identification from our placards. When we refused, goons set upon us and ripped our signs. With Carter threatening WWIII over Afghanistan in the name of "human rights," it says a lot about the reformist CP that they're so worried about offending the liberals that they feel compelled to silence those who attack Carter's anti-Soviet policies.

The U.S. government has blood on its hands. Carter's "human rights" means asylum for all the gusano scum and immunity for the Omega 7 and DINA death squads. Jail the Omega 7 Assassins! ■



WV Photos

Spartacists march in protest against gusano assassination of Cuban official; CP sectarian red-baiters break up united demo.

Coleman...

(continued from page 12)

Socialist Party we mean a workers party that struggles for proletarian state power.

Members of the candidate interviewing committee of the SF Central-labor Council were familiar with ANCAN's work and listened with interest when the president asked Coleman, "What do you think of the Polish workers strike?" She replied, "That's a very good question. Many of the workers' demands are justified. They're talking about mine safety, they're talking about trade unions independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, but I want to see trade unions stand on some kind of socialist basis. If you're asking me if I stand for the Polish Catholic church, one of the most reactionary forces in the world, I don't. And I'm opposed to any kind of lash-up where the Polish Catholic church is trying to get NATO intervention in Poland to restore capitalism. I stand for a socialist Poland and workers democracy."

Coleman is running against Carter-Reagan-Anderson and their imperialist drive for war against the Soviet Union. Indeed, she's the only candidate running for election anywhere in the country who is making an issue out of defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

A Fighter for the Working Class

Diana Coleman is a fighter on the side of the working class. She's a 34-year-old native San Francisco and a militant whose first political act was to demonstrate on the city hall steps to drive the witchhunting HUAC out of town in 1960. She went to Gulfport, Mississippi in 1965 and did civil rights work with SNCC. She was a prominent Bay Area anti-Vietnam War activist, a leader of Oakland Women's Liberation and has been a fighting union militant for ten years, six of them at the phone company in the CWA. Coleman is a supporter of the Spartacist League and is well known in the San Francisco labor movement as an organizer for the April 19 Committee Against Nazis.

Diana Coleman is running against a field of strikebreaking Democratic Party politicians who are labor-haters in a labor town. The working population of San Francisco is ruled by a city government that cut wages of city craft workers in 1976, broke a teachers' strike in '79, laid off teachers and closed schools. This summer they had black, Asian and Latin women hotel strikers arrested by a special SWAT-style squad. They have demonstrated their willingness to pay more to save a shark or restore cable cars for tourists than to pay their workers a living wage or see to it that the next generation of San Franciscans will be able to read or write.

There is an enormous potential to break labor from its ties to the Democratic Party. Coleman noted, "Even the Central Labor Council bureaucrats hold their nose when they vote for (Mayor) Dianne Feinstein. She's a hard package to sell to the union membership."

In 1976 San Francisco city craft workers struck against a Board of Supervisors' wage-cutting attack on their unions, as the city was poised on the edge of what could have been a victorious general strike rallying all sectors of the poor and working population behind it. The Spartacist League intervened in that strike, calling on the craft workers to "Screw the Supes! Stay Out!" and extend the strike to other unions in a general strike to shut down the city. Instead, the strikers were stabbed in the back by the CLC that sent them back to work, leaving wages to be determined in the bosses' courts and at the mercy of the Board of Supes.

After the strike was broken, then-Supervisor (now Mayor) Feinstein bragged that the Board was able to "settle it without putting any money on the table. I don't know of any jurisdiction that has been able to accomplish that anywhere." It's high time to reverse these attacks and get the powerful San Francisco labor movement back on its feet. The Coleman campaign will make that struggle its focus. Enough! It's time for a workers party!

A Test of Revolutionary Leadership

Class struggle is a test of revolutionary leadership, and other left groups failed that test in the 1976 strike. They failed to pose what was needed to win it and in some cases actively *opposed* a general strike. Some of these groups are running candidates in this election: there are four or five social democrats of the DSOC and "Rebel Worker" stripe; there is a long-time Stalinist fellow traveler in the running and a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). None of them deserve workers' votes.

The CP and SWP do not see elections as a means to direct workers toward socialist revolution but rather to advance utopian reformist slogans like "Tax the rich" and "Spend more on butter, less on guns." In practice they chase after alliances with trade-union bureaucrats and tail the "lesser evil" among capitalist politicians.

To show how very far from proletarian politics the ex-Trotskyist SWP has gone, they are running a scab, Andrew Pulley, for president. They used to admire another candidate for supervisor, the gadfly cop and former jail warden Richard Hongisto, who they imagined was some kind of progressive "Brubaker"-style maverick. (Hongisto, by the way, is best remembered as the sledgehammer artist of International Hotel, where hundreds of elderly Chinese and Filipinos were evicted when he smashed down the first doors for the news photographers.) Anyone who tells workers to believe in "hip" cops or puts a scab on the ballot for president has no claim on workers' votes.

This election campaign is an opportunity for the Spartacist League to present our program of socialist revolution in a concrete and immediate way—it is, in fact, the only solution to the hardship and threats to the jobs of working people of San Francisco. Unemployment, street crime, biting increases in housing costs, transit breakdowns, cuts in welfare, food stamp and unemployment benefits, schools that don't educate—all these things hit minorities the hardest, particularly blacks. Coleman will be explaining to thousands that the socialist Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League is the only way to attack these ills.

We're going to make this campaign a vehicle to gain a wider hearing at a time of heightened political interest, to expose the parties and candidates who falsely claim to represent the interests of the working masses.

The Spartacist Party Campaign Committee will use this opportunity to combat electoral illusions and make the point that social gains in this country will be made on the picket lines, not in the ballot box. Running in elections is an adjunct to a Leninist party's general propaganda and agitation, a subordinate tactic in the fight for revolutionary leadership of the working class.

We will use the campaign the way Diana Coleman would use the office if elected—as a platform to rally the workers to the battle lines of class struggle. Just as the Bolsheviks fought in the tsar's Duma, we will fight in the capitalist elections to lead the workers in the direction of the revolutionary conquest of state power. ■

Protest SWP/CP Ballot Exclusion

The Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have just been thrown off the ballot for statewide and national offices in California by the secretary of state in a nakedly exclusionist move. The state invalidated their petition signatures *not* because they are not registered voters but on the claim that these registered voters have moved since they registered—and this in the most mobile state in the union!

Diana Coleman, running for San Francisco supervisor supported by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, responded to this attack: "In trying to get on the ballot myself I've been down to the registrar of voting office several times, and let me say they have the most disorganized office I've ever seen. I don't think they know their *own* address. And in general these regulations are patently undemocratic. They are for the purpose of excluding left groups and keeping them off the ballot.

"That's the point of the massive number of signatures you have to have to get on the ballot, especially for national elections. It's a way of excluding small groups... I oppose it. Though I have no desire to vote for the scab Andrew Pulley or his social-democratic puritan running mate, they do have the right to be on the ballot."

WORKERS VANGUARD

Socialist/Labor Militant Diana Coleman for S.F. Supervisor

Enough! It's Time for a Workers Party!

Diana Coleman outside 1978 CWA convention.

WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO—Members and sympathizers of the Spartacist League in San Francisco greeted with pleasure the opportunity to file with the registrar of voters as sponsors for Diana Coleman, a genuine socialist union militant, as candidate for supervisor in the city elections coming up November 4. The Spartacist Party Campaign Committee to support Diana Coleman has been formed, and adopted as its central slogan for the campaign, "Enough! It's Time for a Workers Party!" The campaign is already underway with scheduled appearances for the candidate before the San Francisco Central Labor Council (CLC), the Frederick Douglass Club, Teamster Local 9 and ILWU Local 10.

In an interview with *Workers Vanguard* Coleman stated, "The other candidates are worried about petty concerns like the sewage tax, district elections and freedom for the great white shark in Steinhart Aquarium. Our campaign will hit the *real* issues facing workers—depression, the threat of war against the Soviet Union, the rightward turn taken by bourgeois politicians in this country that has encouraged the growth of fascist groups like the Nazis and the Klan.

"Just last Saturday night 400 attended the first Klan rally in Connecticut in 70 years. Two weeks ago dozens of KKKers in full regalia patrolled an NAACP march under police protection right across the bay in Richmond, California, and then last week, the night before Rosh Hashanah, swastikas were painted and a bomb threat was phoned to stop the opening of a Jewish play in Los Angeles. The same night windows were smashed at a Jewish bookstore on Geary Street here in San Francisco.

"The press has been criminally complacent about these things. They call the daylight murder of five labor organizers by the Nazi/Klan in Greensboro last November 'a shoot-out between extremists.' This equates the victims with the murderers. On these Rosh Hashanah attacks they yawned, 'This happens every year.' I represent a program and a strategy to chase these murdering fascists back in their holes.

"We showed how to do it in San Francisco last April 19. When the Nazis threatened a public celebration of Hitler's birthday, the Board of Supervisors was going to let it take place on their own doorstep. It was the Spartacist League that initiated the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) and put a stop to that. I worked with ANCAN to build the united-front rally of 1,200 trade unionists, gays, blacks, Jews, Asian-Americans, Latinos and socialists that occupied the intended site of the Nazi demonstration and prevented it from taking place.

"A vote for me is a vote for that strategy. Not pork-barrel ethnic politics, but a program to unite all the different sectors of poor and working people in San Francisco behind the labor movement to stop fascist terror groups and fight for labor's interests. My campaign will be a small but important step toward breaking labor from the capitalist parties and building a mass workers party."

Addresses Central Labor Council

The first labor group to support the Coleman candidacy was the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). The MAC considers Diana, a former caucus member, as something of a favorite daughter. They voted that "We are delighted to have a real workers candidate with a class-struggle program to vote for in the San Francisco elections. The MAC enthusiastically endorses the Spartacist candidate Diana Coleman for Board of Supervisors. Activity in support of her campaign will be a major focus of MAC work until the November elections."

It's been so long since a real labor-socialist has run for election here calling for a workers party that in Coleman's first speaking engagement before the San Francisco Central Labor Council September 11, the CLC president noted: "Oh yeah, sure, we heard of all that stuff for years from Eugene Debs, but it never worked." But unlike Debs and the old

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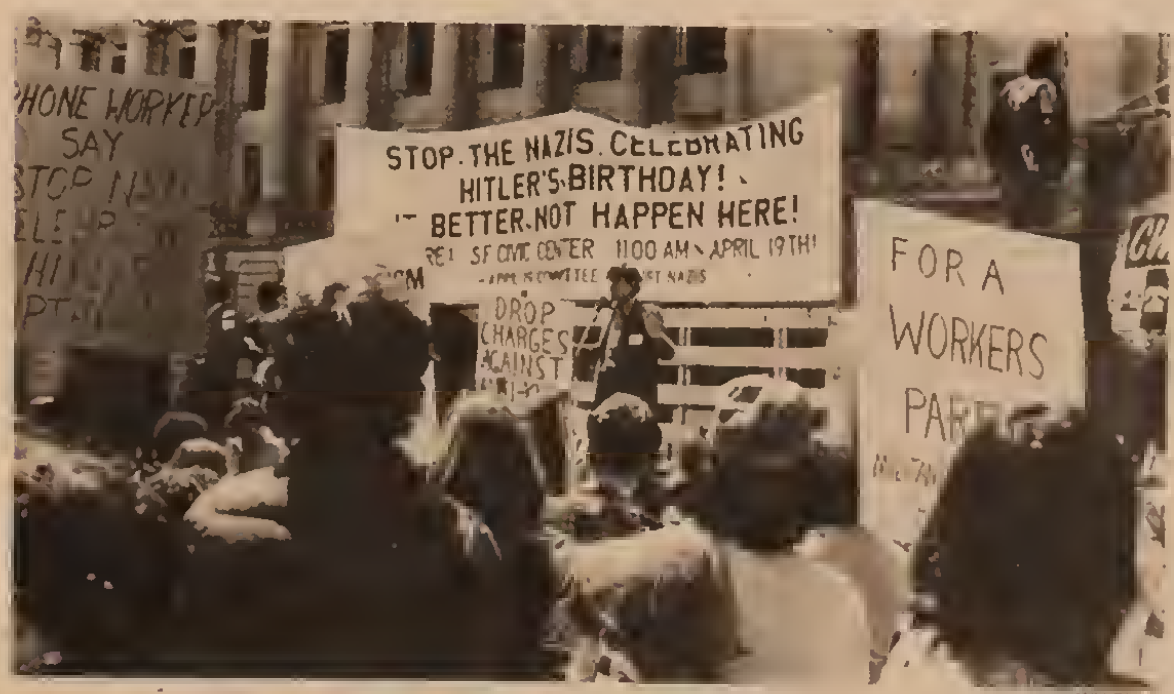

WV Photo

San Francisco—April 19th labor rally stopped Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday.

Diana Coleman Statement

We reprint below the statement of Diana Coleman, candidate supported by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee for SF Board of Supervisors, filed for publication in official voter information material:

Six years Communications Workers of America militant. Supporter Spartacist, labor/socialist organization which initiated April 19 Committee Against Nazis that stopped Nazis/Klan celebrating Hitler's birthday, San Francisco Civic Center. Stop union busting! End discrimination—housing, education, jobs! Pass ERA! Full rights for homosexuals! Citizenship rights for undocumented workers! For jobs, free medical care, education, transit! Expand rent control! Oppose gun control! Oppose Carter/Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! For workers political revolution against Stalinist bureaucracies! For rigid separation of church and state—Afghanistan, Iran, Poland, United States. For workers party fighting for workers government. Expropriate major industry—establish planned economy!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 265 — 3 October 1980

Iranian Revolution Meets Arab Revolution

Iran's Abadan refinery in flames. Bureau/Sygma

Iran/Iraq Blood Feud

Turn the Guns Against the Mullahs and Colonels

SEPTEMBER 30—Months of religious curses and border skirmishes between Khomeini's Iran and neighboring Ba'athist Iraq blew up into full-scale war September 17 as Iran bombed Iraqi oil refineries, airports and the capital city of Baghdad while Iraqi armed forces drove deep into Iran's oil-producing region of Khuzistan. As we go to press, Iraq has the upper hand militarily, having seized the strategic Shatt al-Arab estuary linking both countries' oil lands to the Gulf. Iraqi forces have surrounded Khurramshahr, the major port city of Khuzistan, as well as the provincial capital of Ahwaz. Abadan, site of the world's largest oil refinery, is now a smoldering furnace after repeated aerial bombardment.

In 1975 under the shah's rule—when it was the imperialist-backed gendarme and bullyboy in the Gulf—Iran imposed a treaty on Iraq dividing the waters of Shatt al-Arab. But now with the shah replaced by Khomeini's Shi'ite theocracy the Baghdad colonels saw the opportunity to take their revenge. Iran's military has been severely crippled through massive purges of the officer corps and desertions from the ranks. With re-supply and technical support from the imperialists cut off, hundreds of Phantom jets and Chieftan tanks rust on the air bases and in depots outside Teheran.

Clearly the working people and oppressed of the Middle East and the world have no interest in the victory of either side in this squalid border war to determine which anti-working-class gang of chauvinists controls the Shatt al-Arab. Naturally both sides blame the present conflict on the imperialists, in particular the U.S. And if the imperialists have written off Iran as a major supplier of oil under the fanatic mullahs who presently run the country, they still have their eye on the straits of Hormuz, which Iran has threatened to close. Through these straits, at some points only 25 miles wide, pass one-third of the capitalist world's oil supply and two-thirds of the imports for Japan and West Europe.

U.S. Out of the Gulf, Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean

After having its embassy seized in Iran, and faced with the Soviet interven-

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Carter/Reagan: No Choice for Blacks

Who is the Candidate of KKK Racism?

While the Klan and Nazis organize racist terror and provocations on the streets with increasing boldness—burning crosses and shooting blacks from Fontana, California to rural Connecticut—Carter and Reagan have been busy calling each other racists and KKK "symps." The capitalist media has treated the "Klan debate" as election mud-slinging-as-usual. But behind all the nose-holding and polite talk about a "dirty campaign" and "poor taste" is a monstrous political fact which ominously overshadows the election campaign: the growing acceptance of the KKK/Nazis in the capitalist mainstream as part of their reactionary solution to the "black problem."

In the supercharged atmosphere of Carter/Reagan's saber-rattling against Russia, the racist and anti-communist

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"Nightriders' flames in Connecticut 1980. Grossfeld/Boston Globe

The Bologna Massacre

Letter From Italy

Milan, Italy
29 August 1980

Bologna was horrific. To date it's the largest indiscriminate massacre by the fascists and the state in Italian history. The immediate response of the working class was that it was the fascists even though the government tried to cover it up for 24 hours. And people responded with huge demonstrations everywhere in Italy. The first Saturday in August in Italy is when the majority of those who take vacations catch their trains. The trains are packed beyond limits. I still feel very shocked every time I think about it. We were also in a train station the morning of August 2nd. All the 2nd class carriages overflowing with tourists and working-class families.

The bomb was put into the 2nd class waiting room at the Bologna station. So the target was clear: working-class families. Why did it happen? The imperialist bourgeoisies have been lamenting the weakness of the Italian state for a long time. The *Economist* has been calling for the death penalty for terrorists (i.e., the Red Brigades). And of course the bourgeoisie would like to have a government capable of dealing with the very militant Italian working class—instead of its normal impotence and falling apart. But another very important factor is that Italy has strategic NATO military bases which the American imperialists need to be strong and reliable in the warmongering against the USSR. So instigate a huge massacre and by doing that create the atmosphere necessary for the emergence of a "strong state."

Italian state complicity (directly through the Secret Service) in similar massacres is well documented. But every so often they get caught out, purge a few of the *responsables*, and then change their name. There are hundreds of books documenting this as well as the many hushed-up coup attempts. The British bourgeoisie has compared Italy to Turkey and although there are obvious differences the level of violence in political life is similar.

Der Spiegel

Italian fascists kill 84 in Bologna railway station bombing.

The left's reaction to Bologna was pretty pathetic. None of the far left groups had anything more than to say "another fascist attack" and claimed that it was a pre-emptive attack on the upcoming struggles in the fall (FIAT, etc.). The PCI [Communist Party] is of course using this to prepare another popular front. They say that the only way to fight fascism is to strengthen the "democratic institutions." And after one-half million workers from all over Italy showed up in Bologna (many coming back from vacation) to attend the funeral the PCI said to the DC [Christian Democrats]—look we are the people who can bring out the masses into the streets, you need us to collaborate in government. They lament the attack against "democracy"—after all Italy, i.e., the "Democratic State," is born out of the resistance struggle against fascism. The PCI's line is that Italy is a democratic state, they do not say that it's an imperialist bourgeois state (i.e., the main enemy is at home).

The working class only half buys this line. They want to fight fascism and the memories of the CP partisans are very much alive. That's where the Red Brigades take their roots. The night after Bologna the MSI headquarters in Rome was attacked (MSI is fascist), and the next day the PCI denounced this, pleading for democratic methods of struggle. If the Red Brigades were intelligent they would now go after the fascists thereby gaining support from the working class and giving themselves a cover of defense against the state (i.e., CP ranks would not buy the Rossa you are our leader you have shown us the way line. Rossa was the CP fink knocked off by the BR). Obviously we don't tell the BR what to do and of course if they went after the fascists it would be substitutionist, but certainly we would feel a certain amount of sympathy if they got a few of those bastards.

We went to the funeral in Bologna. As opposed to the funeral after the 1969 Piazza Fontana massacre (where the secret service and the fascists planted a bomb in a bank killing 18 people) in Bologna there were red flags, hammers and sickles, and posters everywhere. It was pretty shocking to see the station. The bomb destroyed an entire building and the huge hole it left was filled with wreaths. The trade unions had organized free trains for workers to attend the funeral. We took the one from Milan which was packed, three thousand people. On the platform at Bologna it was something to see the workers getting out of the train with their red flags flying standing in silent commemoration in front of the destroyed building.

At the funeral itself it was impossible to get anywhere near the church. The two main squares and the two main roads leading to the church were packed full of workers. There were contingents from everywhere—Naples, Genova, metal workers, FIAT contingents, etc. When the Bologna restaurant workers contingent marched by people applauded in solidarity. They lost six co-workers in the massacre. They were holding posters with the names of their dead comrades and they were all trying not to cry. Forty-year-old men and women with tears running down their faces. I guess that I'm a little bit too sensitive but seeing them made me cry too. The other contingent that received applause of solidarity was the contingent from Brescia. In 1974 the fascists bombed a trade-union demonstration in Brescia killing 18 people.

You know it really makes you wonder how and when it's going to end. The last 15 years in Italy have been of militant working-class struggle and fascist attacks. The working class has not yet been beaten back to passivity, but the cycle can't just go on forever, at some point it's going to crack.... ■

Letter

Hungary 1956, Poland 1980?

New York, New York
September 22, 1980

Dear *Workers Vanguard:*

A specter haunts the pages of *Workers Vanguard* these days in its coverage of the strikes of the Polish workers (5-19 September 1980); the specter of the Global Class War Tendency's revolutionary Trotskyist analysis of the attempted Hungarian counter-revolution in 1956. Twenty years before the dawn of Carter's warmongering "human rights" campaign against the workers states—and the embrace of it by an SWP seasoned in its support of anti-Soviet Russian "dissidents" and Portuguese CIA socialists—Vincent Copeland brilliantly analyzed the incipient Stalinophobia and third campism in the SWP's unconditional support for the Hungarian workers councils.

The Spartacist League's exposure of the Catholic Church-"free trade union" leader connection and its emphasis on the necessity of a political break by workers with the clerical forces if the social gains of the workers state are to be defended—not to mention going further, through political revolution—is a contribution. What *WV*'s Poland articles refuse to admit, however, is that they are also head and shoulders above anything the SL has written on the subject.

This is mainly due to belated acknowledgment of two points:

A.) That, in the event of a struggle for state power between workers councils and the bureaucracy of a deformed workers state and/or the Red Army, it is actions of political counterposition by the workers councils to the capitalist restorationist forces and not the mere espousal of sentiments favoring socialized property forms that is the criterion for military support by Trotskyists.

This is significant because, to our knowledge, never in its entire fifteen year history has the SL laid any conditions on its support for the workers councils in Hungary or the bureaucratic Liebermanite (Dubcek) misleaders in Czechoslovakia. The SL has even gone so far as to locate in the sentiments of the Hungarian workers councils favoring socialized property forms the embryo of a "new" workers state the first week in November 1956, when by all reports the "old" Hungarian workers state had been smashed by the "freedom fighters" in western and central Hungary.

B.) The capitalist class' transitional program for capitalist restoration through decentralization in Eastern Europe (see Trotsky's *Defense of Marxism*). After cautiously crystallizing a mass movement around hypocritically vague, Kronstadt-like demands such as "Free Speech," "Free Trade Unions" and "Free Elections" ("human rights" World War III preparations), it can then launch a more maximal, East Europe-wide program of military disruption and capitalist restoration. While such a program does not alter the long-range political program Trotskyists raise in Eastern Europe, it should play a part in the formulation of immediate agitational demands.

This recognition is a step out of the USec swamp for the SL. *Intercontinental Press* has maintained that counterrevolution is out of the question in Poland, since the church is not publicly challenging the socialized property forms. That this break is only partial on the part of the SL, however, is indicated by the fact that in the same article of 5 September 1980 in which the SL criticizes the USec cover-up, it

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Outside Sydenham 20 September. Mayor Koch praised the cops for "acting with restraint."

AP

Save Sydenham Hospital!

Koch's War on Harlem

NYC Cops Unleashed on Black Protesters

Mayor Ed Koch's war on the black people of Harlem turned bloody on Saturday, September 20. Demonstrators supporting a sit-in to save Sydenham Hospital from Koch's budget-cutting ax were the victims of a bloody cop charge as 150 nightstick-swinging police attacked the demonstration. While mothers screamed, "Get the children out of here," the city cops threw down their own barricades to charge the defenseless crowd of some 400 protesters. At least 30 people were injured as the police, some with guns drawn, clubbed women and picked out the most militant protesters for especially vicious treatment.

"There are bodies on the ground," reported the radio news. *WV* reporters saw heads bloodied and police brutally beating a television newswoman. The camera crews barely got out of the way of the batons. James Butler, president of AFSCME Local 420 which represents Sydenham workers said, "The cops went berserk." And Koch lived up to Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel's description of him as New York's own Bull Connor as the mayor denounced the demonstrators as a "black mob" of "punks and thugs and provocateurs" from "radical fringe groups" and praised the cops for "acting with restraint"! That night an army of 500 police surrounded Sydenham.

Protest demonstrations continued throughout the next week, the picket lines swelling to 2,000 for weekend support rallies (including union contingents from AFSCME Locals 420 and 144, UAW District 65, SSEU and supporters from the UFT and District 1199). When the sit-in began September 15, doctors and hospital workers tried to keep the emergency room functioning under "community administration." But in the following days, the police methodically sealed off the leaders, first corridor by corridor then the whole building, from their supporters on the sidewalk. It ended at 2 o'clock in the morning on September 26 when the police marched in, dragging the union and black community leaders out and dumping them on the street.

The whole policy of the protest leaders has been to pressure one Democratic Party politician after another. Governor Carey, always ready to play "soft cop" to Koch's "hard cop" (as he did during the transit strike last spring), waffled on his previously solid support for closing Sydenham. After a meeting with Rangel and other black officials, Carey announced he would help the Harlem community "process the application" for state and federal funding. But he cynically admitted the hollowness of this gesture when he told reporters, "I have no money appropriated in the state budget" and "no discretionary funds at this time." The black misleaders' latest ploy is to send an envoy to the Near East to try to get some OPEC oil money.

Koch has made Sydenham the spearhead of his attack on New York City's minority population. For months the confrontation at the hospital has been building as it became the first to go in Koch's plan which originally called for closing six ghetto medical facilities. And this is not just your ordinary racist politician advocating "benign neglect" of black people. From the day he took office railing against poverty pimps and welfare cheats, the "liberal" Koch has been trying to make himself the candidate of a white backlash. Now he is being projected as a "fusion" candidate on both Democratic and Republican tickets in next year's mayoral race. To do this he has systematically, deliberately cut all ties with even the most "respectable" black Democrats from Charles Rangel, Basil Patterson and Percy Sutton on down.

While Koch is popular with white New Yorkers (69 percent in a recent poll said they would definitely or probably support him next time around), barely a third of the black population supports him. And no wonder: with city minority youth unemployment over 40 percent and the high school dropout rate almost 50 percent, Koch runs around slashing welfare, ghetto fire stations and hospitals. While arson-for-profit fires rage in the South Bronx, Koch cancels the Charlotte Street housing project, and promised federal funds just disappear down the rathole. And at a private dinner last year given by the elite "Inner Circle" club, Koch donned an Afro wig and did a minstrel show imitation of blacks protesting the hospital shutdowns! Black judge "Turn 'Em Loose Bruce" Wright (who brought down the mayor's wrath by granting bail to a victim of a cop frame-up) had Koch's number when he said that getting into a public debate with Koch would be like starting a "pissing contest with a skunk."

Now Koch wants to turn Sydenham Hospital into a drug rehabilitation "detox" center. Carey talks about the virtue of preventive medicine and neighborhood clinics. Health and Hospitals officials say there are other

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Clean the Cops Out of the Unions!

Chicago Teamster Chiefs Hire Killer Cops

CHICAGO—On the afternoon of July 6 three plainclothes policemen, on duty in an El train packed with fans returning from a White Sox game, beat up a 51-year-old black man named Richard Ramey. The police claim that Ramey, described by his neighbors as a kind and quiet man, refused to cease smoking on the train and "provoked" a struggle. They don't mention that the three burly cops had already handcuffed their victim when the beating occurred. "His legs were broken," the Cook County medical examiner later said. "He had bruises all over his body. There was a small fracture in his neck. He was really clobbered." Ramey died that night, listed as a homicide victim.

The three cops involved—Lewis Klisz, Fred Christiano and Fred Earullo—are all veteran policemen with at least ten years on the force. They have no disciplinary record. But they do have a history of beating hapless people on El platforms. The three were suspended and indicted on July 22 on murder charges.

Chicago's black community was revolted by Ramey's death. The killer cops routinely shoot down black youth and get away with it. But this time authorities feared that in the wake of the Miami ghetto explosion angry black residents would not take it any more. Though indicted and suspended (and out of jail on lenient bail terms), the murderous trio did not remain unemployed for long. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) hired Klisz, Christiano and Earullo as freight handlers at the city's McCormick Place exhibition hall, a plum patronage job paying more than they earned as police officers.

The hiring was a disgusting ploy in the IBT's bid for the votes of 10,500 Chicago cops below the rank of sergeant who will vote on union representation October 16. In an effort to upstage its competitors (all of which are "cop unions" like the Fraternal Order of Police) and thus increase its already hefty slice of the city patronage pie, the bureaucracy which lords it over the Teamsters union is shouting a message to the overwhelmingly white, notoriously racist Chicago police force: vote for us and it's open season on blacks, because we'll take care of you. This vile, racist defense of *murder* turns the stomachs of all decent trade unionists. The entire labor movement must demand that the Teamsters throw out these dangerous killers, *now*! And dump the fakers who hired them to boot.

In fact, the unions should have nothing to do with the murderous police, black or white. It's not just that

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Titan Bombs in Arkansas

On September 19 a powerful blast rocked a nuclear missile site in Damascus, Arkansas killing one and injuring 22. According to the Pentagon the cause was "human error," the system was "perfectly safe." It seems that a day earlier a technician dropped a socket from a socket wrench. Not so unusual an occurrence, except that somehow the socket fell 70 feet and punctured a 10,000-gallon fuel tank of a Titan rocket.

Water was sprayed on the missile as fuel vapors filled the silo. Accident teams tried to investigate, but could not get close to the missile. At 3 a.m. nearby residents became aware of the problem, when the lid of the silo shattered in an enormous, expanding fireball. Multi-ton pieces of debris, including the missile atomic warhead, flew up to half a mile into their fields, lawns, and gardens. "I knew we were all going to die," said a reporter who witnessed the ear-splitting explosion.

The 750-ton concrete silo lid, designed to withstand a direct nuclear hit, is now in chunks adorning various local cow pastures. The conventional explosives that trigger the warhead also exploded. The big bomb itself didn't go off, though—luckily for the imperialist war drive's public image. But since these things are supposed to blow up over the Soviet Union and not in rural Arkansas, quite a few local residents, congressmen and officials were upset.

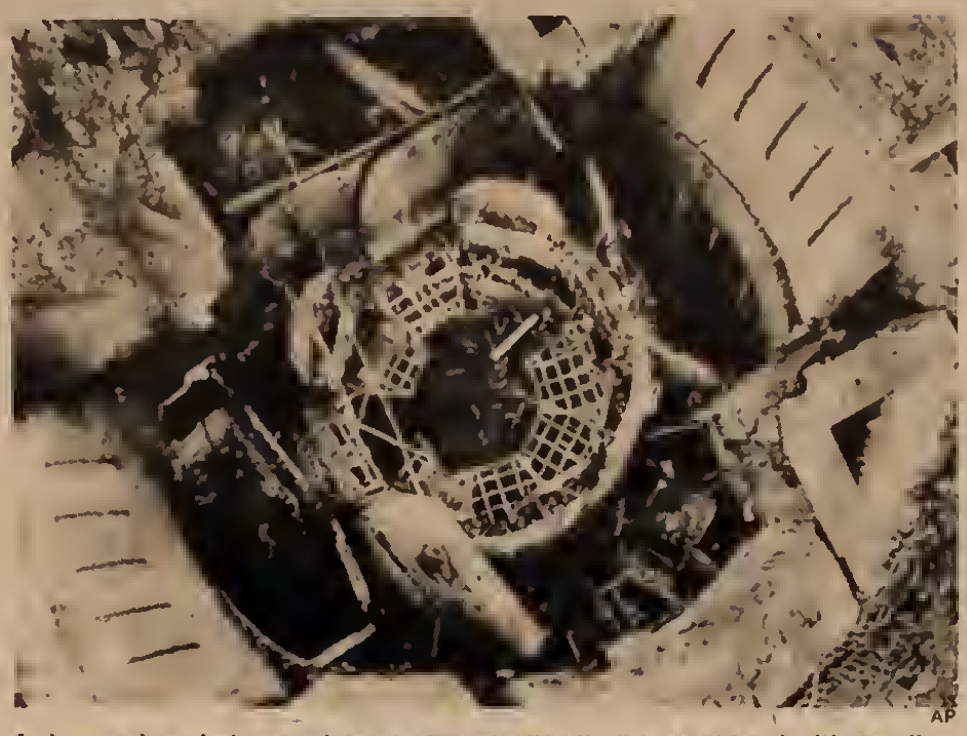
Senators complained about the lack of safety equipment—there aren't even sirens to warn the neighbors of untoward events. The local sheriff, who had been injured by gas from an accident two years ago, initiated the evacuation himself and bitterly complained about the lack of information and cooperation from the Air Force. The State Police were outraged that they got short notification about the movement of the truck supposedly carrying the warhead (now nicely packed in oil in "do not drop" containers after its several-hundred-yard flight) out of the area. At least one nearby town wasn't even warned.

And Russell Baker wrote a how-to guide for the rest of us, noting the security problems of referring to nuclear weapons, on what to do when you find a "Thing in the Garden."

Nothing to worry about, said the Air Force, which arrogantly would "neither confirm nor deny" even the existence of a nuclear warhead or the toxicity of the fuel components. At a press conference the day of the explosion, Secretary of the Air Force Hans Mark "defended the missile..., asserting that the Titan II 'is the largest, most reliable, best missile among our space launchers.'...Mr. Mark added that it is 'perfectly safe' to operate but noted that even safe systems can have accidents" (*New York Times*, 20 September).

Even if a nuclear warhead was tossed around (maybe it was just a few megatons of dynamite targeted at a Soviet leader's house, in accordance with Carter's first-strike Presidential Directives 58 and 59), we were assured several times a day that the nuclear explosion mechanism was "fail-safe" and could kill only *them*—and only when "we" told it to. And while there are no fail-safe mechanisms to prevent the spread of radioactive materials constituting the warhead, the PR people kept repeating that there was no radioactivity in the area and that the bomb (or its pieces) was never "outside the security control of the Air Force."

Well, accidents do happen. They happen a lot, in fact. This one was far from the first with this "most reliable" missile system: 125 "incidents" reported in the past five years, and how many more covered up? Two killed and 29 injured in a 1978 fuel leak. Fifty-three



AP

A dropped socket wrench explodes missile silo lid capable of withstanding direct nuclear hit.

construction workers killed in 1965. Since January 1978 alone nine accidents in the 18 Arkansas silos. In recent months an Arkansas senator collected safety complaints from a dozen Titan personnel. And according to an NBC report, commissioned several weeks before this latest explosion, at the time of the August 1978 accident "of 18 Titan missiles stationed in Kansas, there were serious leaks in 17." This list is clearly only partial.

Now the Air Force is denying that the incidence of brain damage and nervous disorders among its exposed technicians and hapless civilians at Damascus has anything to do with the exposure. And a PIO (public information officer) who had to explain to a recently evacuated town that it was all okay ended up admitting there were so many leaks that there wasn't enough staff to fix them. The Titan is safe, says the Air Force, and even "better now than when it was new" (in a recent report to Congress). So there is more than a little public skepticism about Air Force estimates of hazards.

Good thing these missiles are no less than *perfectly* safe. What about the safety of those H-bomb(s) on the B-52 that burned up in North Dakota only a week before the Arkansas blow-out? State officials only found out about that by accident, when an alert radio traffic monitor overheard the code words "broken arrow"—indicating "a major accident with nuclear arms aboard"! Or NORAD's famous 46-cent integrated circuits that have already twice in the last year told their trigger-happy mentors that the Russians were coming? Last November U.S. jet interceptors actually took off, while this June Minutemen button-pushers went on full alert before the false alarm was discovered. Or how about the safety of the B-52 that crashed in Thule, Greenland in 1969, scattering four nuclear bombs around the landscape?

And the B-52 that collided with a tanker and dropped four H-bombs over Palomares, Spain in January 1966 must have been a little less than perfect too. With plutonium scattered over the countryside, the *New York Times* reported at the time "a small amount of basically harmless radiation"! But the U.S. government finally did acknowledge that one of the bombs was missing and that the conventional explosives in two of the located bombs had exploded. They even had their ambassador and the Spanish Information Minister go swimming with their families "to demonstrate their confidence that the water is safe." And a month and a half later 1,500 tons of "basically harmless" dirt were barged off for burial in the U.S.

A nasty record, but those who seize on these frightening accidents to ban *all* nuclear power are grotesquely missing the point. In our arguments against the "no-nuke" eco-freaks we have been clear that with nuclear power plants, as with any technology, there will be accidents. Capitalism pursues profits, not the safety or well-being of the workers or those living near their facilities, so we call for safety measures at nuclear plants (as well as other hazardous workplaces—like coal mines) to be under the control of union committees of those who work with the equipment.

But here we have *bombs*. When a nuclear power plant goes there is danger of death from radioactivity. But these bombs are *designed* for mass destruction. According to a TV newscast the day of the Damascus blast, just one of these Titan warheads if exploded over Greenwich, Connecticut would wipe out everything in the New York City area, New Haven and all points between. Where are the protesting eco-freaks now with their fear of every decaying nucleus or flying charged particle? Missiles mean megadeaths, not projections of *n* induced cancers over 30 years. But the eco-freaks run for the ideological safety of their solar- or garbage-powered caves, protesting destruction of the ozone layer by foreign-made aircraft like the Concorde—not a peep out of these Chicken Littles about the military, whose high-flying death jets are a mortal danger.

And what of the owners and controllers of this and the U.S.' other 1,053 (admitted) land-based ICBMs? They have bigger fish than Arkansas farmers to fry. Never mind safety—they are in a full-scale armament drive aimed at getting first-strike capability against the Soviet Union, and this from only one leg of their nuclear "triad." If the USSR had not developed its own nuclear weapons and missile systems, it is very possible the Soviet people would already have been incinerated by the capitalist madmen. We are revolutionaries, not pacifist handwringers, and so defend the Soviet degenerated workers state's military preparedness—including its nuclear arsenal—against Western imperialism.

The *New York Times* ran a long series of articles on U.S. military preparedness, and the lack thereof, alongside its reports on the Titan accident. MX, Trident, cruise missiles, nerve gas: they want them NOW! With shameless arrogance and remarkably Orwellian logic, the imperialist warmongers conclude from their "perfectly safe" Titan accident... build the MX!

The accidents these "things" have, even if their "fail-safe" fails, are small compared to what they're designed to do. And an "accident" can be mistaken for a designed launch, as *Pravda* pointed out, thus initiating the expected response. Carter and Reagan are competing over who can give U.S. imperialism the itchiest trigger finger. The intended world destruction by these missiles and the other components of the imperialist war machine will be prevented only by the international victory of the working class. ■

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Not Our Son of a Bitch!

Somoza Gets His

Camblo 16

Not even the puppet masters shed a tear. When former Nicaraguan strongman Anastasio Somoza Debayle was blown to bits on a street of the Paraguayan capital of Asunción September 17—his white Mercedes riddled with machine-gun bullets, the roof torn off by a direct hit from a bazooka, with limbs and blood and glass scattered over the pavement—all that a spokesman for the U.S. State Department could muster was, "Of course we deplore violent death, no matter to whom it occurs or where." (This from the butchers who murdered more than a million people in Vietnam!) Only Ronald Reagan said it was "a sad loss."

In Managua there was dancing in the streets as the Nicaraguan population, which suffered under the heel of the bloodsucking Somoza dynasty for 45 years, rejoiced at the death of the tyrant. In the poor barrios the execution of "the buzzard" was celebrated by burning his effigy. Certainly the joy must have been tremendous. Almost 50,000 had been killed, overwhelmingly young people, by Somoza's hated private army, the National Guard, in 18 months of bitter uprisings and the final insurrection which toppled the dictator in July 1979.

It wasn't the first time a Somoza had gotten his from the end of a gun. In 1956 the founder of the dynasty was shot by a young poet, Rigoberto López Pérez, who dreamed that his heroic act would free the land of oppression. Then, however, it was "Somoza is dead, Long live Somoza" as El Jefe's sons stepped in to continue the family's rule. But Nicaragua was not simply your typical caudillo-ridden Latin American mini-state under a man on horseback—El Supremo, El Benefactor, El Macho. In an age where the term "puppet" is widely misused to include virtually every U.S.-backed dictator, the Somozas were the genuine article. Somoza I was left behind to administer this neo-colony when the Marines withdrew; Somoza III was ousted when it became evident that American bayonets were not going to prop him up.

A recent book by Latin American journalist Eduardo Crawley, though its title is now surpassed by events (*Dictators Never Die: A Portrait of Nicaragua and the Somoza Dynasty* [New York, 1979]), traces the origins and inner workings of Somozaland. Though Anastasio Somoza García, first of the dynastic line, married into one of the leading Liberal Party clans in Nicaragua, his climb to power was due to support from the U.S. at every decisive point. When Henry Stimson came to arrange a peace settlement of the Liberal-Conservative civil war in 1928, Anastasio served as his interpreter. And when under Franklin Roosevelt the Marines were finally withdrawn in 1934, including the officers who commanded the National Guard, they had to find a replacement. Their choice was the "friendly, likable" Somoza.

The Guard had been set up supposedly as a politically neutral, "professional" constabulary carrying out functions both of police and army. But in fact it merely gave the faction in power when the American forces left a well-armed instrument that could efficiently repress the opposition (whereas previously Liberal and Conservative "armies" had been more or less equal in strength). And given the lack of the social forces to sustain even a semblance of bourgeois democracy, it served as a power base for the Jefe Director to drive out all his rivals from both the rival cliques. By adroitly using gangs of fascist thugs to create disturbances, then imposing martial law in the main towns one by one, he enforced his monopoly on armed power. And by a series of forcing maneuvers he was able to drive President Sacasa (his wife's uncle) out of office.

Toward an ongoing peasant-based rebellion in northern Nicaragua, Somoza was less than "friendly and likable," however. Alone of all the Liberal generals, Augusto Sandino refused to lay down arms in the 1928 settlement imposed by Stimson. The "compromise" was based on the U.S. Marines' bloody mopping-up operations on behalf of the "duly constituted" Conservative government (itself the result of a coup). Sandino vowed to keep fighting until the Yankees were driven from the country. After some disastrous early guerrilla actions, he managed to hold the U.S.-commanded National Guard at bay for several years. Somoza finally managed to liquidate the rebel leader not by victory on the battlefield but through treachery. In February 1934, following a summit dinner at Sacasa's residence, Sandino was shot by Somoza Guardsmen near the American embassy.

While dominating Nicaragua militarily, Anastasio Somoza was anxious to consolidate his power by securing the official blessing of the United States. After several years he finally got an invitation to visit FDR at the White House along with other Latin American heads of state. In an exchange that later became famous, Roosevelt asked his Secretary of State about Somoza, "Isn't that man supposed to be a son of a bitch?" To which Cordell Hull replied, "He sure is, but he is *our* son of a bitch."

He certainly proved that, for over the next four decades Nicaragua acted as a Central American gendarme for the United States, repeatedly seeking to subvert elected governments throughout the region by raising the spectre of Communism. During the 1948 civil war in Costa Rica and again in 1954, Somoza-backed reactionary exiles used Nicaragua as a base against the liberal Figueres. Also in 1954 Nicaraguan forces took part in the CIA-engineered overthrow of the Arbenz government of Guatemala. And in 1961 bases in Nicaragua were used as the launching point for the failed Bay of Pigs invasion against Castro's Cuba. "Non-interference" is hardly a Somoza catchword.

The Marines may be gone, but Nicaragua under the Somozas was closer to an American protectorate than an independent nation. Under the Somoza sons, the American ambassador was a proconsul in the imperial tradition. The *Wall Street Journal* (23 February 1978) wrote that: "At times, the U.S. presence here has lacked subtlety; A picture of recent U.S. Ambassador Turner Shelton, for example, adorns the Nicaraguan equivalent of a $3 bill." Shelton was a close associate of Nixon friend (and Cuban exile) Bebe Rebozo and of the reclusive multimillionaire Howard Hughes, both of whom holed up in the Managua Hilton for long periods of time.

Economically, the ruling family ran Nicaragua like a private hunting preserve. "Managua, Nicaragua, it's a wonderful town," ran a popular American song, "You can buy a hacienda for a few pesos down." And that's what the upstart dictator proceeded to do. By aggressively exploiting his control of the state finances he proceeded to amass a business empire far outstripping the traditional Liberal business families and Conservative landowners. Over the years the Somozas gained absolute dominance over agriculture, industry and commerce. But before a massive earthquake which destroyed the capital in 1972, they did not have large holdings in construction and banking.

Using that tragic "opportunity," the ruling family managed to make tens of millions of dollars from the international relief aid, channeling it through new Somoza banks, buying up Somoza-owned land for housing developments, using only newly formed Somoza construction companies for the rebuilding. Crawley provides a graphic description of the dynasty's economic domination by describing the life of a middle-level government official, "Apolonio Estrada":

> "Every morning, the Estrada family breakfasts on Presto instant coffee, another Somoza product, milk pasteurised by the General's dairy products company, and sugar which might have come from Montelimar, Santa Rita or Dolores, all owned by Somoza. Yesterday's rubbish will have been carted away in a Mercedes truck (bought at the Somoza agency, which also supplies vehicles for the Guardia and top government officials).
>
> "Apolonio's pre-lunch drink is usually a Somoza-distilled rum with Somoza ice cubes; lunch itself is Somoza-slaughtered beef and a salad dressed in Somoza oil. As Señora Estrada retreats into the kitchen while listening to Somoza radio, Apolonio's youngest son switches on the set to watch Somoza television, and Apolonio himself sinks into an armchair to smoke a Somoza cigarette (lit by a Somoza match)."

The Somozas' greedy grab for total economic power in the wake of the 1972 earthquake was the end of the road for the rest of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie (which had gone along with the General's dictatorship as long as they could make a tidy profit). To describe the dynasty as "bloodsucking" is not simply metaphorical, for the Somozas also controlled a major company, Plasmaféresis, which bought blood from the peasants for a pittance for shipment to American hospitals. And when the leading bourgeois opposition figure, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro was murdered by Somoza hit-men in January 1979, it provoked a national uprising stretching from wealthy Conservative scions to impoverished shantytown dwellers.

Dejean/Sygma

West Point graduate Anastasio Somoza blown to bits.

Anastasio Somoza Jr. was hounded from the country in July 1979, first finding refuge in Miami, Florida—the graveyard for Latin American dictators—and then moving on to the Bahamas and Paraguay, private preserve of his buddy General Stroessner (who has ruled the country single-handedly since 1954). While the bulk of the non-Somoza bourgeoisie reluctantly supported the armed struggle which led to the overthrow of the dictatorship, real political power now lies in the hands of the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) and its army. Like the early Castro 26th of July Movement, the FSLN is a petty-bourgeois force which while seeking an accommodation with imperialism and "enlightened" local capitalists, could also be pushed by exceptional circumstances into going farther than they intended in expropriating the bourgeoisie. To date, however, the Sandinistas remain allied to the the local capitalist class. Revolutionaries in Nicaragua must demand: Break with the bourgeoisie—For a workers government!

As for the deposed Somoza, he had become superfluous to Washington. He had hoped to enjoy his personal fortune (estimated at $500 million plus) in gilded retirement, occasionally getting in trouble for fooling with a local strongman's mistress. But it was not to be. His was a common fate among those who would serve the U.S. imperialist colossus as its assassins and flunkies. Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, also installed in power at the head of a National Guard set up by the Marines, was bumped off with machine guns supplied by the CIA. In Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, after years of loyal service to Cardinal Spellman and his bosses in the White House, was assassinated in the back of a van in a coup d'état sponsored by the United States. In Somoza's case, however, the authors of the deed are not new handmaidens of imperialism but would-be avengers of the long-suffering Nicaraguan people. Unlike Winston Churchill, Franco and the shah of Iran, Somoza did not die in bed. And for this we, too, rejoice. Unfortunately, Somoza was not executed by a popular revolutionary tribunal but as an act of individual terror. And however gratifying we find his bloody end, we also recognize that this kind of terrorism characterizes a petty-bourgeois substitutionalism counterposed to proletarian revolution. But still and all, we can only consider the disposal of the tyrant Somoza III as an elementary act of sanitation and justice. ■

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KKK ...

(continued from page 1)

terror of the fascists becomes the domestic cutting edge of the reactionary Cold War. The Carter/Reagan "Klan debate" heightens the perception that the Klan is only an extreme version of the capitalist consensus—to dump blacks in the ghettos to rot, to use black youth as cannon fodder in a new war—a perception that the fascists are just Democrats and Republicans "in a hurry." Not in decades have black people been so desperate, despairing and so leaderless, the fascists so audacious and "respectable." And not in years have the capitalist candidates for president made such an open show of racism.

Carter, Reagan Court Klan Terror

In late July, Bill Wilkinson, "Imperial Wizard" of the "Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" came out for Reagan with the statement that: "The Republican platform reads as if it were written by a Klansman." Noting gleefully that the Republicans opposed the ERA and busing, Wilkinson went on to praise the GOP for its support of "Klan issues" like "free enterprise, prayer in the schools, reduced taxes, the death penalty, states rights and so on." On this basis the Klan might have as easily supported Carter and the Democrats who are no less against busing, for "free enterprise" and "so on." But for the Klan it is not a matter of debating programmatic points of agreement and disagreement. Their "program" is blasted out of shotguns at Greensboro and on the borders of southern California patrolling for immigrants. There is nothing particularly new in the Republican program as far as the Klan is concerned. What is new is the KKK's bid for public acceptance.

Reagan claimed to reject this controversial source of electoral support, but on August 3 he told a white audience at the Neshoba County Fair in Philadelphia, Mississippi: "I believe in states rights." It was not hard to break this time-worn racist code. As the *New York Times* (27 September) noted, "Cries of 'states' rights' rang from the [Neshoba County] fair in the summer of 1964" when civil rights workers Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner were "murdered and buried by a mob that included law-enforcement officials." Reagan believed like Bilbo and Ross Barnett did in states' rights. It meant segregation Southern style—Old Jim Crow. Reagan, however, who had penned the "states' rights" phrase himself, played innocent (as if the remark were lifted from the *Federalist Papers*).

Jimmy Carter went to Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church to warn the

Hanka/Real Paper

Connecticut, 1980: These racist terrorists won't be stopped by liberal/left calls to "ban the Klan."

Fascists Bomb CP Office in L.A.

LOS ANGELES—Fascist terror backed by cop repression has struck the left recently in an ominous series of attacks in southern California. September 16, San Diego: at a Democratic Party meeting four black activists associated with a Communist Party (CP) anti-repression group are beaten, and two of them arrested on serious frame-up charges, when they attempt to speak against the Democrats' KKK candidate Metzger. September 20, Los Angeles: CP offices are bombed in broad daylight; fortunately no one is hurt. September 23, again Los Angeles: 20 people at a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) campaign meeting narrowly escape injury and possible death after a man is discovered planting a pipe bomb outside their rear door.

Supporters of the CP's National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) had gone to the September 16 meeting of the San Diego County Democratic Party Central Committee urging the body to withdraw support from Klan "Grand Dragon" and Democratic Congressional candidate Tom Metzger. According to the 18 September *Daily World*, after NAARPR executive secretary Charlene Mitchell had testified against Metzger, her brother, Deacon Alexander, "was jumped by members of the KKK." A member of the Black Panther Party, Bob Duren, tried to come to Alexander's aid, whereupon one of the attackers, a plainclothes policeman, pulled out his badge and arrested the two victims of the assault. When Mitchell and another woman left the meeting to go to the police station, they too were attacked by KKKers and only escaped by running to the precinct.

Duren and Alexander were initially booked on trumped-up charges of suspicion of carrying a concealed weapon, assault on a police officer and resisting arrest. The two black leftists told *WV* that their arraignment date has been postponed and the San Diego DA is considering Metzger's demand that they additionally be charged with conspiracy to commit murder. Duren and Alexander were first slapped with $37,000 bail, but are now out on reduced bail of $2,500 each.

Four days after the KKK/cop attack and frame-up in San Diego, Communist Party headquarters in Los Angeles were bombed. The Wilshire Boulevard office had its door blown off, and it was pure luck that no one was in the office at the time. Other people were in the building, however. Then on Tuesday, September 23, a man was spotted crouching at the alley door of a Socialist Workers Party office on Broadway in L.A. According to the 3 October *Militant*, SWPer Jim Little said the bomber coolly placed a white handkerchief around the pipe, walked over to Little's car and threatened him with a pistol before disappearing down an alley. Thirty minutes later a telephone caller told the SWP, "The bomb that didn't go off tonight will go

The fascists are encouraged in their murderous attacks by the "even-handed" treatment from the capitalist media. When the KKK/Nazis murdered five leftists, blacks and labor organizers in cold blood in Greensboro, everyone from the reactionary local press to the liberal New York papers called it a "shoot-out" between violent extremists. Now the SWP has adopted the bourgeois journalists' same mode of "objectivity" in equating the fascist/cop attackers and their victims. Reporting the San Diego incident the *Militant* refuses to take a side:

> **"During the fight a .25 caliber pistol appeared. According to Alexander and Duren it was planted by the police.**
>
> **"The police version is that the plainclothes cop jumped Alexander because he saw him draw the pistol."**

Faced with this vicious and obvious provocation, the "socialist newsweekly" just reports "two versions." But it is a different story when they are the target.

Mr. L. Preckel
Deputy District Attorney
Sen Diego, California

As a candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, I strongly protest the arrest of Deacon Alexander and Bob Duren, members of the National Alliance Against Racist and Politicel Repression (NAARPR). Drop all charges immediately against these anti-Klan protesters—lock up the KKK cut-throets who attacked them and representatives of the NAARPR. These individuals were victims of a vicious frame-up by KKK grand dragon Tom Metzger and his fascist goons.

For mass mobilization of labor and minorities to stop the Klan-Nazis as in San Francisco on April 19 when a Spartacist League-initiated demonstration of 1,200 unionists, socialists and minorities stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in Civic Center. Working people must chase these fascists back into their holes—Drop all charges against Alexander and Duren—Jail Tom Metzger's thugs.

Reply is formally requested.

Sincerely,

Diana Coleman, candidate for SF Board of Supervisors
Sponsor: Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, Suite 729, 55 Sutter St., San Francisco, California 94104
(415) 863-6964

Drop Charges Against Curtis Lee Robinson!

An all-white jury in Decatur, Alabama (the site where the Scottsboru Boys were held fuur decades agu) began hearing testimony September 30 in the trial of Curtis Lee Robinson, a black man accused of shooting a Ku Klux Klansman last year. The incident occurred when an armed mob of 50 to 75 Klansmen attacked a peaceful group of black marchers in downtuwn Decatur in May 1979 as they were protesting the frame-up cnnviction of black youth Tommy Lee Hines (see "Free Tommy Lee Hines! Blacks Face Klan Guns in Alahama," *WV* 233, 8 June 1979).

Curtis Lee Rohinsun, a 50-year-old black maintenance supervisor at Decatur City Hall is being tried for assault with intent to murder KKK "Exalted Cyclops" David Kelso who was wounded in the chest. His attorney told the jury that a Klansman with a stick struck the first blow and a police lieutenant testified he heard several Klansmen shout "kill the nigger" just hefore the gunshots were fired. A KKK military commando squad, ominuusly training for "race war" in the Alabama hills, says it will retaliate in blood if Robinson is not convicted (*New York Times*, 28 Septemher). The capitalists would rather see Greensboros, where blacks and leftists lie dead on the strect, and a license tu kill for their KKK/Nazi murderers than see a hlack man defend himself from fascist attack. In a decent society Curtis Lee Rohinsun would get a medal of honor for his heroic action. All charges against him must be dropped! No More Greensboros! For the right of armed self defense against fascist attack!

large black audience: "You have seen in this campaign the stirrings of hate, the rebirth of codewords like 'states' rights'." This from Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter, who campaigned for Georgia governor in 1970 on the promise that if elected the first person he would bring in to address the legislature would be George Wallace; from Jimmy "life is not fair" Carter, who won the support of the racist Citizens Council of Georgia that year. And Carter's black face in the cabinet, Patricia Harris, told a United Steelworkers of America convention in Los Angeles, August 5, that behind Reagan she "sees the specter [of a] white sheet."

Then on September 1, Reagan went after Carter for beginning the Democratic campaign in Tuscumbia, Alabama which Reagan erroneously identified as "the city that gave birth to and is the parent body of the Ku Klux Klan." That Reagan was factually wrong again was not the issue—it was a matter of "taste" and "sensitivity." Carter said it was a "slur" on the South. Reagan said Carter's remarks were a slur on his character, and besides the Democrats had started it in the first place. So Reagan apologized to Carter. Carter alleged that he did not think Reagan was a racist. And both candidates seem to be engaged in a friendly competition to be the number one "respectable" anti-black politician.

But were the apologies really necessary? Carter's cozying up to the Klan was not simply a matter of starting his official campaign in Tuscumbia. Just hours after a parade of 75 to 100 Klansmen (who wore their hoods open so that others in the town could recognize them) Carter told the crowd that the KKK had besmirched the glorious traditions of Southern slavery. Sitting on the platform with two living symbols of segregation, George Wallace and former Senator from Mississippi James Eastland, the U.S. president offered hosannas to that historic symbol of the slave South: "As a Southerner, it makes me angry when I see them [the Klan] with the Confederate battle flag."

If Reagan really wanted to link Carter and the Democrats with the Klan it wouldn't have been too hard. On June 3 "Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger won the Democratic Party Congressional nomination in the 43rd district of southern California, and despite pleas by a California rabbi and many others Carter has refused to denounce his party's KKK candidate. However, the Republicans are in no position to throw such stones. In May an American Nazi Party member won 43 percent of the vote in the North Carolina GOP primary for attorney general; in August a former Klansman and Nazi was nominated as the Republican Congressional candidate in Michigan's Dearborn Heights district.

But the Klan isn't some parliamentary outfit that expects to win at the polls. They are a fascistic terror group that senses it can use the present reactionary climate created by Carter and Reagan to recruit the future shock troops for the capitalists to use at a time of sharp crisis—to crack the union movement and to persecute blacks and other minorities. In the hills outside of Birmingham, Alabama the Klan now has its own boot camp (called My Lai in honor of mass murderer William Calley) where KKKers armed with M-16 rifles practice guerrilla warfare. The Klansmen are self-admittedly training for "race war" or as one of these fascists put it, "I believe in the white race and this is the way it's going to be before it's all over."

Meanwhile, in Scotland, Connecticut on September 13 an estimated 500 attended the first public KKK rally in that state in 70 years. Standing round a burning cross the hooded terrorists yelled "put a nigger on that cross" and chanted the names of those they would like to see murdered, "Andrew Young, Cassius Clay, Richard Pryor" (*Hartford Advocate*, 17 September). Grotesquely, ABC urged the Klan to burn its 20-foot kerosene soaked cross before 9 p.m. so they could show this theater of racism on their news broadcast! Although an equal number of anti-Klan demonstrators had mobilized, the KKKers were protected by hundreds of state troopers and cops.

That same week the Nazis said they would march on Yom Kippur in the heavily Jewish Chicago suburb of Evanston. And in Greensboro, the state continues its license-to-kill trial of the KKK/Nazis for murdering five leftists last November. In its closing statement at this frame-up trial—designed to jail the victims and let the murderers go free—the state barely contested the defense claim that the Klan/Nazis did not fire all the shots. The prosecution wants this same "evidence" for its case against the Communist Workers Party supporters who survived the attack.

Following Carter's visit to Tuscumbia the Klansmen there have been bragging that it was a great boost to recruitment.

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off later. If you don't believe me ask your Commie buddies around Wilshire."

Bob Duren told *WV* that the NAARPR had gone to the Democratic Party meeting where they were jumped in order to press for a Congressional investigation of the brutal KKK attack on anti-Klan demonstrators in Oceanside last March. Yet the terrorists responsible for that bloody assault—Metzger and his boys—were sitting right in the room! The absurdity of the Communist Party's call on the bourgeois state to stop the fascists could not be clearer than in San Diego where the Democrats are officially represented, if not controlled, by the Ku Klux Klan. The fascists are the shock troops of capitalist reaction, and if their services are not presently needed, the ruling class is not about to outlaw them.

As for the civil libertarian Socialist Workers Party, it thinks that the way to answer KKK baseball bats and knives in Oceanside and fascist bullets in Fontana is through reasoned debate with these killers and by beating them at the polls! Yet the week after the SWP's San Diego Congressional candidate appeared on national TV with KKK terrorist Metzger (his "Democratic Party opponent"), SWP offices narrowly escape a bombing. While the two contenders were sitting in the studio together, the fascists were outside wiring up their bomb! Unlike such suicidal social democrats, communists do not support "free speech" for the Klan. There is no debating with fascist nightriders and cross-burners—what's needed is to mobilize labor, blacks and all defenders of democratic rights to crush these vermin in the streets. ■

Protest NBC Platform for KKK

On September 24, NBC television broadcast a live "chat" with fascist terrorist Bill Wilkinson, so-called "Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." The chummy host, Tom Snyder, and the network brass thereby provided a platform for deadly racist killers. Appearing at first in Klan regalia, Wilkinson returned after a commercial in a natty suit as a mod '80s-style racist. But he had just returned from a fiery cross-burning in Scotland, Connecticut, and bragged that in the present climate of KKK "respectability" similar race-hate rallies were scheduled around the country. His message was the same racist, anti-communist filth which the nightriders have been spewing out for decades, even advertising "Klan Special Forces" units training with automatic weapons for "race war" to wipe out blacks.

By televising coast-to-coast such calls for genocide, NBC and Tom Snyder are not defending free speech. They are furthering the cause of race-murder, and innocent blacks will die because of the "even-handed" aiding-and-abetting from these "knee-jerk liberals." This outrage set off a wave of protest, including the telegram printed here, initiated by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee, which was endorsed by a number of labor and left militants and defenders of democratic rights:

24 September 1980
Tom Snyder
c/o National Broadcasting Corp.
New York, NY

We vigorously oppose NBC giving the KKK "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson national network time on the Tom Snyder show tonight. The KKK and Nazis are fascist action groups committed to the mass murder of Jews, blacks, unionists and leftists as demonstrated from Greensboro, North Carolina to Fontana, California. Nazis and Klansmen came from throughout North America to "celebrate" Hitler's Birthday on April 19 at a "Hitlerfest" in North Carolina. On that same day Klansmen burned crosses and gunned down four black women in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Nazis were prevented from a similar "Hitlerfest" in San Francisco only by a mass demonstration of 1,200 unionists, Jews, blacks, gays, Chicanos and other enemies of fascist terror. Fascists use the media only to mobilize for genocide and their appearance on national TV can only fuel their ominous growth and boldness. No platform for Bill Wilkinson!

Endorsers

Spartacist League/U.S.
Partisan Defense Committee
Frank Donner, attorney
Conrad Lynn, attorney
William Kunstler, attorney
Naomi Jay, National Secretary of Habonim Labor Zionist Youth
Daniel Soyer, Secretary, Jewish Socialist Youth Bund
David Lutzker, National Secretary, Hashomer Hatzair
Ritchie Bradley, Militant Solidarity Caucus, United Auto Workers Local 906, Mahwah, NJ
Gene Heraon, Militant-Solidarity Caucus, National Maritime Union
Rabbi Charles Sheer, Columbia University Jewish Student Union
Rabbi Ronald Roness, Hillel Director, City College
Andrea Snegrott, Vice Prasident, Communications Workers of America Local 1150
Charon Glodwyn, Vice President, Communications Workers of America Local 1150
Spartacus Youth League
David Thorstead, gay activist
American Indian Movement
Donald Banks, AIM
Charles R. Garry, attorney
Robert Allen, editor, *Black Scholar*
Diana Coleman, 1980 candidata for San Francisco Board of Supervisors
Howard Keylor, Executive Board, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10
Stan Gow, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10
Larry Ackerman, steward, Communications Workers of America Local 9410
Paul Costan, steward, CWA Local 9410
Spenca S. Burton, education director, California Association of Letter Carriers
Norman Huntsman, International Association of Machinists Oistrict Lodge 56 and Local Lodge 739
Willy Lee Bell, chairman, Civil Rights Committee, IAM Local 739
Alice Walker, author
Rick Floras, Vice President, United Steal Workers Local 2869, Fontana, CA
Alvin S. Gant, President, Mailhandlers Union Local 302, San Francisco
Ron Tyeskey, President, Local 214, National Association of Letter Carriers, San Francisco
Vince Courtney, Executive Secretary, SEIU Local 400, Secretary-Traasurer, Northern California Joint Council of Service Employaes
Fernando Guerrero, President, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-1978

(organizational affiliation listad for identification purposes only)

NAACP and Urban League also sent their own telegrams of protest.

KKK...

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Wilkinson added that by 1984 "whoever is running for president will be courting the Klan vote." The "Imperial Wizard" is too modest. Both presidential candidates are already courting the Klan vote, though not the official endorsement.

With "Lesser Evils" Like These...

It used to be that presidential candidates, particularly the Democratic Party standard-bearer, would regularly make promises to cure the ills of black America. And in 1976 it was the black vote that put Carter in the White House. Now there aren't even the empty promises. It is all too obvious that conditions for blacks have become so miserable, so deeply rooted in the economy, that it can only get worse under capitalism. But what about the black vote? In a close race, say in New York state, black voters could make the difference. So the candidates are appealing to this vote on a consciously negative basis: "My opponent is an even bigger racist than I am." At worst they figure maybe all black voters will stay home on election day.

The black elected officials (BEOs) and the traditional black leadership have picked up on this "lesser evil" argument to try to hustle the vote for Carter. Julian Bond, for instance, took the announcement of KKK support for Reagan as the signal to shift his support to Carter. Jesse Jackson, who was recently cited in a black poll as the "most respected black leader in America," has become Carter's great black hope. Jackson grabbed headlines when he denounced Carter and flirted with an endorsement of the Republicans. But at the Democratic Party convention he struck a personal deal at the mountain top of the party and endorsed Carter—as "a lesser evil," of course.

Millions of blacks have had enough of the liberal Democrats' "evil." It was the liberals in Congress and the courts who killed busing and have led attacks on even the token gains of the civil rights movement. Black unemployment is double that of the mid-'60s. The Urban League reported recently that 70 percent of all unemployed blacks never received any jobless benefits and more than half of all poor black households received no welfare assistance. Blacks in the ghettos are the first victims of capitalist cutback austerity—with hospitals that can't heal, schools that can't teach, ghetto tenements unfit to live in, services decaying at a rate that crushes the aspirations of the young. Perhaps the most telling statistic in racist America comes from a U.S. Labor Department survey showing that *young blacks with college degrees have a higher rate of unemployment than white high school dropouts!*

No wonder blacks will sit this election out in massive numbers. A recent poll of middle-class blacks reflected the deep disgruntlement with the Democratic Party, with a third of the blacks polled favoring a black political party. But the traditional black organizations have no alternative. There is lots of talk about a black agenda, but the first order of business is always to vote Democratic. The NAACP announced that in 1976 only 26 percent of blacks between the ages of 18 and 24 bothered to register and vote. Their solution? A voter registration drive for the Democrats.

What is really going on among the black sellouts is an attempt to pressure the Democrats into some false promises. Recently the black leaders, upset with Reagan and Carter's racist remarks, took a stand for "black sensitivity." But social reality has passed them by. What these black vote hustlers want is a smoother racist to sell to black America. A Jimmy Carter who does not rub their noses in the Confederate flag while he grinds down the ghetto poor. Liberals have long pretended that racism was merely a matter of "sensitivity," of attitude, and at most a matter of education. But the sheer enormity of the economic and social oppression of blacks makes it clear that there can be no solution this side of the socialist revolution.

Fed up with the depression-level unemployment and inflation, American workers are no longer so willing to follow the union bureaucrats in casting their votes for the Democratic Party. So in the 1980 elections the capitalist contestants figure the working-class vote is up for grabs. The airwaves are filled with electoral pitches aimed at workers, highlighting patriotic pride and military preparedness. For white workers the capitalist politicians have a racist message: no matter how bad it gets for you, it will be worse for blacks.

For blacks, locked into an impoverished existence and already in the cross hairs of the cops and KKK, the situation is desperate. But now the hundreds of thousands of laid-off white workers are also standing in the welfare and unemployment lines they once thought were reserved for "blacks only." Fighting side by side, black and white workers can turn the situation around. And these are not just abstract good wishes. Concentrated in the heartland of "Depression USA," black auto workers, for example, can be key to mobilizing American labor in a real fight against the capitalists' austerity program and the massive layoffs and smashing the fascist menace.

Last November a 500-strong rally in Detroit—mainly black, many of them auto workers from area plants—successfully stopped a threatened Klan march. This labor/black mobilization points the way toward crushing the KKK/Nazis. In the mid-1930s the fascists were far more numerous than they are today. They were openly backed by industrial magnates like Henry Ford. But they were swept aside by the rise of the mass industrial unions—militant class struggle cut the ground from under the fascists who feed off the desperation bred by capitalist depression. And whenever the Silver Shirts, Black Legion, Coughlinites and their ilk tried to surface in the industrial centers they were stopped in their tracks by powerful union mobilizations.

As always it was communists, the Trotskyists, who took the lead in organizing the working class to crush these race-hating, labor-hating terrorists. Today as then, it will not be by supporting phony "lesser evils" at the polls but by mobilizing in the factories and mills of America that black workers have the power to bring down the vicious racist ruling class of Carter/Reagan. Not as token black front men for the Democratic and Republican parties of the capitalists, but fighting alongside their class brothers and sisters in the struggle to build a *workers* party, to forge a revolutionary leadership that can achieve a workers government that will rid us of the fascist scum *forever*. ■

Sydenham...

(continued from page 3)

hospitals just a few blocks away. But these private hospitals are not required to take the poor. As for nine-to-five "family neighborhood centers," what good do they do when the baby pours boiling water on itself, someone has a heart attack or you get cut up with a knife? In a ghetto if you don't have an emergency room you haven't got medical care, period. And the municipal hospitals are already bulging. As the city was closing down Sydenham, workers at Harlem Hospital were picketing because there weren't enough nurses. Diane Lacey of the Coalition to Save Sydenham noted at the September 21 rally they "brought the shah of Iran" to New York because it has some of the best medical facilities in the world, "yet here in Harlem the people have the highest illness and death rates in this country." Some statistics tell why: Harlem has fewer than one doctor for every 1,000 people compared to 6 for every 1,000 in Koch's old Congressional district on the Upper East Side. In large portions of the South Bronx, there is one doctor for every 10,000 people, compared to a statewide ratio of one doctor for 405!

Unfortunately, the black leadership in the Sydenham protests has mainly tried to turn the mass anger into electoral pressure. At the rallies, tables were set up for people to register to vote. "Call the mayor... Call the governor... Call the president's reelection committee," said the leaflets. "Stand by the elected officials who have come out for the sit-in," was the oft-repeated theme as the black Democrats took the platform at the weekend rallies—keeping their eye on the ballot box in November, of course. Their supporters took up the old civil rights song, "We Shall Not Be Moved" and substituted the lyrics, "Koch Shall Be Removed."

In the forefront of the sit-in and protests at Sydenham was demagogic Brooklyn preacher Herbert Daughtry, who figures to be the linchpin of the new lash-up of black politicians trying to build a "Dump Koch" movement. Rangel can do the talking with Albany and the White House while Daughtry will deliver the street action in return for

WV Photo

a say in doling out the crumbs (if they get any). Daughtry isn't averse to a few ill-organized confrontations with the cops, and of course this is the same race-baiter who deliberately tried to provoke a pogromist explosion, setting blacks against Jews in the tinderbox Brooklyn community of Crown Heights two years ago. But there is more a division of labor than political opposition between the "respectable" black elected officials (BEOs) and "firebrands" like Daughtry.

The disaffected black Democratic pols finally got the news that Koch won't deliver anything, but they turn instead to...Carey and Carter! Last year Deputy Mayor Basil Patterson noisily quit the Koch administration over the scheduled hospital closings, and now he is working as Carey's secretary of state. At the rallies the preachers and politicians went out of their way to avoid criticizing the "Guy," and their attitude toward Carter was one of pressure: "Carter is in danger of losing the black vote," Daughtry told Sydenham protesters, and his Black United Front put out a leaflet urging them to direct their efforts toward the president's reelection committee. But from that quarter they won't even get peanuts—Koch's program is only slightly more extreme than the rest of the bourgeois politicians who were clamoring, almost without exception, for budget-cutting, wage-slashing "austerity."

Most of the left predictably tailed the black ministers and Democrats without criticism. The Communist Party's Harlem organizer was among those who sat in at the hospital for 11 days, and the *Daily World* (27 September) wrote that the protests are "creating an entirely new political situation in the capital of Black America." But there will be no real change without a *political break* from the Democratic Party by labor and minority groups.

When the demonstrators occupied Sydenham, Koch's strategy was to wait them out—what did he care, they were going to close the place anyway. What the black protesters need is not better connections to Albany or "dialogue" with Gracie Mansion but the mobilization of real social power. New York witnessed that last April during the 11-day subway strike, and while it went down to defeat for lack of a fighting leadership, Koch certainly went on a war footing to go after the largely black transit workers. We pointed out at the time that a class-struggle leadership in key sectors of the labor movement could have united with the ghetto masses to wage a victorious struggle against all the job and service cuts, wage losses, etc. (see "NYC Transit Showdown," *WV* No. 252, 21 March). But instead there has been a cycle of union-black confrontations, and black-white divisions within the unions, from which only the racists like Koch benefit.

There is good reason why Harlem hates Koch. And it is the task of communists to see that this anger is not channeled once again into support for another capitalist politician. At a time when the Klan is burning crosses in Connecticut (and not so long ago in the Rockaways), when Carter isn't promising a cent to blacks anywhere, it should be clearer than ever that the Democrats are no "lesser evil." The fight against the anti-working-class, anti-black austerity programs must be directed into a struggle to build a genuine class-struggle workers party, which can unite all of the oppressed in a fight for a workers government. ■

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New York, NY 10013
(212) 732-7860

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 28, Station A
Vancouver, B.C
(604) 224-0805

Winnipeg
Box 3952, Station B
Winnipeg, Manitoba
(204) 589-7214

Iran/Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

tion in Afghanistan to aid in suppressing a U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary rebellion, American imperialism has launched a massive military build-up in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean—including 31 · irships, two of which are aircraft carriers.

An elementary demand for Marxists and the labor movement must be for the U.S. and NATO to get out of the Gulf, out of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, Diego Garcia included. If the U.S. were to intervene militarily in the Gulf, Marxists would call for the military victory of whatever forces sought to resist imperialist intervention, including the Iraqi armed forces or Khomeini's "Revolutionary Guards." It is also possible that an imperialist intervention could draw in Russia in a military confrontation, thereby posing the proletarian duty of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union.

But the imperialist powers have little leverage in the present conflict and are assuming a posture of neutrality in the hopes that their oil supplies will not be disrupted. Iraq, presently a Soviet military client although economically a client of the West European powers, has been seeking to integrate itself further into the imperialist camp—shopping for arms in France and attempting to strangle the powerful Iraqi Communist Party. President Carter would gladly trade all the military support Khomeini could use for the hostages, but the self-declared "imam" is presently not doing business with the "satan" in the White House.

The Kremlin, which supports both the "Arab Revolution" in Baghdad and Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution"—despite the thousands of Iraqi and Iranian Communists who have been jailed, shot or hung by these "revolutions"—has called for the belligerents to establish "good neighborly relations." Many second-rate, third-rate and no-rate world powers have offered themselves up as mediators—from Fidel Castro as chairman of the "non-aligned movement" (ironically, Iraq's president Hussein is slated to take Castro's place in 1982), to Pakistani tyrant Mohammad Zia ul-Haq on behalf of the Islamic Conference, to the PLO's Yasir Arafat.

War: The Acid Test

The Iraq-Iran war puts all the self-proclaimed revolutionaries in Iran, especially those who have begun (belatedly) to adopt a critical or even hostile attitude toward Khomeini, to the test. With the mullahs whipping up Persian chauvinism and martyr mania for the *jihad* (holy war) against the infidel Iraqi Ba'athists, Iranian youth are following the "imam's line" by registering in droves for military duty.

Not surprisingly, all signs indicate that virtually the entire Iranian left has capitulated to this wave of Persian patriotism. The People's Fedayeen Guerrillas, the largest group on the Iranian far left, has reportedly called on its followers "to defend the revolution and independence of the country in the face of attacks from the Iraqi fascist regime." This statement was reprinted on the front page of the stridently Islamic fundamentalist paper *Itala'at* on September 25. According to the *New York Times* (25 September), not only the Fedayeen but, "All the leftist groups have offered to send men to the front." *Instead of forming a proletarian opposition to Khomeini's holy war, the left is joining the unholy alliance embracing everyone from Khomeini's fanatics to Crown Prince Riza.*

But one need not turn to the Iranian left to find drumbeaters for Khomeini's Persian chauvinist *jihad*. The 3 October *Militant*, organ of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) whose Iranian co-thinkers are the notorious Khomeini-sycophants of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), screams: "The Iranian revolution is under attack." And the attack, it asserts, comes from Washington: "The Carter administration and the government of Saddam Hussein in Iraq share a common interest in trying to stop the revolutionary process in Iran...."

Should we be surprised that the SWP/HKE, who supported and lied for Khomeini through his imposition of the veil, the stoning to death of adulterers and homosexuals, his persecution and murder of leftists and his genocide against the Kurds, should support this Persian chauvinist war to defend *the shah's treaty*? The SWP now finds the "Arab Revolution" it once hailed to be the agent of U.S. imperialism. And the *Militant* here breaks *to the right* from Castro to stand beside the clerical reactionary Khomeini.

The British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and their American satellite, the Workers League, have followed their "imam" from Tripoli, Libya's Colonel Qaddafi, out of the workers movement. Like Qaddafi they hailed simultaneously the "Arab Revolution" in Baghdad and the "Islamic Revolution" in Teheran, to the point where they whitewashed the hanging and shooting of Communists and other leftists by both. Now with the two "Revolutions" at each others' throats, the WRP, like Qaddafi, counsels mediation and ludicrously blames the war on Israel. Now that the Zionist state is sending out feelers to Khomeini for an anti-Iraq bloc, we can only wonder at what Qaddafi will put into the next issue of the WRP's *News Line*.

War: The Mother of Revolution

We are opposed to the victory of either side in this reactionary border war, but we are not pacifists. We do not view with disapproval two regimes—which have systematically terrorized and murdered national and religious minorities (or in the case of the Shi'ites in Iraq, a religious *majority*), militant workers and communists—grinding up their opposed military machines fighting each other. One can't help but recall the 1965 border war between India and Pakistan over the contested desert area known as the Rann of Kutch. For two months the Indian and Pakistani armed forces went at each other—with the only result being that each side knocked out a lot of the other's tanks and jets. If we did not have faith in the working classes of Iraq and Iran to overthrow their respective oppressors in Baghdad and Teheran we would dearly like to see both the Ba'athist officers and Persian Shi'ite mullahs get all the military support they could use to exhaust themselves in the ancient feud over who controls the waterways of the Tigris and Euphrates.

But war is also the mother of revolution. And the Iraqi-Iranian conflict lays bare their real "border problem": the oppressed nationalities that are divided by the artificial border separating Iran and Iraq, especially the Kurds and the ethnic Arabs who compose a · majority of Khuzistan (which Arab nationalists appropriately call Arabistan).

The Kurdish nation, divided by five state boundaries in the Near East, has been savagely persecuted by both the Ba'athists and Khomeini's "Revolutionary Guards." Khomeini's hand has been stayed from genocide only by his incapacity to create a modern armed forces on the basis of exalting the Sword of Islam and the promise of easy passage to heaven for martyrs. The Iran-Iraq war offers the Kurds the greatest opportunity to carve out a nation-state since the short-lived "Kurdish Republic" of Mahabad in 1946. Leninists support the unconditional right of the Kurdish people to self-determination and defend that right as long as the Kurds are not subordinated to an imperialist power, even if Kurdish independence is first realized for only a part of the Kurdish people—e.g., those living in Iran.

In the Abadan refineries and on the docks of Khurramshar is to be found a proletariat which, though in its majority Arab, is drawn from nationalities throughout Iran and the Middle East (although Khomeini expelled many of the foreign workers, especially from Pakistan and India). The oil workers of Iran and Iraq have been in the vanguard of the working class of their countries.

Within their ranks (as well as among the heroic, if deeply confused petty-bourgeois radicals of the Iranian Fedayeen) are to be found the cadres for authentic revolutionary Trotskyist parties in Iran and Iraq, sections of a reborn Fourth International. This war and the position of revolutionary defeatism will be an acid test for a revolutionary regroupment of these cadres, breaking them from illusions in radical Arab nationalism of the Ba'athists or the utopian populism of the Fedayeen. *Khomeini and Hussein must go the way of the shah and the Hashemites, but in their place must rise a socialist federation of the Middle East!*■

Hungary...

(continued from page 2)

adamantly denies that the danger of capitalist counter-revolution existed in Hungary in 1956, using the very same USec method! Here, the SL contradicts its own 1966 analysis that the success of the Hungarian uprising would have delivered power into the hands of Hungary's "Catholic-peasant majority."

Recognition of these points are transparent concessions to the Global Class War Tendency writings of 1956, then opposed by the now SL leadership. In order to forestall an identity crisis in its ranks, the SL must come up with a qualitative difference between the events in Hungary and Poland. It attempts to do this with its assertion that the danger of clerical reaction exists in Poland, whereas Mindszenty was an "irrelevance" in Hungary. A glance at the *New York Times* for October-November 1956, the SL's above-mentioned quote, or a reading of the internationally respected Marxist scholar Isaac Deutscher—who, while supporting the uprising, called Mindszenty "the spiritual head" of the uprising—should dispel that myth.

The SL's other time-honored tactic seems to consist in triannual ritual denunciations of Sam Marcy's apologetics for the workers state bureaucracies—which they are. The current abject reformism of Marcy, paradoxically combined with his past association with the Global Class War Tendency, has proven a major subjective obstacle to finding the path of genuine Trotskyism. But Marcy's course is no more predicted in his writings on Hungary than Kautsky's apostasy was predicted by his earlier support of Marx and Engels.

We urge *Workers Vanguard* to undertake a thorough re-evaluation of its analysis of the Hungarian events in 1956. Such an undertaking, if followed through to its end courageously, will also lead to a thorough review of the SL's crypto-Shachtmanite theory of the state, and eventual renunciation of its "Marxist" Bulletin No. 8 on Cuba.

In struggle,
Kit B.
SL supporter
1974-1977
CommunisT Cadre Marxist member

WV replies: The truth is concrete. Violating this basic Marxist axiom, Marcyite Kit B. writes a letter on the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 which says almost nothing concrete about that revolution or the political consciousness of the workers who made it. And it says nothing about the significant *differences* between the Hungarian Revolution and the present crisis in Poland.

The present Polish crisis is distinguished precisely by the identification of the mass of striking workers and the close association of their principal leaders with a powerful Catholic church opposition. Unlike the present Polish crisis, the Hungarian Revolution grew out of a deep split within the bureaucracy. Seeking to oust Stalin's bloody and hated hatchetman Rakosi, national-liberal elements around Imre Nagy appealed to the workers and intellectuals. Just three weeks before the outbreak of the revolution there was a mass demonstration of some 200,000 to mark the official rehabilitation of Ladislas Rajk, the popular Communist leader executed in 1949 as an agent of Tito.

Effective power in the revolution lay with the workers councils, which were clearly *not* anti-communist. No one, not even the Kremlin or Marcy, claimed that the mass of the working class supported Cardinal Mindszenty or the petty-bourgeois, clericalist Smallholders Party. In fact, the workers councils overwhelmingly supported the "national-liberal" Stalinist Nagy, commonly regarded as a Hungarian Tito. The Budapest revolutionary committees elected as co-leaders of the Revolutionary Military Committee a Communist, Colonel Pal Maleter (who proclaimed that he would remain so), and General Bela Kiraly, a former Communist closely associated with the Nagy group.

The Budapest Parliament of Workers Councils adopted as its first programmatic principle that "the factory belongs to the workers" and that "the supreme controlling body of the factory is the workers council" (reproduced in Bill Lomax, *Hungary 1956* [1976]). While this is a syndicalist deviation from Marxian scientific socialism, it is incompatible with the re-establishment of a capitalist order and parliamentary sovereignty over economic policy. On the available evidence, the Hungarian workers looked toward an idealized version of Titoist Yugoslavia—an independent "socialist" country with "workers self-management."

Had free elections to a constituent assembly grown out of the revolution (by no means a certainty), it is likely the Smallholders Party would have won. But would the workers councils have without a struggle liquidated themselves and turned over power to a parliamentary government which they did not in general support? To answer yes, inevitably, as the Marcyites do, is to attribute to the Hungarian workers an exceptional respect for bourgeois democracy for which there is no evidence. It represents a *defeatist* attitude toward proletarian political revolution in Stalinist-ruled East Europe.

Contrary to Kit B.'s protestation, Sam Marcy's present posture as would-be adviser to the Stalinist bureaucracies is a *logical extension* of his position on the Hungarian Revolution. Basically he maintained that, in the absence of a Trotskyist leadership and given the workers' bourgeois-democratic illusions, *any* popular uprising in a Stalinist-ruled country would inevitably lead to capitalist restoration. If one accepts this premise, the Stalinist status quo is a necessary lesser evil pending socialist revolution in the imperialist centers. This is, of course, nothing but the abandonment of the Trotskyist program of political revolution.

As Farrell Dobbs rightly said at the time:

> "The workers in the [Marcyite] minority view, have in large measure become alienated from communism by the Stalinist violations of their democratic rights and the economic repression to which they have been subjected; hence the bureaucracy alone can be relied upon to defend the workers state against bourgeois restoration....
> "It is a false view in every respect and fatal to a revolutionary perspective. It would leave nothing but defense of the status quo in the Soviet sphere, contradicting the very essence of political revolution against the bureaucracy."
> —"The Issues in the Hungarian Revolution," *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 4, February 1957■

Militant Caucus...

(continued from page 12)

long-time Executive Board members of longshore Local 10.

The Militant Caucus has a six-year history in the union of fighting for class-struggle policies to win. It was the Militant Caucus which fought for mass picketing and hot-cargo tactics during the 1974-75 KNC strike, thereby saving that union shop. And it was an MC motion which threw official Local 6 backing behind a rally of 400 unionists in Union City on September 20 in defense of the Kitayama Nursery strike, where workers fighting for union recognition of the Laborers Union have been facing harassment by cops sent by the mayor, who is also the nursery owner!

These elections are taking place in the context of the most concerted employer attacks on the union in 30 years—attacks on the grievance procedure, firings of union stewards, ever more rigid attendance policies and production standards and blacklisting of union activists. Only the Militant Caucus has consistently argued for and implemented independent working class self-defense, as opposed to the defeatist bureaucrats' strategy of reliance on the bosses' parties, Democratic and Republican. The MC has opposed endorsements to labor's enemies, such as San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein and Jimmy Carter, and instead has struggled to win the union to the perspective of a workers party to fight for a workers government. It has fought for mass picketing to defend the picket line, instead of reliance on the bosses' cops. And the MC has defended the right to strike as against the bureaucrats' impotent "weapon" of arbitration.

WV Photo

Militant Caucus candidate and hiring hall steward Pete Woolston talks with co-workers outside Local 6 headquarters.

The Caucus has recently been in the forefront of mobilizing critical labor muscle to stop the dangerous growth of American fascism. The April 19th Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) rally in San Francisco which stopped the Nazis from coming on that day was organized with the help of the Militant Caucus. This successful action demonstrated the power of a key Caucus demand: union-organized defense guards to smash racist violence.

Finally, it was the Militant Caucus which has fought for genuine international working-class solidarity action, such as the longshore boycott in 1974 of ships from the repressive Chilean regime. Only the MC has stood up against Carter's anti-Soviet war drive: as a recent issue of the Caucus newsletter stated, "Despite the bureaucratic Soviet leadership, labor must defend the Soviet Union against imperialism just as we defend the labor movement here, despite its bureaucratic leadership, against the bosses and their state" ("Warehouse Militant," 29 August 1980).

This exemplary record of class struggle contrasts sharply with the head-in-the-sand "strategy" of the bureaucrats. ILWU International president Jimmy Herman and his followers, like Local 6 president Keith Eickman, have allowed the union to be cut to pieces while they hang onto the tail of the Democratic Party. In the meantime, well-known supporters of the Communist Party's *People's World* (*PW*) such as business agent Joe Figuereido, Joe Lindsay, Victoria Mercado and Franklin Alexander—all cling to Herman/Eickman despite their occasional "left" noises. Figuereido, for instance, was instrumental in ensuring that the ILWU did not officially endorse the April 19 anti-Nazi action, in order to satisfy Eickman and Mayor Feinstein! And when the MC recently put up a motion for defense guards to protect the home of Dovard Howard, the black phone worker shot by a racist in Fontana, Lindsay saw to it that the action proposal was gutted because Fontana is "too far away"! The CP's impotent reformist strategy of reliance on the bosses' government to "ban the Klan" has only encouraged the fascists even more.

It is hard to tell the *PW* supporters from the top officers because their program is the same: reliance on the government or the "good will" of the bosses rather than mobilizing the union. And the motley "Rank and File Coalition" of Maoists, aspiring bureaucrats and supporters of business agent Roberto Flotte has been no better. At key junctures these people have usually taken a dive rather than fighting for a militant policy against the opposition of Local and International tops. During the bitter 137-day strike at Pfizer warehouse earlier this year, when the MC was fighting for mass pickets to stop the scabbing, the Coalition was organizing disco dances! And when the MC was building for ANCAN, these fakers stayed home!

It is time to get the ILWU back on its feet and restore the power which built the union through class-struggle action like the 1934 SF general strike. Vote Militant Caucus! ■

Chicago Cops...

(continued from page 3)

part of theh job is to "keep blacks in their place" through the use of cop terror. These badge-toting thugs are mercenaries paid to protect the private property and social order of the capitalists, the rich who rule this country, by keeping the working class down. A recent graphic example of the role of the police involved a local steel worker who was assisting strikers in stopping scab trucks at M&T Chemicals in East Chicago, Indiana. He was attacked by a black cop who threw him against a fence, then arrested him for "disorderly conduct." Strikebreaking, scabherding, victimization of black militants and the left—these are the duties of the killers in blue.

Sure, a few cops demonstrated with striking Chicago firemen during last winter's bitter firefighters strike. But the same police escorted scab fire trucks through the lines and paraded scab buses past transit workers' pickets during the bus strike. It was the cops who protected Nazis when they staged their race-hate rallies in Marquette Park and Skokie, who murdered Black Panther leader Fred Hampton in his bed. The three psychos who clobbered Richard Ramey to death fit right in. And so long as bureaucrats like the Chicago Teamster tops condone such vicious atrocities, it is little wonder that many blacks see labor as part of a racist power structure which aims to keep them down. As a first step in mobilizing the unions to fight racial oppression they must expel the bosses' hired guns!

Black liberals, of course, have sought to turn the ghetto masses' outrage over the cop murder of Richard Ramey not against the police but against the labor movement. The IBT "has a long history of racism and mob domination which make many doubt that it should be the union organization to represent Chicago policemen," editorialized the city's black daily, the *Chicago Defender*. As if it were the Teamsters, and not the Chicago Police Department, which regularly terrorizes and murders innocent blacks! Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH urged that "no black police officer should talk with Teamster organizers...." These black Democrats are just doing donkey work for the cops and their bosses, the racist white politicians, by taking the heat off the real culprit—the capitalist system.

Particularly hypocritical is Mr. "Black Capitalism" himself, Jesse Jackson, whose standard refrain is to call for more black cops—which as any ghetto victim can testify is no help at all. This is the same Jackson who incited black firemen to break ranks and scab last winter, who set up scab schools in the ghettos during the teachers strike. He spent much of last year mediating for wildcatting prison guards at Cook County Jail, the thugs who brutalize black youth lucky enough to escape summary cop execution on the ghetto streets. And every time there is an explosion of black anger over racist injustice—Miami, Chattanooga—Jackson rushes to the scene to tell black people to "cool it."

Meanwhile, much of the left joins the liberal chorus in denouncing the IBT while refusing to call for cops out of the unions. Under the headline "Chi. police to vote for collective bargaining," the Communist Party's *Daily World* (24 September) is concerned only to protect affirmative action. And the Communist Labor Party, another reformist Stalinist outfit, asks, "Are Chicago's cops going to join hands with such an infamous union?" (*People's Tribune*, 23 September). The Teamsters, says the CLP, are "using white chauvinism to steer the organizing effort away from any progressive goals." What "progressive goals" can there possibly be in organizing the infamous Chicago police, the guard dogs of capital and oppressors of blacks? None!

As for the undeniable "long history of racism and mob domination" in the Teamsters, this is a matter for the rank and file, both black and white. *They* must throw out the bureaucrats who are in league with racketeers and who sell out to the trucking bosses. And part of this struggle is the fight to mobilize the power of labor against racist attacks. It happened in San Francisco this April and in Detroit last November, when hundreds of union members, blacks and socialists united in demonstrations which stopped the Nazis and Klan from marching. The hundreds of thousands of members in Chicago's integrated labor movement have the strength to halt the killer cops in their tracks. What they need is a leadership that is equal to the task.

Chicago mayor Jane Byrne has reacted to the furor over the Ramey murder by appointing a "Citizens' Committee" to investigate reports of brutality and "attitudes" in the police department. Such gutless and powerless committees and "review boards" have never yet stopped the uniformed thugs who believe they have a license to kill. What's needed is a fight throughout the labor movement to dump the corrupt, racist bureaucrats and unite blacks and labor under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party. Such an alliance can smash the racist system that serves only the bosses. Killer cops belong in jail, not in the IBT! Police and prison guards out of the union movement! Dump the Teamster bureaucrats—for a class-struggle leadership! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Friday: 3:00-6:00 p.m. Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m. Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tuesday: 6:00-10:00 p.m. Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St.
(one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 593-4138

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Forums

A Workers Poland, Yes! The Pope's Poland, No!

Speaker: Joseph Seymour,
Spartacist League Central Committee
Editor, *Spartacist*

San Francisco
Friday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
55 Laguna, Room 202
UC Extension
For information call: (415) 863-6963

Berkeley
Saturday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
For location and information call:
(415) 835-1535

Los Angeles
Sunday, October 5, 7:30 p.m.
For location and information call:
(213) 662-1564

Speaker to be announced

Chicago
Friday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Embassy Room
(Michigan Avenue & Balbo)
For information call: (312) 427-0003

Coleman...

(continued from page 12)

and state and to keep the government out of the bedroom—against the hypocritical reaction of "right-to-lifers," who protest abortion in the name of the sacredness of the individual and call upon the state to force women to give birth against their will. Against the feminist puritans who march for state censorship of pornography in the name of women's liberation. And Diana Coleman even wants SF residents to be able to light up a cigarette on a BART platform without intervention from Big Brother environmentalism.

It is a vote of positive indifference to "The Big Issue" among the rad-libs and reformists of SF: district vs. city-wide elections. Every pork-barreler wants his community "constituency" and every reformist his "sector," but class-biased and racist gerrymandering can be and has been as easily accomplished by district as by at-large elections. Most of all a vote for Diana Coleman is a vote for a fighting labor movement. And that is the message the Spartacist campaign has started to bring to SF labor.

* * * * *

We print below a short address given by Diana Coleman to the September membership meeting of her former Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). Diana was a member of CWA for six years and a union steward. The 75 members present voted to set aside the normal order of business to hear her speak. She was introduced by the Local vice president, Marie Malliet, applauded roundly, and after her speech was asked to remain for a question and answer period. During the question period, a member of the Militant Action Caucus announced MAC's endorsement of the Coleman campaign.

I'm running for Board of Supervisors and I know a lot of you, and I guess a lot of you know me. I've been speaking in front of a number of different groups, including the Central Labor Council, and so on. But I'm especially happy to speak to my old local, to 9410, to the people I know, to the people I've worked with: I've really enjoyed this chance and appreciate the invitation.

In running for Board of Supervisors my main campaign slogan is "Enough of the Democrats and Republicans! It's Time for a Workers Party!" And what I want to ask people here to do is take an objective look at the kind of Democratic Party administration you've got in San Francisco, take a look at the guys downtown, what they've stood for. So that under Moscone and Feinstein, who are both Democrats, we saw the city workers strike smashed, the teachers strike smashed; we saw at the Local 2 strike that the cops were called out against them.

And I know that these incumbents on the Board of Supervisors—I feel like I've been running against them since April, because as a supporter of the Spartacist League, which I am, I worked on the April 19th Committee Against Nazis which kept the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. Now this was initiated by the Spartacist League but it was made a success by the labor movement coming out, especially, I would say, Local 9410, which officially endorsed the demonstration and sent the largest contingent.

I saw then that the labor movement really made a difference in stopping the Nazis. And I saw what the Board of Supervisors did, too. They did nothing but block the demonstration every way they could. So that if they had their way the swastika would probably be flying on the flagpole at City Hall. I saw what these guys stand for, they demonstrated it. And I think on a national level, with Carter and Reagan—*Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper that I support, ran a headline that said, "Carter, Reagan—Oh Shit!" And I think this expresses a lot of people's views. Because there isn't too much alternative... unemployment, inflation, the possibility of war, where you go and die so the bosses can make a profit.

I know there's probably a lot of people in this room who are not too happy with the phone contract, and for good reason. It doesn't keep up with inflation. If you were in the Rubber Workers, you would probably feel even worse. They signed an agreement with Uniroyal where they would take a 13 percent decrease so that Uniroyal can keep up its profits. And it's this sort of thing which is general throughout the labor movement, an example of what the ties to the capitalist parties have meant, what the ties to the Democrats and Republicans have meant. And it's meant labor hasn't fought in its own interests and hasn't fought to keep up the standards of working-class people in this country and hasn't fought for minorities.

So that's what this campaign is about: breaking labor's ties with the Democrats and Republicans.

Now, I'm running as a socialist. I'd like to see a workers government in this country, I'd like to see major industry expropriated. I know this is not right around the corner. But I do think that this campaign is something which could be a small but important step towards building a mass workers party that we need in this country and that's why I'm running in this city. I'd like to stand for a program which is both for the phone workers of this city and the working-class people of this city, for black and minority people in this city. And I'd like to see some phone workers and other people get involved in this type of campaign, for labor to fight in its own interests and make San Francisco the kind of labor town that it once was. So I think labor has the power to do it, if labor has its own political party and can stand up on its hind legs and fight for itself. That's what this campaign is about. Thank you. *(applause)*

[In the discussion period a member of the Local asked about the question of "district elections."]

Question: Diana, I realize that this question to you is somewhat redundant but I'm going to pose it for the benefit of those San Francisco residents that are present. And that is, I'd like to know your position on district elections, and that, if I may for a second express my feelings about district elections, I feel very strongly about them, that the candidates, the people that represent the people of San Francisco, should be from the neighborhoods or the districts that they represent, and I'd like to know your position and how you feel about district elections for supervisors.

Coleman: Well, that's a good question and it's certainly come up a lot in the elections. I think it doesn't make a damn bit of difference. That's my opinion on it. I saw the past Board of Supervisors were elected on a district basis from their neighborhoods and I saw not one of them come out for the April 19th Committee Against Nazis. I mean, they didn't have to come out for socialism. I didn't even see them come out against the Nazis and the Klan. So I don't think being elected from a district ensures that you represent the working-class people and the minorities. I think it's what kind of a program you stand on, what kind of ideas you fight for. And I don't think any more sort of ethnic politics—politics that pit one group against another fighting over the pork barrel—is what we need. We need a workers candidate, we need someone who stands on a program that fights for all working people. ■

COLEMAN NEEDS CASH

The so-called "non-partisan" election for San Francisco Board of Supervisors is a hypocritical farce. Behind the capitalist candidates stand the big party machines with their "big bucks." They have their message of war and soft-core racism all over the media, and their expensive posters plastered on lamp posts and billboards from the Mission to the Sunset district. Behind Diana Coleman stands a program of working-class struggle, a program to change the world. But it takes more than endless hours of hard work by volunteers to get her program onto the streets and into the factories of San Francisco. It takes money.

In this year of the Carter/Reagan and KKK election, Diana Coleman's candidacy is the only one *anywhere* which offers working people a chance to cast a vote in their own interest. We hope readers of *Workers Vanguard* everywhere will come to see this campaign as their own. Urgent—contribute to the Coleman campaign! Checks should be made payable and sent to:

Spartacist Party Campaign Committee
Suite 729, 55 Sutter St.
San Francisco, CA 94104

WV Photo

SEPTEMBER 24—Picket line protest of 60 at the Philippine consulate in San Francisco against the bloody Marcos dictatorship and continued martial law in one of Carter's lands of "human rights." A Spartacist contingent at the demonstration distributed a leaflet in support of the candidacy of Diana Coleman for SF Board of Supervisors which read in part:

"[Diana Coleman] calls for a workers revolution in the Philippines against the Marcos regime. She opposes the U.S. military presence in the Philippines.... Freedom from the yoke of imperialism, freedom for the Filipino workers and peasants, can only be realized through a class struggle which sweeps away not only the bloody Marcos dictatorship but also Filipino capitalism, loyal servant of imperialism.

"As the candidate of the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, Diana Coleman also supports the democratic rights of the Filipino people in the U.S. She calls for full citizenship rights for undocumented workers."

Welcome Support of Socialist Artists!

Union of Socialist Artists/SF Fall 1980

Support Spartacist Candidate Diana Coleman for San Francisco Supervisor!

The Union of Socialist Artists, an organization of San Francisco art workers, supports Spartacist League candidate Diana Coleman for city supervisor. Of all candidates and special interest forces involved in the race for supervisor, only Diana Coleman and the Spartacist League represent a consistent and principled program of social transformation and support to minority and oppressed groups. Diana Coleman and the Spartacist League initiated the April 19 Committee Against Nazis that stopped Nazi/Klan celebrating Hitler's birthday at the San Francisco Civic Center. Diana Coleman stands in defense of the working class against big business. Stop union busting! Pass ERA! For jobs, free medical care, education, transit! Expand rent control! Vote for Diana Coleman!

Kātosrōta of San Francisco

Spartacist Party
Campaign Committee
Spartacist League
P.O. Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

25 September 1980

Comrades,

Enclosed please find (1) a flyer for "Lysistrata," Kātosrōta Theater Collective's October show; (2) an initial organizing flyer for the Union of Socialist Artists; (3) copy of USA/SF endorsement of Diana Coleman for SF supervisor.

The Union of Socialist Artists emerged from the Theater Collective as a politically oriented cultural propaganda support group. Our basic intention is to promote the understanding of communism and class struggle among artists and to agitate for a radical caucus within art workers unions, particularly Equity. We are also now capable of organizing fund-raising performances in connection of "Lysistrata" and to have Spartacist campaign literature available for interested members of the audience. Whereas we are not planning to limit our total involvement with any one left-oriented group, we recognize the political superiority of the Spartacist principled Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist line.

We would like to encourage our members to investigate the Spartacist line. We do not define ourselves as a "party" but rather as a support group to political organization. We do not recognize art to be a revolutionary factor *per se*, but we seek to use our artistic orientation to encourage class-struggle awareness among other art workers. Hopefully we can maintain close comradely ties with the SL as a basis for our own political development.

Personally I was gratified to be one of Diana Coleman's initial endorsers. My work with the Theater Collective has limited my ability to directly participate in the campaign this month, but I will have more time in October. I wish the campaign much success.

In solidarity,

Alexander Larsen
Kātosrōta Theater Collective and USA/SF

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist Supporter for S.F. Supervisor

Diana Coleman: Labor Must Stop Klan Terror!

Diana Coleman campaigns at the longshore paylines.

WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO, September 25—Spartacist supporter Diana Coleman took her campaign for Board of Supervisors to the longshoremen, warehousemen and to her home local of phone workers this week. Her slogan, "Enough—It's Time for a Workers Party!" was met with interest and enthusiasm from workers who are disgusted with the capitalists' reactionary choice of Carter/Reagan. At the ILWU Local 10 union hiring hall on September 11 and then early the next morning at the pay lines at the Ferry Building on the Embarcadero, Diana talked with longshoremen about the recently launched campaign. She stressed the need to build labor/minority mass actions against fascist attacks, like the one that stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco on April 19.

One veteran longshoreman said that just before election day all the candidates come out to glad-hand the workers and ask for their votes. The reformists do the same. But for the first time, SF workers met a candidate of the left who was not a vote-hustling extension of the liberal/eco-faddist community politics of the area. Against the reformist "people-before-profits" electoralism of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, Diana Coleman—backed by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee—makes it clear that the future of San Francisco labor and all labor won't be decided at the polls but on the battle lines of the class struggle.

While reformists strive for high ADA ratings from the "good liberals," Diana Coleman's Trotskyist revolutionary program is off the continuum of liberal-conservative politics. A vote for Coleman is a vote against the "no-nuke" nonsense of middle-class despair that demonstrates against nuclear power plants while U.S. imperialism plans World War III against Russia. It is a vote against gun control and every other liberal and reformist scheme which places confidence and a monopoly of violence in the capitalist state. It is a vote for the defense of democratic rights and social liberation of the oppressed and exploited—against shrouding women in veils, against the mullahs in Iran, a vote to "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

A vote for Diana Coleman is also a vote for the strict separation of church

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Militant Caucus: For a Fighting ILWU!

Caucus militants led ILWU pickets defending Union City laborers' strike against cops.

WV Photo

OAKLAND—The membership of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse) will have a real choice in the upcoming November 20 local elections: five members of the Militant Caucus (MC) will be running for office on a program for a fighting ILWU. These include: house committeeman Pete Farruggio, running for Business Agent in the East Bay; hiring hall steward Pete Woolston, for General Executive Board (GEB), East Bay; veteran 24-year union member Jack D[illegible] for GEB, East Bay; from the West Bay, house steward Jackie Clark and house committee member Mike Kasian for GEB.

In addition, all five are running for delegate to the ILWU international convention which will be held next April. These candidates are also endorsed by MC members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, veteran ILWUers and

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 266 17 October 1980

Smash Hitler's Heirs! For Mass Workers Action—Not Popular Frontism!

Fascist Terror Explodes in Europe

PARIS—*Bologna, 2 August:* Eighty-four people are killed and nearly 200 wounded when a bomb explodes in the 2nd-class waiting room of the central railroad station, overflowing with tourists and working-class vacationers. *Munich, 26 September:* The annual Oktoberfest is rocked by an explosion from a bomb placed in a trashcan near the entrance to the fairgrounds—13 people are killed and a dozen more injured. *Paris, 3 October:* Hundreds are observing the last day of Succoth in a synagogue not far from the Arc de Triomphe when a bomb on a parked car across the street is detonated. Four passers-by are killed and a dozen more injured; the force of the explosion hurls worshippers inside from their seats, overturns four parked cars and shatters windows in buildings blocks away.

Paris reverberated in horror at the temple bombing, the most dramatic attack on Jews in Europe since World War II. "Monstrous" and "Assassins" ran furious banner headlines in the bourgeois papers, and the outraged population of France poured out into the streets in protest. The blast immediately riveted attention back to those nightmare years of Vichy France when 75,000 French Jews were exterminated—indeed, the Nazis had blown up the same synagogue, the "Israelite Union," in 1944. But even as they were leading the protest demonstrations, the reformist misleaders of the French workers movement were once again seeking to answer the fascist threat, not with mass mobilizations to smash the fascists, but with a big show of "national unity." The demonstrators' popular slogan, "From Marchais to Rothschild," expressed this yearning for popular-front alliance with the bourgeoisie—that strategy which for the past 50 years has immobilized the workers' power to smash the fascists and led to the present situation.

Quick

Munich: Oktoberfest bombing

Latreille/France-Soir

Paris: Synagogue bombing

The crescendo of fascist violence in Europe today comes in the midst of an economic depression and rapidly increasing mass unemployment. Egged on by the strident anti-Sovietism of the NATO governments, neo-fascists and far-right groupings have been escalating their violent attacks against foreign workers, blacks, Jews and the working class. And the imperialist governments are in the thick of it, whether it is Thatcher's racist immigration policies in Britain, government refusal to go after the neo-Nazis in West Germany or the well-known links between the fascists and secret services in Italy.

Barre: "It struck down innocent Frenchmen"

The Paris synagogue bombing came on the heels of some thirty attacks against Jewish schools, places of worship, cemeteries, organizations and individuals over the last several months. The weekend before this bombing, there were five early-morning machine gun attacks in Paris against Jewish schools, synagogues and day-care centers. No one has been arrested for any of these acts of terror. French government policy consisted of warning against "exaggerating" their seriousness. Meanwhile the fascist scum quietly prepare to kill, secure in the knowledge obtained from their members and sympathizers in the police that they would get off scot-free.

According to witnesses, two men on a motorcycle placed a 22-pound charge of dynamite on a car in front of the synagogue, moved the charge around until they were satisfied and then drove off. The two policemen stationed outside the front door of the synagogue to "protect" it saw no evil and heard no evil—until the bomb exploded. The blast killed four passers-by—three Frenchmen and an Israeli tourist—and injured a dozen others. Had the bomb gone off a few minutes later when the 300 worshippers would have been streaming out of the Friday night services for Simhat Torah, dozens could easily have been killed. After the bombing, French prime minister Raymond Barre inadvertently revealed his true feelings and those of the French government: "The bombing was aimed at Jews and it struck down innocent Frenchmen."

In the day following the bombing

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SPECIAL ELECTION SUPPLEMENT

Socialist Union Militant for S.F. Board of Supervisors

SEE PAGE FIVE

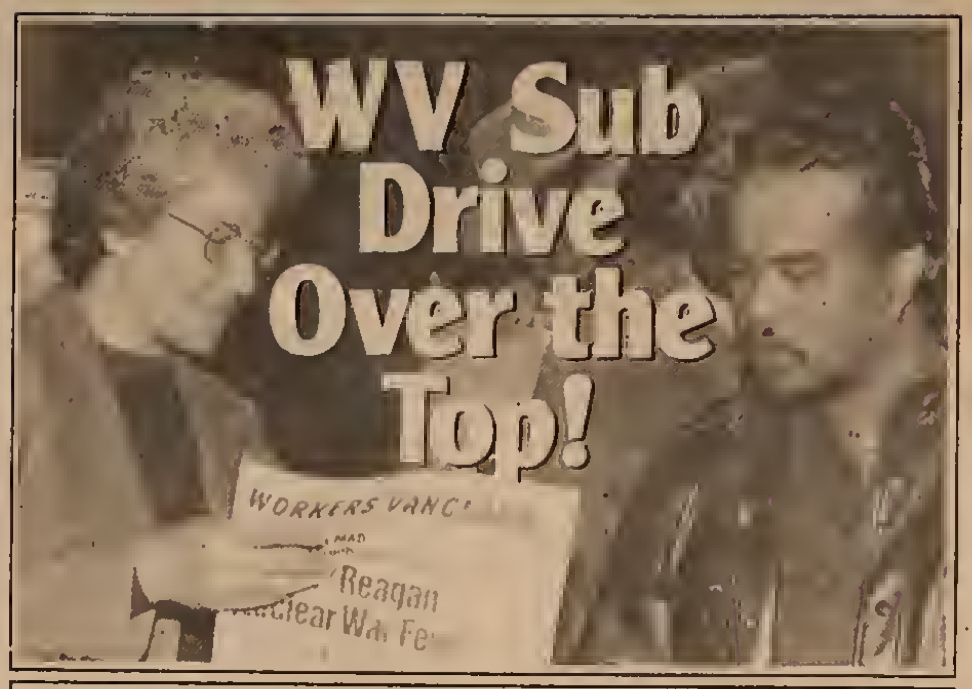
British Troops Out of Ireland!

Hundreds Protest Prince Philip in NYC

WV Photo

NEW YORK—Two hundred protesters turned out October 1 to "greet" Britain's Prince Philip at Lincoln Center. As the Irish tricolor and Scots, Welsh and Cornish flags flew overhead, the demonstrators chanted, "Down with the crown, Philip go home!" and "England out of Ireland now!" The prince was across the street addressing the New York Zoological Society on the subject of "rare birds," but the protesters were there to tell the royal consort that British imperialism's bloody occupation of Northern Ireland and the torture cells for Irish political prisoners were not forgotten in New York.

A Spartacist League contingent at the spirited picket line carried signs including such slogans as "Down with the monarchy, recall the fate of Charles I!," "Abolish the licensing hours, the House of Lords and the monarchy!" and "For a socialist federation of the British Isles!" After demonstrators, some shouting "Guy Fawkes was right!", torched the Union Jack, the protest took to the streets, marching crosstown to the Waldorf Hotel. There the demonstrators gathered to "watch the prince eat" as "His Royal Highness" chowed down at $400 a plate to raise money for "vanishing species," a category in which all such crowned parasites will soon be included. ■



The *WV* sub list has reached an all-time high with the completion of the 1980 sub drive. The five-week drive reached 141 percent of its quota nationally, led by Boston's amazing 196 percent. Included in the 4,500 points sold are 676 subs to *Young Spartacus* and 399 to *Women and Revolution*. Of the *WV* subs, more than 80 percent were full-year subscriptions.

Local	Quota	Points	Percent
Berkeley/ Oakland	500	626	125
Boston	220	431	196
Chicago	370	599	162
Cleveland	220	260	118
Detroit	320	383	120
Los Angeles	350	531	152
Madison	80	119	149
New York City	740	940	127
San Francisco	400	569	142
at-large	—	42	—
Total	**3,200**	**4,500**	**141**

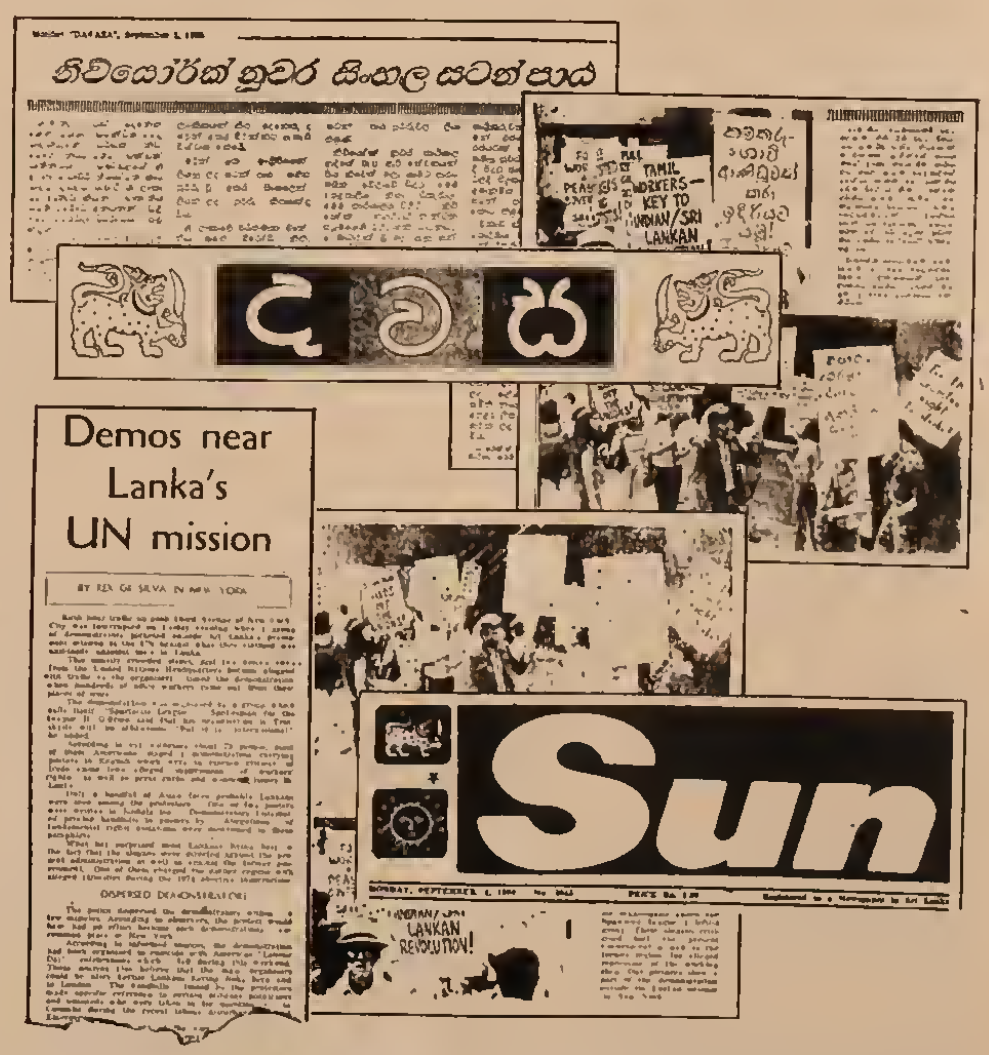
The national quota was set at 400 points above last year's, reflecting the modest growth of the SL. The internal sub drive circular noted, "It is not anticipated that we will match last year's spectacular overfulfillment" given the rightward-shifting climate of opinion. This prediction was not borne out, and we were over the top by the end of the third week.

This year's drive did encounter greater anti-communist harassment on campuses in some areas. These difficulties were offset by shifting over to more door-to-door canvassing in working-class and black neighborhoods and more sub sales by industrialized comrades to co-workers. L.A. garnered 50 points door-to-door; Cleveland had 45 and Detroit 40. Neighborhood teams were also important in the sub drive work of the S.F. Bay Area locals (131 points) which were simultaneously campaigning for a Spartacist electoral candidate. In industrial sub sales, Chicago led with 72 points, while S.F. had 58, Detroit 52, Oakland 45 and L.A. 33. Some of our long-time subscribers helped the drive along by sending in subs for friends. Our special favorite was the reader who added a note: "Please rush—these folks are bedeviled by reformism."

This year's individual winner is comrade Jane (SF) with 125 points. Honorable mention (and a prize) also goes to Seth (Boston) with 110, Jeff (Oakland) with 94, Mark (Chicago) with 81, Alden (SF) with 75 and Steve (NYC) with 72. But all the comrades had a share in the literally thousands of hours of work that made this year's drive such a resounding success, and can take pride in bringing *WV* to thousands of new readers.

"Sinhala Slogans in New York"

The leading independent bourgeois newspaper of Sri Lanka—*The Sun* and its Sinhala-language edition *Davasa*—carried articles in its September 1 papers on recent Spartacist demonstrations in New York and London protesting the anti-labor repression of the July general strike. "Sinhala Slogans in New York," headlined *Davasa*, in reference to the picket signs in Sinhala that were carried in the August 29 protest outside the Sri Lanka Mission to the UN. The signs read "No political or electoral support to popular fronts" and "Forward to a workers and peasants government" in Sinhalese. A week later the *Weekend* (7 September) also mentioned the New York Spartacist protest as the only "international solidarity with the working class" in Sri Lanka so far reported on the island. Then, both *The Sun* and *Davasa* carried front-page photo stories of the protest in their editions of September 16. Notorious for their muckraking yellow journalism, *The Sun/Davasa* quoted anonymous "informed sources" who claimed the protest was organized by unnamed "ultra Leftist Lankans" in the U.S. and Britain and was attended by paid "Instant Protestors." "What has surprised most Lankans," added *The Sun/Davasa*, was that "the slogans were directed against the present administration as well as against the former government" of Mrs. Bandaranaike. If this is "surprising," it's only because the entire left in Sri Lanka to one degree or another is promoting a new popular-front coalition as the "alternative" to the present UNP regime. For our part, we are only too happy to be known as the tendency that stands opposed to both the UNP and any new popular-front combination. ■



WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 266 17 October 1980

Spartacist League Holds Sixth National Conference

"Toward a Class-Struggle Workers Party"

In late summer, the Spartacist League/U.S. held its sixth National Conference, highest body of the organization. It was attended by 373 comrades, including visitors from several other sections of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), making it the largest SL/U.S. gathering in our history. The party conference was preceded by a meeting of the iSt's International Executive Committee which centered on the recent events in Poland and a national conference of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the SL.

Pre-conference literary preparation was extensive. Six internal bulletins centering on last summer's delegated international conference of the iSt were produced by the International Secretariat, while eight internal bulletins were published by the SL and SYL.

Contradictory Period

The "perspectives and tasks" adopted by the conference contained no surprises and no "turns." The main conference resolution ("Toward a Class-Struggle Workers Party!") noted that it is the objective situation, characterized above all by economic uncertainty and imperialist warmongering, which can be counted on to provide the surprises: ultra-rightist terror attacks on minorities and leftists, as in Greensboro; ghetto upheavals; bitter working-class struggles; "wars and revolution."

The conference took account of the continued disintegration of the U.S.-dominated capitalist order which emerged from the Second World War. The document stressed that "the objective difficulties of U.S. imperialism do not make the bourgeoisie's global anti-Soviet ambitions less dangerous." Domestically, the document noted:

> "The present political climate is marked by a rightist mood... and the bourgeoisie's strident efforts to whip up a climate of anti-Soviet hysteria. At this point, the U.S. population has certainly not returned to the fanatical anti-Communism of the 1950s, when the U.S. ruling class enjoyed widespread moral authority. In the labor movement, the anti-Communist discipline (which ran in an unbroken line from International president right down to local exec board member) created by the witchhunts is corroded. The present generation of youth can best be described as resigned to rather than converted to the ideals of U.S. imperialism.
>
> "...The United States is still a fat country and the social reserves of U.S. capitalism are great. In retrospect, the Watergate parliamentary crisis proved to be an embarrassment to the bourgeoisie rather than a cataclysmic event like the fall of France in 1940, which changed the whole social configuration."

The conference discussion stressed that the present period is not the stultifying 1950s, but a contradictory situation which can present fruitful opportunities for revolutionary intervention. The prevalent mood is not the "silent majority" complacency of the 1950s but one of frustration and increasingly of desperation. The ground swell of Reaganite sentiment among working people is not only the logical extension of Carter/Brzezinski's anti-Soviet cold-warriorism but a reflection of plebeian dissatisfaction with politically bankrupt liberalism and its economic policies. Thus, despite the aggressive ideological anti-communism being pushed by the bourgeisie, communist nuclei in the working class do not find themselves more isolated from their fellow unionists. The exemplary agitation of SL supporters for a fighting labor movement—for concrete acts of labor solidarity, for bringing the mass power of organized labor to bear against marauding fascists—has registered some impressive successes. Even among traditionally conservative sectors of the workers, we can get a hearing; as against the bureaucrats who class-collaborate for "austerity," our program points the road to *winning* the class struggle.

WV Photo

Participation of international comrades showed increased weight of other sections of Spartacist tendency.

The document noted that:

> "Trade-union work is inherently a grinding, parochial routine punctuated by exciting bursts of class struggle. It is to intervene in the latter that we are in the unions. We are not 'parliamentary cretinists' in the unions, understanding that the road to deeper influence and eventual hegemony flows through these dynamic class-struggle episodes rather than through electioneering."

The main political report by SL National Chairman Jim Robertson noted that the present period presents a host of instabilities and unknowns, from the sick economy to the thus far unsuccessful attempts to whip up mass support for "Cold War II." He recalled a statement made about Lenin by one of his opponents: "Lenin may not know where he's going, but he's going there with great determination." And he commented:

> "We must do our work with determination, take what luck we can, and struggle to grow, struggle to become a factor in history. So that we do not have to merely be wise, often after the event. So that here and there we can intervene and actually shape things. That's why it's painful to discuss Poland. Because we have no means."

Completing the "Transformation"

The theme of the conference was indeed the struggle to acquire the means to shape history. One crucial aspect is the cohering of a black cadre component, which had been the one outstanding goal of the SL's "transformation" (the interlinked tasks projected by the 1971 "Memorandum on the Transformation of the SL") from an "unstable sub-propaganda group" to a "vanguard nucleus."

The necessity for black Trotskyists who take responsibility for the work and leadership of their party was the focus of the previous national conference, held in 1977. The *WV* report of that conference ("Forging a Black Trotskyist Cadre," *WV* No. 166, 15 July 1977) referred to "softness on the part of many of the black comrades toward modes of functioning and attitudes characteristic of a lumpenproletarian existence," and went on to explain:

> "The deforming effects of lumpen existence are far from solely ideological. The observation that 'being determines consciousness' is true not only in the mass but among subjective revolutionary elements. The communist vanguard, defined by its commonality of program, must exert its conscious will to transform its lumpen-derived members into disciplined Leninist cadres.... Only on the basis of a rough equality between comrades—in living standards, educational skills, etc.—can a truly communist cadre be forged, free from servility, patronizing and pretense.
>
> "...A disciplined black communist cadre is forged by transcending a previous experience characterized by degradation and manipulation. The fake-left organizations...recruit politically raw minority-group youth who sit on the sidelines of the party, passively accepting the dictates of the leadership or suspiciously sniping at the program with guerrilla-warfare methods.... We want to cohere a black cadre component, fully integrated into the leadership of our party as into the ranks."

Perhaps the most striking feature of the 1980 conference was the demonstration that the black cadres of the SL have acquired the taste for power within the party, many coming forward as leaders in their locals and as members of the youth and party leading committees elected at this year's conferences. At a well-attended Black Commission, several speakers also emphasized the greater role of black comrades in the youth and party press, the training ground for a future black journal of the SL.

The conference document noted that "the next 'transformation' must be one, crudely put, of numbers." The need to fully implement the recruitment drive projected over a year ago by the

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Our line made recruitment drive possible.

SL Conference...

(continued from page 3)

previous national youth conference was a recurring theme of the discussion. The delegates observed that the SL possesses not only key elements of the prerequisites for a Workers Party—systematic industrial implantation, a fine press, a black cadre, and so forth—but also a membership of hard and tested cadres fully capable of assimilating many new members. There appear to be no "shortcuts" here comparable to the rich opportunities for revolutionary regroupment which confront the small European sections of the iSt; indeed, an index of the wretchedly rightist and cynical character of the American "ostensibly revolutionary organizations" is the fact that we appear to have recruited recently more ex-SL members than ex-members of other organizations (as one speaker remarked, "the new members of today are the new members of yesterday"). Presently lacking any evident targets for substantial regroupments, the SL must grow through linear recruitment.

The past year has presented its share of opportunities but frequently we failed to aggressively exploit them. One problem was the loss of the building where we had had our headquarters for a number of years. In the middle of the recruitment drive, it was necessary to move our national/international offices and to replicate all at once the modifications effected over years at the old location to suit the new premises to our needs (for instance, to set up a new facility for the production of *Workers Vanguard*). This drastically reduced our "public face" in New York as well as absorbing attention in the center that was needed to direct the work of the locals.

The work of the SL/U.S. in recent years has seen some significant changes. Most notably, the center of gravity of the iSt has tended to shift toward the sections outside the U.S. through rapid growth and regroupments particularly in Europe. The SL/U.S. is now merely the preponderant section of a disciplined international tendency, a development which we have worked toward consciously through substantial reallocations of financial and leadership resources ("affirmative action for the European sections") befitting our greater opportunities outside the U.S.

On the national terrain, the SL/U.S. has sharply raised its "profile" and deepened its authority among selected layers of the working class. Perhaps most striking has been the success of the party and its trade-union supporters in galvanizing exemplary militant working-class action against threatened fascist demonstrations in Detroit and San Francisco. This work has gained us new authority among trade unionists and blacks which must be translated into new recruits to the party and youth organization.

Development of the Communist Program

What made a recruitment drive possible and necessary was not any new "turn" or special tactic, but the accumulated political capital of the Spartacist tendency in presenting over the past years an authentic Marxist analysis of the major events shaping the world situation and the unique program for working-class power. The conference document reviewed some of the line questions which have been the test of the revolutionary capacity of would-be Marxists:

> "The centrally anti-Soviet intent of Carter's 'human rights' crusade has now taken center stage. From the beginning, the Spartacist League recognized the bourgeoisie's 'human rights' rhetoric as an attempt at 'moral rearmament' against communism, aimed at undoing the damage done to capitalist political authority by the dirty, losing colonial war in Vietnam and the Watergate scandal.... In this context, the Spartacist tendency's principled Trotskyist position on the 'Russian question'—defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism and capitalist restoration, for political revolution against the parasitic nationalist bureaucracies—is sharply highlighted. Our forthright line of 'Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!' calls for the victory of the Red Army, which is militarily supporting a (for a change) genuinely progressive cause: the liberation of the Afghan masses from feudalist backwardness, expressed especially over the question of literacy for women.
>
> "The Spartacist tendency responded to the 1979 Chinese attack on Vietnam in evident collusion with U.S. imperialism by sharply denouncing this provocative foretaste of the military implications of the U.S./China diplomatic anti-Soviet alliance (already more than diplomatic, as shown graphically in Angola). Had the Soviets retaliated, this would have taken the China/Vietnam conflict out of a regional framework and made global power relations decisive. Our slogan, 'China: Don't Be Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism,' exposed the class treason of the Chinese deformed workers state in serving as the overt spearhead of imperialist appetites for reconquest of the Soviet deformed workers state.
>
> "We pointed to our 1969 prediction of a U.S./China rapprochement which correctly perceived as the greater threat to imperialism's global anti-Soviet appetites the military-industrial might of the USSR rather than the then still more verbally 'militant' Maoist bureaucracy. While the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) strenuously denied that the 'Russian question' was in any way posed (as it has done again over Afghanistan) and the New Left/Stalinoid *Guardian* simply wrung its hands, the Spartacist program for 'Communist unity against imperialism through political revolution' was powerfully confirmed.
>
> "The Spartacist tendency's unique line of 'Down with the shah—Down with the mullahs!' in Iran has been powerfully vindicated, as Khomeini's attacks on national minorities, leftists, women and 'sinners' confirmed our insistence that the clerical-reactionary 'mass movement' in power would be viciously Persian-chauvinist, anti-democratic and anti-communist. Our perspective of a proletarian axis of struggle in Iran—a backward country whose 'combined and uneven development' created a powerful and militant proletariat—could not have been more sharply counterposed to the tailism of the rest of the left, which failed to defend not only the working class but even the most elementary democratic rights won in the capitalist West by the bourgeois revolution. Our line has the capacity to appeal directly to all those to whom the enforced veiling of women and stoning of adulterers does not look much like 'freedom'."

Many of the conference delegates spoke also to the question of Poland. The Spartacist tendency alone recognized that the recent strike wave could, as one speaker said, "as easily go in the direction of a clerical counterrevolutionary nationalist upsurge as it could in the direction of an incipient political revolution." Another speaker pointed out:

> "In Poland today the simple democratic demand for the separation of church and state is one of the basic dividing lines between the struggle for proletarian democracy and for capitalist restoration.... Now the other thing is that everybody in Poland—the Gierek regime, the church, all wings of the dissidents—inculcates anti-Soviet nationalism. The regime always threatens, there's a stock formulation: 'our fraternal allies are worried'.... So that one of the things that will mark us off [from the nationalistic dissidents] is the demand for the revolutionary unity of the Polish and Russian proletariat."

Development of the Leninist Vanguard

Our task has been, and remains, to translate the power of our Trotskyist line into more new members. The conference resolution summed up:

> "The balance sheet must be that continued imperceptible growth is not a very good showing for a recruitment drive.... In return for a very high level of work and financial sacrifice from our members, we have acquired a lot of political vindication but nothing significantly closer to breakthroughs. Measured by routinist indices—e.g., against our opponents—the SL has certainly not done badly.... But measured against our tasks—in other words, against the leaps necessary to grow by orders of magnitude from the SL of a few hundreds to a Workers Party capable of addressing the question of power—we have just about stood still."

Not surprisingly, therefore, the pre-conference period saw sharp fights in virtually every local. These internal struggles showed, perhaps surprisingly, no tendency to generalize nationally; indeed, no two locals seemed to find the same issues controversial. Nor did they produce many resignations or confirmed oppositional individuals. Nonetheless there were recurring themes—the Russian question and the "party question"—appropriate to a period of aggressive bourgeois anti-Sovietism and rightward drift. The main conference resolution explained:

> "The relative lack of domestic class struggle giving our line the appearance of abstractness and the rightist character of much of what presently passes for activism (anti-nukes, eco-freaks, a narrow anti-draft 'movement' appropriate to the 'me-generation') have tended to generate breaks in the 'thin red line' of communist consciousness.... The increasingly visible line-ups for the next world war, the Reagan candidacy, the Greensboro massacre, the attempted murder of our comrade Fred in Germany, the Secret Service mugging of Jane Margolis, even our own successes are bringing home the realization that being a communist is not a game."

This realization accounts for a certain rise in the SL "quit rate." In the pre-conference discussion it was necessary to sharply point out that the ex-comrades whose resignations read like membership applications in professing "no political differences" actually have a difference on the "party question": they no longer believe that bolshevism requires concrete expression in a vanguard party. One recent applicant summed up this discussion very well:

> "I am applying to join the Spartacist League at a time when the question of membership is being posed sharply within the party. I feel fortunate to have been present for some portions of the internal struggles being waged around the meaning of membership in a bolshevik organization. It has made clear in a living sense, not just on paper, the depth and intensity of the commitment necessary to the building of an international revolutionary movement to smash capitalism. I have understood that an organization containing members who vacillate on the question of bolshevist loyalty and dedication is vulnerable to degeneration, and that such weak links must be either strengthened or discarded."

The conference participants spoke to the need for a hard communist party in these troubled times. There is no leeway for vestiges of New Leftism: anti-party spontaneism, cliquism, flinching from the hard questions in the unions (the Russian question in particular) in favor of a social-worker mentality. We can expect recurring internal struggles as we seek to push back against the pressure of rightist moods among the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. One delegate graphically illustrated the rightward drift of this stratum when he described the last conference of the National Lawyers Guild, where the various warring Stalinists, old New Leftists and feminists united around a crusade for censorship of "dirty" books. This puritanical campaign to make the capitalist state the arbiter of "decency" against essentially innocuous activities like pornography (and smoking) is of a piece with state repression against homosexuals and other "social deviants."

The main reporter, comrade Robertson, addressed the question of our "communist cutting edge":

> "It tends to dull and resharpen and dull, depending on what we do.... Here we are, a small organization moving into increasingly conservative times. I'd say that the pressures put us at risk of losing a communist cutting edge. And you don't go without a communist cutting edge for very long before you get somebody else's cutting edge cutting at you."

The need for a hard cadre in this period again brings to the fore the black communists. Comrade Robertson noted that the myth of the "American dream" which looks like an option for ex-student ex-radicals is certainly not an option for blacks—and they know it. Another speaker recalled that it was not the black members who backed away from the Communist Party during the witchhunt period.

"For blacks," one speaker at the Black Commission noted, "the American dream is a nightmare." Speakers in the main session returned to this theme. In his report, comrade Robertson mocked the would-be careerists who give "the best two years of my life" to the revolutionary movement and depart to pursue upward mobility as factionalists in some office or academic department. "Take a look at the ex's of the previous generation," he remarked. "It is miserable to revert to a biological existence."

Another comrade from an unusually socially advantaged background drove this point home. Her speech was a high point of the conference and stands as a good summary of its thrust:

> "Let me tell you something about the American dream. I had that once, when I was a kid. My father noticed that I had become 16 and he said, look, why don't you learn to drive—go buy a car. So I went out and I picked out a big car (you buy big cars in those days), I picked out a bright red convertible and I learned to drive it. And I drove to the boutique... and I drove to the drive-in and played with my boyfriends in the back seat. I had a real good time and fundamentally it was all shit. The boyfriends left, the car broke down, the miniskirts got out of style [laughter]. I got to be thirty and the only reason I'm not an embittered, wasted housewife is that I became a Marxist and I remained a Marxist.... I always liked the real simple way Trotsky put it. His last words on his deathbed (and apparently Deutscher thinks that Hansen made this up, but I prefer to think that Trotsky really said it), he said, 'Go forward!'... So let's go forward!" ■

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VOTE COLEMAN!

WORKERS VANGUARD
SPECIAL ELECTION SUPPLEMENT OCTOBER 1980

Enough! It's Time For a Workers Party!

Remember what happened when the Nazis boasted they were going to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco on April 19th? They said they were going to "celebrate" Dachau and Auschwitz in the Civic Center. And if it were up to Mayor Feinstein and the Board of Supervisors, the Nazis would have goose-stepped right into Civic Center Plaza. But the Nazis were stopped because 1,200 unionists, socialists, blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans and gays showed up at the Civic Center at the same time, determined to keep these fascists from celebrating Hitler's birthday.

Faced with a massive mobilization of labor and socialist groups the Nazi creeps turned tail and ran. This mobilization was organized by the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN). The demonstration was endorsed by 35 union officials and nine Bay Area unions.

Now Diana Coleman, a supporter of the Spartacist League, the labor/socialist organization that initiated ANCAN, is running for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

Diana Coleman says, "Enough! It's time for a Workers Party!" In the unions, in the black and Latino neighborhoods, on the campuses, millions of Americans have had it with Carter, Reagan and Anderson. They have had more than enough of economic depression and runaway inflation. Enough of racist injustice, warmongering and the drive for the military draft. Enough of capitalist parties that have billions for war and peanuts for the cities: schools that don't teach, hospitals that don't heal, homes that either you can't afford or are unfit to live in, streets that can't be walked in safety. Enough of union busting and scab-herding cops: paychecks that don't pay the bills, factories boarded-up, obsolete—like the empty shells lining the Embarcadero. Enough of Anita Bryant reaction in the White House and cop terror on the streets. Enough of a president who tells poor women who can't afford an abortion: "Life is not fair."

As Carter whips up chauvinism in his mad drive toward imperialist war, as the economy goes to hell, the ultra-right grows bolder. Even as ANCAN rallied, night-riding Klansmen blasted four black women with a shotgun in Chattanooga—and got acquitted. The KKK and Nazis are the fascist fringe cheering on Carter and Reagan's campaigns to whip up sentiment for World War III against the Soviet Union. With Carter and Reagan on the warpath against communism overseas, the KKK/Nazis feel it's open season on leftists, blacks, Latinos, labor and Jews here.

Diana Coleman is running on a program of mobilizing the labor movement and minorities to struggle for what they need in order to live a decent life. A vote for Diana Coleman is a vote against Carter, against Reagan, against the bosses. It is a vote for mass labor/minority action to keep the Klan/Nazis on the run. It is a vote against the capitalist politicians' drive for a thermonuclear war aimed at the USSR.

Diana Coleman says the working class needs its own political party. That need has been sharply revealed in San Francisco. Mayor Feinstein and her fellow union-haters on the Board of Supervisors are carrying out a one-sided war against the labor movement. They are trying to make "union" a dirty word in this union town. In 1976 Feinstein and the supervisors did everything they could to crush the city craft workers strike. Today Feinstein's cops escort scabs through union picket lines.

The 1976 city workers strike was a showdown. For an instant San Francisco teetered on the edge of a general strike. The workers were ready to fight but the union bureaucrats loyal to the Democratic Party sold out the strike. The union busting city government can be defeated. But it will take militant action, labor solidarity and mass picket lines to win. The main obstacle to taking on the union busters is the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, who keep the labor

continued on page 6

Diana Coleman, 34, is a socialist union militant born in San Francisco. Her experience as an activist in the civil rights movement, the antiwar and women's movements and in the unions brought her to a militant socialist perspective of support to the Trotskyist Spartacist League.

At an early age she took part in demonstrations at City Hall which rode the witchhunting, McCarthyite HUAC out of San Francisco in 1960. In 1965 she went to Gulfport, Mississippi to work with the militant civil rights organization—SNCC. She came back to the Bay Area to become active in the Vietnam antiwar movement. Coleman was a prominent leader of Oakland Women's Liberation and an active union militant for ten years, six of them at the phone company in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) as a member of the Militant Action Caucus. Coleman was a spokesman for the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment which won an apology and legal settlement from the U.S. Secret Service for its illegal seizure of San Francisco CWA militant Jane Margolis at her union's 1979 convention. Most recently she was an organizer of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN), the Spartacist League-initiated united front which stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday at the San Francisco Civic Center.

SPARTACIST SUPPORTER RUNS FOR S.F. SUPERVISOR!

From this election platform, we raise our revolutionary program: Enough of Reagan and Carter! Down with the Klan and Nazis!—

IT'S TIME FOR A WORKERS PARTY!

victory to Labor Struggles

San Francisco can be a town of labor victories again. But it will take a militant fight to bust the union busters.

• **Strike to win**—For labor solidarity—Picket lines mean "Don't Cross"! For mass picket lines to stop the scab-herding! No "give-backs"!

• **Organize the unorganized!**—For a massive union organizing drive in the Silicon Valley! Stop runaways! Jobs for all—30 hours work at 40 hours pay! A penny-for-penny cost-of-living escalator!

• **For sitdown strikes against mass layoffs**—Seize closed plants! For unlimited unemployment compensation at full union wages! Triple welfare! Free quality health care for all! Stop rent gouging—Expropriate the real estate corporations! For a massive program of public works under union control! Build the sewers! Finish BART—around the Bay and airport to airport—Make it free! Finish the freeways! Cancel the city debt! Expropriate the banks and the blood-sucking utilities.

• **Oust the bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government!**

Defend Democratic Rights

The capitalist government stands with the anti-busing racists, the anti-homosexual bigots of the Anita Bryant reaction, the right-to-lifers. The reformists rely on the courts and Congress. Now the courts and Congress are leading the backlash and only a fight by labor can even restore the limited democratic gains won in the 1960s.

• **For free abortion on demand**—Free quality, 24-hour child care! Pass the ERA! Free available safe birth control—Equal pay for equal work!

• **Keep the state out of consensual sexual activity**—Down with anti-gay laws and cop harassment! Full democratic rights for gays! No laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution. Down with all censorship!

• **No to gun control—No guns for cops! For the right to self-defense!**

• **Defend the rights of smokers!—For adequate ventilation!**

• **End discrimination in schools, housing, education, jobs!**

Not union-busting "affirmative action" but special union programs for upgrading, recruiting, training of minorities and women! Jobs for all! For union hiring halls! Cops out of the unions—Courts out of the labor movement! For free quality higher education for all! Open admissions! Nationalize the private colleges—For free tuition and living stipend! For bilingual education!

For a Working-Class Strategy to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror

From Fontana, CA to Connecticut the Klan/Nazis get bolder! The capitalists will someday resort to these fascists, armed shock troops of race terror, union-busting and anti-communism in a desperate attempt to preserve its rule over the working class—the one force with the power and unified interest to smash the capitalist onslaught of depression and war.

• For mass mobilizations of labor and minorities to stop the Klan and Nazis—Not confrontations of little bands of leftists—Not appeals to the capitalist state to "ban the Klan." **More San Francisco April 19ths—No more Greensboros! Jail the killer Klansmen—Not the Greensboro anti-fascist demonstrators!**

• **No platform for Nazis/KKK—For labor/minority defense against right-wing attacks!**

Down with the Carter, Reagan Anti-Soviet War Drive

U.S. missiles and foreign policy are aimed at restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union. Carter used the seizure of the hostages in Teheran and the invasion of Agahanistan to whip up public support for the imperialist U.S. war arsenal.

The Spartacist League called for workers revolution in Iran opposing both the bloody shah and the clerical reactionary mullahs of Khomeini.

In Afghanistan the Muslim fanatics the capitalists call "freedom fighters" make the fanatical nut Khomeini look like a flaming liberal by comparison. They buy and sell women like cattle, flog beer drinkers and kill school teachers who want to teach women to read and write. In Afghanistan the Soviets stand on the side of social progress.

As Trotskyists our movement has fought for 50 years against the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary policies and suppression of workers' democracy. But our call for the overthrow of the Kremlin usurpers through proletarian political revolution means uncompromising opposition to Carter's imperialist appetites to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, Cuba, China and all the deformed workers states. The socialist property forms of the USSR and the deformed workers states are an historic gain of the working class internationally and must be defended against the imperialists.

In Poland we call for trade unions independent of the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy and based on a program of defending socialized property. Insofar as the recent strike settlement enhances the Polish workers' power to struggle against the bureaucracy, revolutionaries can support the strike and its outcome. But our call for workers political revolution is one hundred percent counterposed to the pro-imperialist dissidents and the Catholic clergy, who aim to restore capitalism and oppress the Polish workers and peasants.

• **Defend the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution!** For workers democracy! For proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy—For a government based on democratically elected workers councils (soviets)!

• **Down with Islamic reaction! No to the veil!** Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran! U.S. imperialism, hands off Iran!

• **For strict separation of church and state in Iran, Afghanistan, Poland and the U.S.!**

• **For international labor solidarity!** No to protectionism! Smash apartheid in South Africa! For international labor action in defense of the black trade unions! Throw out European and American colonialism and imperialism! For African self-destiny!

• **Stop the deportations—Full citizenship rights for undocumented workers!**

• **Down with the draft—Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist war drive!**

• **Down with imperialist "human rights" hypocrisy—The main enemy is at home!**

Enough!...

(continued from page 5)

movement under the thumb of the bosses' Democratic Party, the party of "open-shop" Carter and Klansman Metzger.

Working people need their own political party, but not one like the British Labor Party, the kind that runs the capitalist state for the capitalists. We need a workers party based on the unions that fights to put an end to capitalism—that fights for a workers government, a completely different kind of government based on the power and organization of the working class. This kind of government isn't going to be voted in at the polls. The capitalists have made a complete mess of society. It's going to take a socialist revolution to set things right.

Diana Coleman stands against the frenzied and despairing program of the middle-class eco-freaks. These liberal faddists march in lock step with the vicious capitalist austerity drive of Carter and Reagan, proclaiming that less of everything (especially for the working class) is better, cleaner and more "natural." When Governor Jerry Brown cuts back social services he proclaims that "small is beautiful." The eco-faddists all cry for "no nukes," meaning nuclear power plants, while ignoring Pentagon plots to blow up the world. These utopian liberals, who think they know best, what's good for you and bad for you, care more about man-eating Great White sharks than people who can't find work. They want to outlaw pornography, guns and cars. The working class and poor need more of everything, not less.

Diana Coleman and the Spartacist League stand opposed to the divisive and crippling "me first" ethnic/sexual politics of the reformists. Enclaves of the oppressed cannot "save" their "communities." For instance, San Francisco's gay Castro St. district is no fortress against the spreading wave of reaction that has made every sort of so-called "social deviant" its target. The hoopla over district versus city-wide elections is a smokescreen to avoid the real issues facing the people who have to live and work in this city.

The situation cries out for the unions to launch a *workers party* to cut through the futile pork-barrel politics of each against all—to defend the interests of labor, the poor, minorities and the hard-pressed middle classes against the capitalists' assault. Not only in San Francisco but throughout the nation, workers need a party of their own to fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without compensation and institute a planned economy in the interests of all working people.

You don't have to be a socialist to know that San Francisco is sliding into deep trouble. The crisis of American capitalism will not spare the city.

And you don't have to be a socialist to make a list of things we need. Every election the reformists like the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party draw one up and peddle their penny-ante reforms and "tax-the-rich" schemes. They think you can change the priorities of capitalism at the voting booth. "People before profits," they say. But capitalism puts nothing before profits. The capitalist state can't be reformed to serve the interest of workers and poor people. It must be replaced by a workers state and it will take a socialist revolution to get one.

Diana Coleman's candidacy gives San Francisco working people a unique opportunity to vote for a candidate who stands for a revolutionary platform addressing the needs of the working class and oppressed minorities. A vote for Diana Coleman is a vote to create the mass workers party necessary to successfully lead the fight for a socialist revolution. It is necessary to begin. ■

For more information call: San Francisco (415) 863-6963 Berkeley/Oakland (415) 835-1535

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Coleman Needs Your Help

In this year of the Carter/Reagan and KKK election, Diana Coleman's candidacy is the only one *anywhere* which offers working people a chance to cast a vote in their own interest. Behind the capitalist candidates stand the big party machines with their "big bucks." Behind Diana Coleman stands a program of working-class struggle, a program to change the world. But it takes endless hours of hard work *and money* to get her program onto the streets and into the factories of San Francisco.

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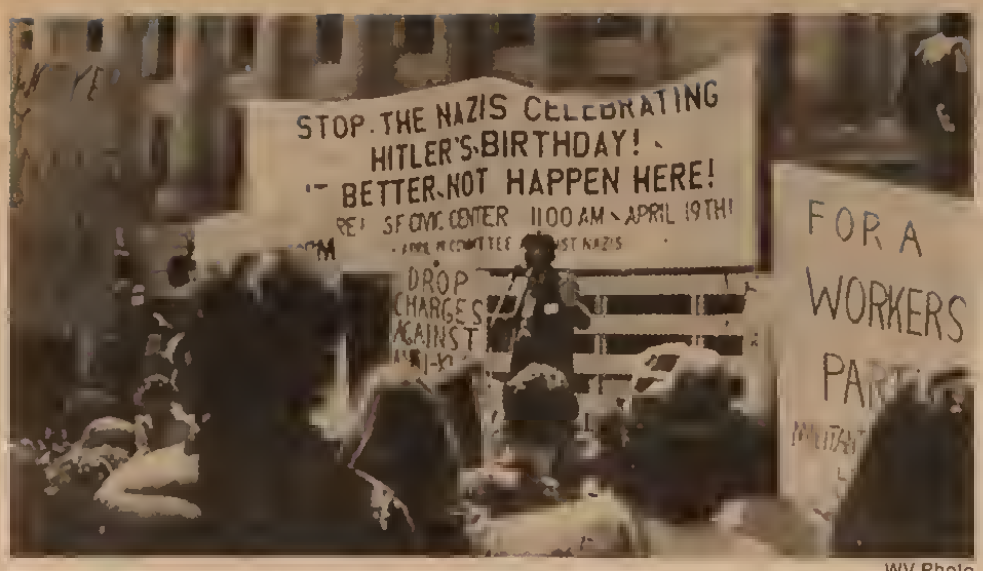

WV Photo

ANCAN stops the Nazis in S.F. April 19.

Union Militant...

(continued from page 8)

October), not to be outdone in social-pacifism, actually promoted such a bake sale under the identical slogan.

The CP and the SWP are indeed the twin parties of reformism. And this year their various opportunist appetites have brought them to the same electoralist policy. The CP, which used to flaunt its support for Democratic candidates, has felt obliged to talk a lot about running independently of the parties of big business. And the SWP, which used to regularly score points against its reformist rival by talking about working-class independence from the Democrats, is now the group openly pushing a well-known Democrat for supervisor.

And who is this Stan Smith "critically" supported by the SWP? He is secretary-treasurer of the SF Building and Construction Trades Council. Why "critical" support? An SWP supporter explained that Smith is "not clear enough around the labor party" question. Actually, Smith's party allegiance couldn't be clearer. The SWP may try to hide behind the fact that the supervisors election is officially "non-partisan," but Smith's own campaign brochure openly boasts that he is a "Delegate, 1980 Democratic National Convention." At the convention this phony "labor" candidate organized for Ted Kennedy.

Stan Smith was one of several craft union leaders responsible for the defeat of the 1976 craft union strike in SF. These Democratic Party loyalists wouldn't carry out their own threat to call a general strike against their friend, Mayor George Moscone. (Moscone appointed Smith to the "San Francisco Assistance to Business Committee" to "study ways of attracting business to San Francisco" according to Smith's brochure.) There's not a shred of working-class independence in Smith's campaign. The SWP, having spent years manning the goon squads for Jack Crowley, Dick Groulx and other Central Labor Council buzzards hanging around the mayor's office, finally picked one of this Democratic flock to support electorally.

While the SWP has a candidate in the race for supervisor, the highlight of its electoral activity in California this year has been its proudly trumpeted public debate with Tom Metzger, the Klan-Democrat candidate for Congress (see: "Klan Kills, SWP Debates" on this page). The SWP leadership is afraid to defend its increasingly reformist policies from the sharp criticism of revolutionaries. In the Bay Area it has excluded members of the Spartacist League from its public forums for years. Behind its rightward-moving line is a three-point program: debate the fascists, support the Democrats, exclude the revolutionaries.

DSOC and the "Closet Socialists"

If the SWP and CP twist and turn to give backhanded support to Democrats, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) is up-front and up to its neck in "the Party." One of the incumbent SF supervisors is a DSOC leader, gay politico Harry Britt. With the gay bloc vote which he inherited from Harvey Milk, Britt carries some weight in the San Francisco Democratic Party apparatus. But "closet socialist" Harry Britt isn't running as a DSOC leader. He's just plain Harry, gay spokesman.

When DSOC leader Michael Harrington spoke in the Bay Area on October 10 for the Democratic Party, Diana Coleman answered him from the floor: "Even some DSOC members are gagging at supporting Carter." But Harrington, who in 1976 backed Carter with the line that he'd vote Democrat if Mickey Mouse were the nominee, was unflappable in his attempt to avoid taking the blame for Carter's record in office. "DSOC is *not* supporting Carter," he said, "DSOC is not supporting any candidate. DSOC *members* are supporting Carter, DSOC members are supporting Commoner." When Coleman pointed to the Democrat-Klan connection, Harrington offered his solution: vote Republican against the Klan. This Social Democrat might recall that his political forebears' "solution" to Hitler was to vote for Hindenburg.

Harrington boasted that he had built a "socialist caucus of the Democratic Party" at the 1980 convention. If only the Democrats would dump the Carters, the Metzgers, the Dixiecrats and the anti-labor capitalist politicians who control it from top to bottom, then Harrington and his "socialist caucus" could clean it up. Harrington has been telling that one for 30 years.

Cynical reformists, "progressive" union hacks and "socialist"-talking Democrats won't be voting for Diana Coleman. But working people who are tired of the big-business parties and their left-wing hoosters can cast a ballot for a genuine socialist union militant on November 4. Vote Diana Coleman for SF supervisor! ■

Coleman Puts Cops on Trial

"I Accuse the Board of Supervisors"

San Francisco gay supervisor Harry Britt and other city politicians tried to channel an October 10 hearing on anti-gay violence into a call for increased police patrols and more gay cops, and entertained a veiled call for racist vigilantism. But candidate Diana Coleman was among those who turned the focus to the violence of the cops themselves—to the repeated applause of the audience of over 250. There was no applause from the rad-lib supervisors, who as the Board's Committee on Public Safety are really the cops' bosses. As radio station KYA put it, "The hearing turned into a critique of the police."

WV Photo

At anti-gay violence forum.

Diana Coleman: "I'm a labor socialist running for the Board of Supes. I have been the victim of cop violence and I saw what happened the night after the Dan White verdict came in, with cops beating peoples' heads, and I've listened to the testimony today. And I want to say that unlike Harry Britt, I say 'no to more cops in this city.' We don't need them [applause]. They are thugs and they are scabherders. That's what they do and they are not going to be pro-gay. I think you are kidding yourself if you think so.

"Now I want to say something about this situation in San Francisco. There's a lot of tension and one of the reasons is there's a deadly struggle for affordable housing in this city. Rather than the Latino and gay populations fighting it out with each other, what we need to do is expropriate major industry and the real estate speculators who have made this city unaffordable for working class people [applause].

"One thing that no one has brought up here today is that Jerry Brown (California governor) recently vetoed a bill making hand guns easier to get. I am in favor of the right to bear arms. And let me tell you something: karate and whistles are not going to work against people coming at you with lead pipes and chains. It doesn't work. People should have the right to bear arms in this country [applause].

"I accuse the Board of Supervisors, too. Because they stood by idly making futile motions when the Nazis wanted to march into San Francisco and celebrate Hitler's birthday and the kind of genocide they are trying to perpetrate against gays, blacks, trade unionists and everyone else. As a supporter of the Spartacist League, I am proud to say I helped organize the demonstration to stop those Nazis. It's no wonder the present Board of Supervisors can't stop the attacks on gays, because even the most liberal ones like Britt and Carol Ruth Silver are coexisting in the Democratic Party, which includes people like Tom Metzger, who is an avowed Klansman.

"So I want to say, 'Enough of both capitalist parties—It's time for a workers party.' Thank you [applause]."

Klan Kills—SWP Debates

When the Nazis said they were going to march into San Francisco's Civic Center to "celebrate Hitler's birthday" last spring, the Spartacist League (SL) knew what to do. ANCAN—the April 19 Committee Against Nazis—was formed, and Diana Coleman, the SL-supported candidate for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, was one of its organizers. Some people hoped the city government would prevent the fascist march while others warned against violating the Nazis' "rights." But ANCAN knew that the brownshirts' provocation called for action. Organizers went to black, Chicano and Asian organizations, to Jewish survivors of the holocaust and into the working-class districts. Above all, ANCAN went to the unions to build the labor-centered mobilization that kept the fascists off the streets. Nine Bay Area unions and 35 union officials endorsed the demonstration, and 1,200 militants answered ANCAN's call to "Stop the Nazis!"

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, was not at the Civic Center on April 19 because this reformist outfit seeks not to smash the fascists but to *debate* them!

As part of the SWP's never-ending bid for bourgeois respectability, the 10 October *Militant* boasted of the "extensive" and highly-publicized debate between Mark Friedman, the SWP's congressional candidate in southern California's 43rd district, and his Democratic Party opponent, Tom Metzger. Metzger, however, is better known in California as a "Grand Dragon" of the Ku Klux Klan who led armed patrols against "illegal aliens" at the Mexican border. You'd hardly know it though, to read the *Militant*. In the entire article there is not so much as one negative word about the murderous Klan! Instead, the Republican candidate who, to his credit, objected "to giv[ing] Metzger a forum for his ideas," was attacked for refusing to participate in the SWP/KKK debate.

In eagerly debating the assassins of Greensboro and Chattanooga the SWP helps the KKK to mask its racist terror as a parliamentary alternative. While calling for "free speech for fascists," these reformists have another policy for revolutionaries. For years, the SWP has routinely excluded supporters of the SL from its public forums. For the SWP the slogan is "Bourgeois democracy, yes! Workers democracy, no!" But though the SWP pretends that the struggle against fascism is won or lost at the ballot box, the Klan and Nazis know different. So do Trotskyists.

In 1938, when the SWP was a revolutionary organization, the fascist Silver Shirts announced a meeting in Minneapolis. The Trotskyist-led Teamsters in Local 544 sent their flying squad to the site and forced the Silver Shirts to disperse (see *Teamster Politics* by Farrell Dobbs). These militants knew that fascists understand just one thing and it is not the language of debate. Today, that tradition, spat upon by the SWP, is proudly upheld by the Spartacist League.

Not CP-Democrats, DSOC-Democrats, Gay Democrats, Labor-Democrats—

Elect a Genuine Socialist Union Militant!

Over the years the people of San Francisco have seen quite a few reformist leftists running for public office. They've seen plenty of card-carrying Democrats and supporters of Democratic candidates trying to pass themselves off as "socialists." But this year San Franciscans have a chance to vote for the real thing. Diana Coleman, Spartacist supporter for Board of Supervisors, is a trade-union militant running against the capitalist politicians under the slogan, "Enough! It's time for a workers party!" But you can bet that groups like the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) won't be campaigning for Coleman. The CP will be too busy rounding up votes for the likes of East Bay "progressive" Democrat Ron Dellums, and the SWP prefers the Democratic Party labor bureaucrat Stan Smith for supervisor.

The Bay Area Democratic Party has an unusually high number of burnt-out "Marxists" who spend a lot of their time talking about eventually breaking from the capitalist Democrats—but, of course, not now. The party machine has made good use of these "socialist" vote hustlers to fill the ballot boxes for Jimmy Carter, Dianne Feinstein and Jerry Brown. In this city of the great class struggles of 1934, union bureaucrats like AFL-CIO leader John Henning mouth hypocritical phrases about a "labor party" even as they endorse mainstream Democrats.

The CP is the master in this con game, if only because it has a head start of several decades, going back to its "people's front" backing of FDR in 1936. Even while Jimmy Carter drives toward war against the Soviet Union, the CP's *People's World* is busy pushing the "progressive" Democratic vote. The CP is ducking the vital question of defense of the USSR with appeals to "peace-loving" imperialists to "return to détente." In contrast, Diana Coleman is sounding a warning in the unions and working-class districts against the anti-Soviet war drive, and calls for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union.

With Jimmy Carter at the top of the ticket, the CP cannot simply say, "Vote Democrat." Instead, they carry out their support for "progressive" Democrats by giving back-handed support to the incumbent Board of Supervisors. By opposing the citywide balloting restored in a recent referendum, the CP supports the strikebreaking incumbents who were elected on a district basis. Thus the CP backs the "community" liberal "San Franciscans for District Elections" (SFDE), noting that "SFDE appealed to progressives to support the eleven incumbents, ignore the citywide balloting, and to concentrate on saving district elections" (*People's World*, 13 September).

When the Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club sent Diana Coleman a letter calling on her to step down in favor of the district-elected incumbents, she responded:

> "The hoopla over district vs. city-wide elections is just a smokescreen to avoid the real issues facing the people who have to live and work in this city.
> "The silent 'progressive' incumbents you support were not the ones who stopped the Nazi/Klan scum from celebrating Hitler's birthday in our labor town—it was the April 19th Committee Against the Nazis (ANCAN), of which I was an organizer. "As a socialist union militant, I have no interest in seeking endorsement from those in the same party as Tom Metzger, Klansman...."

At Bethlehem Shipyards. WV Photo

CP, SWP: Twin Parties of Reformism

More than in the recent past, the campaign of the ex-Trotskyist SWP is hard to distinguish from that of the Stalinist CP. Not only do these reformist outfits campaign with nearly an identical political line, they even chose the same slogans. The CP's main election banner is "People before profits," and the SWP has plumped for "Human needs before profits." A few years ago the SWP ran a candidate for SF Board of Education on one of the silliest pacifist-utopian slogans in political history: "It'll be a great day when our schools, hospitals and day care centers have all the money they need and the Pentagon has to hold a bake sale." This year, the CP's *People's World* (4

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Interview With Diana Coleman

I Saw the Power of Labor in the South

In an interview with Workers Vanguard *on October 8, Diana Coleman described her experiences in the civil rights, antiwar and feminist movements of the 1960s, and how these experiences led her to a revolutionary working-class perspective, to Trotskyism and the SL. Printed below are excerpts from that interview centering on her SNCC activities in Mississippi in 1965.*

WV: The urban ghettos are worse than ever, and even the token gains won by the civil rights movement have been under attack by the courts, Congress and racists in the streets. When you look back at your experience in the civil rights movement, how do you evaluate your work in SNCC?

Coleman: Well, I went down to Mississippi as a pretty naive kid—I was 19 years old at the time. But there were a number of things that I did there and a number of things that made me pretty unhappy. First of all, we were registering people to vote Democrat—now, we talked about the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, but essentially we were talking about registering people to vote Democrat. And I was unhappy because I didn't register to vote Democrat myself and I was quite uncomfortable about registering people to vote Democrat, although I saw that they had the right to register people to vote and I saw that as important. So that was one thing: I became increasingly uncomfortable about the ties of the civil rights movement with the Democratic Party. Secondly, I wanted to talk also about the war in Vietnam and the organizers told me this was a single-issue campaign, I could not talk about the war in Vietnam and other issues of this sort.

WV: Black people today are increasingly facing serious threats and outright terror from the Ku Klux Klan and other fascists. You were an organizer for SNCC, which advocated liberal pacifism at that time. How was that strategy treated in practice, when faced with racist violence?

Coleman: I was never a very convinced advocate of non-violence, but my experiences in Mississippi made me even less so. I had friends who spent their every night driving around in small towns in the Mississippi Delta, with a bunch of guys in the back with guns. They patrolled the black section of town, because they knew that since they were encouraging blacks to register as voters, they needed protection, and they knew the cops wouldn't protect them.... So they put out the warning: you come into a black section of town, you bomb, you burn, you kill, whatever, and you're going to be shot. And let me tell you, the Klan didn't come. And that was something I learned about non-violence, that people have to protect themselves. Armed black self-defense, especially in the South, is really a crucial issue. That's what I learned, because that's what experience taught me—that the town where they patrolled, the Klan did not come.

WV: In hindsight, what course would you have advocated for the civil rights movement? Why did SNCC's subsequent break from the Democrats lead to a dead end?

Coleman: Well, more generally, where I worked was Gulfport, Mississippi, a port town. We were protected in large part by the International Longshoremen's union, the East Coast longshore union, which was a black local, because they put out the word, and it was very explicit. We were downtown, integrating lunch counters and having to build demonstrations when they wouldn't serve white and black—they put out the word that if we were arrested, if we were jailed, if we were beat up, if in any other way the cops came after us, that there would be a strike. I mean everything would shut down in the city. And that's the word that they put out. And so we won.

So I saw down there the real power of the labor movement, and the labor movement when it comes down on the side of the oppressed. Now, the civil rights movement and SNCC was not able to take advantage of that opportunity. The leaders of SNCC—this was 1965—were moving eventually towards a sort of black nationalist position, so they did not know how to take advantage of the power of the labor movement.... So we really didn't take advantage of that situation, but it remained with me. Probably that's why I'm here today. A number of people died down there.... ■

Spartacist League Public Forum

Speaker

Diana Coleman

socialist union militant, candidate for S.F. Board of Supervisors

Enough! It's Time for a Workers Party!

Saturday, October 25
7:30 p.m.
UC Extension, 55 Laguna St., (near Market)
San Francisco
For more info. call (415) 863-6963

Hall/Davis...

(continued from page 12)

the "democratic" militarism of Roosevelt whom it had supported for years?

No. The Gus Hall/Angela Davis election campaign neither defends the USSR against imperialism nor stands for political independence of the American working class from the twin capitalist parties. The campaign is at bottom a pressure tactic aimed at the Democratic Party.

Reagan/Carter may be running on the question of Afghanistan, but the CP is not. Instead of intransigent military defense of the Soviet Union (expressed for instance in our slogan, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan"), Hall/Davis duck every crucial question, following the suicidal line of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which bases its global "strategy" on the illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. "Return our national policy to the road of detente and peace," says the CP election brochure. But all "détente" ever meant to the bourgeoisie was a tactical maneuver, born of the losing war in Vietnam, to give the U.S. war machine time to rearm and to reestablish domestic support for Cold War policies.

American imperialism's national policy has never been "our" policy, anyway. There is no era of bourgeois "peace" to "return" to! When does the CP think it was? During Kennedy's Bay of Pigs? "Détente" was bought with the blood of the Vietnamese; its high point coincided with the saturation bombing of Hanoi and Cambodia.

The Kremlin bureaucracy's "détente" policy means that workers in the capitalist countries are supposed to ally with the "peace-loving" wing of their own ruling class. Undermining at every step the need for working-class independence from its class enemy, the Stalinist misleaders perpetuate the isolation of the USSR by preventing the *extension* of the October Revolution which Lenin knew was ultimately its only defense. At the same time, the privileged Soviet bureaucrats repress and demoralize the workers of the Soviet Union and foster powerful counterrevolutionary forces (reactionary nationalists, capitalist-restorationist "dissidents"). Defense of the USSR demands the Trotskyist program of political revolution to restore political power to the Russian working class through the rule of workers councils (soviets) and extension of the gains of October through socialist revolution in the capitalist countries.

Looking for Henry Wallace

Of course the CP is still looking for bourgeois "doves" to support. Nothing really new here. Ever since the Roosevelt years, the CP has pushed for a popular-front alliance with the class enemy. The CP has always told its supporters to vote for the "progressive" imperialists. With the onset of the Cold War in 1948, the Stalinists opted for the bourgeois "third party" candidacy of former vice president Henry Wallace (who represented a short-lived tactical difference within U.S. ruling circles). But by 1952 the CP was voting the Democratic Party's choice again with Adlai Stevenson and his Dixiecrat partner, John Sparkman.

The instinct to vote Democratic became so overwhelming that after 1972 the CP was forced to admit, with some embarrassment, that a large chunk of its *Central Committee* had actually voted for George McGovern instead of the party's own candidate! Today with Carter and Reagan declaring Cold War II, the pro-Moscow Stalinists cannot find even a single prominent bourgeois "dove" analogous to Wallace.

The old Rooseveltian coalition of liberals and labor is disintegrating: some labor bureaucrats are making feeble noises about a "labor party" while others, like the National Maritime Union, are even backing Reagan (see article page 12). More than ever, the need for an independent working-class political party is obvious, but the CP refuses to call for it. Instead Hall/Davis dream of "a great people's coalition" which will one day "lay the basis for a mass anti-monopoly party." This reformist mush doesn't mean a thing—except a pitch to the liberals to please make some popular-front overture. Nor will the CP even campaign for its own candidates where it counts—in the labor movement, where class-conscious workers must oppose union endorsement of capitalist candidates.

The Hall/Davis campaign preaches both reform of the bourgeois state and reliance on it now. "People before profits" is their classic reformist slogan. "Compel the monopolies to disgorge some of their obscene profits." Only "some"? "Cut the military budget," says the CP. U.S. missiles in Europe are targeted on all major Soviet cities, but Hall/Davis want only to "cut" the budget. We must ask: which of these cities *do* you want to see bombed?

Angela Davis WV Photo

The CP offers no program for black people. "Outlaw racist acts, the KKK and the Nazi party" demands the CP campaign literature—in other words, not mass militant action but reliance on the state. The CP counsels support to the black Democrats—Ron Dellums, Coleman Young, Al Vann, the "black elected officials" who were the main beneficiaries of a liberal civil rights movement which left the masses just about as oppressed, poverty-ridden, unemployed and segregated as ever. According to the *Daily World*, with Young "the people's representatives hold power" in Detroit!

Yet the CP still recruits blacks and other young radicals who hate this capitalist system. Why? It's like what Frederick Douglass said about the Abolitionists: he'd heard all his life they were the evil people who burned down the masters' mansions, so as soon as he could he looked them up, because it sure sounded good. So the CP's still got the name "Communist," and it's got Angela Davis' reputation as a heroic black leader who stood up to the cops for George Jackson and the Panthers. And most people haven't heard about the Spartacist League, which defended Angela Davis and the Panthers (and Ruchell Magee, the man the CP left to rot in prison, and the Japanese-Americans whom the CP abandoned to Roosevelt's concentration camps, and so many others).

As for socialism, Gus Hall openly admits the CP isn't even raising it: "That question is not on the historic agenda. And socialism is not on the ballot in 1980" (*Daily World*, 27 September). Not on the CP line, it isn't. But a fighting program for socialism is on the ballot in San Francisco. The SL is supporting Diana Coleman for SF Supervisor because her campaign tells the truth: socialism won't be won at the ballot box, but on the battle lines of the class struggle. Diana Coleman demands that labor break from the twin parties of capitalism. Her program is a revolutionary alternative to the CP's reformism and points the way forward to the things we need and the only way we will get them: class struggle by the workers movement, fighting on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed. ■

Gus Hall on Poland

Bureaucrats' Complaint

It's a dog's life putting out a Stalinist paper, especially when you have to run cynical headlines like, "Poland Public Opinion Urges Strikes to End." That specimen from the 30 August *Daily World* was typical of the Communist Party's coverage of the recent Polish workers strikes. At the height of the unrest the disingenuous headline was "Polish Unions Working for Improvement." But apparently "public opinion" wasn't enough to convince the strikers for then came "Polish Cardinal Asks for End to Strike." What's next, we wondered—"God Demands Strikers Go Back to Work"?!

The Communist Party is obviously having problems in its own ranks explaining away the Polish strikes. On September 17, a crowd of 600 packed the Unity Center in New York City to hear Gus Hall speak on "What Happened in Poland?"—a good four times what they draw to the CP's annual May Day rallies. When it came to analyzing the origins of the crisis in Poland, Hall sounded for all the world like some New Lefter who stumbled into the CP by mistake. The trouble with those bureaucrats in the leadership of the PUWP was they didn't engage in "constant discussion" with the ranks, or see the need for "mass participation," for "exchanges of opinion," for the people to "become part of the power structure."

But their economics were a disaster, Hall went on, indicating that Moscow had long criticized the Polish leaders on this point. And here he's right. Look at the massive foreign debt, the insufficient collectivization of agriculture, the power of the Polish Catholic church. Of course the leaders of the PUWP had "the best of intentions," said Hall, but then the road to hell... And the hardest swipe of all: "Much of the unrealistic good intentions [of the Warsaw leaders] were fed by feelings of unrealistic nationalism."

But the audience was far from satisfied. As the question cards came up to the podium, Hall carried on what was essentially a discussion with himself. "What about the special stores" for the bureaucracy? Lots of cards about that one. "I personally never liked them." What about the pope? Hall accused Wojtyla of encouraging anti-socialist elements. (But we recall that last year the *Daily World* was singing a different tune: "Pope's Visit Welcomed by People of Poland.")

In closing his presentation Hall remarked, "The statement that the party in Poland must reestablish a relationship of confidence in the PUWP is a most serious self-criticism." C'mon Gus. Your real gripe with the Gierek gang isn't that they were out of touch with the masses—which is putting it mildly—but that they didn't listen to Moscow. (Of course Russia has a right to be worried about counterrevolution in Poland.) But neither diligently toeing the Kremlin line nor cosmetic democratic reforms will resolve the crisis of Polish Stalinism. Every few years the leadership deck is reshuffled, a new deal promised and it is only a matter of time before the house of cards comes falling down.

At root is the contradiction inherent in all the Stalinist deformed and degenerated workers states between the collectivized property and the bureaucracy that rules these countries. A caste based on the monopolization of governmental power, the bureaucracy is opposed—for its very survival—to workers democracy and incapable of "keeping in touch with the masses."

AP

Polish workers: Don't need to discuss much, Gus?

Only a Trotskyist party can undertake the real defense of the gains of the workers against the dangers of counterrevolution. Not by whispering advice in the ear of the bureaucracy, but by intervening in the workers' struggles to turn them toward political revolution to oust the bureaucracy in the deformed and degenerated workers states and open the road to socialism through international proletarian revolution.

NMU Tops For Reagan...

(continued from page 12)

And now our union officials have offered up our union to provide additional leverage in the rightward shift. Reagan's election would probably lead to more open and harder anti-labor, racially repressive government policies. In addition, as a symbol of the ultra-right, Reagan's election would be seen as a signal to the right wing in this country that they have an open field. Carter's policies and Reagan's popularity have already been accompanied by a meteoric rise of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis across the country. This fascist filth must be smashed.

Blacks face increasingly desperate poverty and rising Klan/Nazi/cop racial attacks. They now find many more white workers driven to unemployment and welfare offices as lay-offs hit record peaks. There is no active leadership or organizations amongst blacks and the trade union leadership is completely bankrupt and calcified.

We need a leadership to forge a vanguard of the working class to unite blacks and whites in fighting capitalism, the root cause of our problems. In the NMU we must reject this atrocious support for Reagan and break from the Democrats as well. Only a new leadership of our union could mobilize our union to form Labor/Black Defense organizations with other unions to smash the Klan/Nazis and start organizing to build a workers party to struggle for a workers government. ■

Fascists...

(continued from page 1)

over 100,000 people demonstrated against this fascist atrocity in Paris and almost all major cities in France. On 7 October a giant demonstration in Paris drew nearly 200,000. Strikingly absent from the demonstration were the mass of immigrant workers, understandably, given the stark contrast between the respectable protests over anti-Jewish violence and the total silence which habitually greets racist murders of North Africans and black Africans. Even the government parties, the Giscardians and Gaullists, were forced to send token delegations in an unsuccessful effort to deflect criticism from the government and to present the demonstration as one indicating "the unity of the French people."

The demonstration certainly was an expression of anger. But its organizers, ranging from the Jewish bourgeois establishment, led by Guy de Rothschild, to the reformists of the Communist and Socialist parties, did their best to contain this anger in respectable limits by calling merely for the resignation of the minister of the interior and for "purging" fascists from the police. They all agree on one thing: under no circumstances should the workers organizations be mobilized to crush the fascist terrorists; under no circumstances should Jews and immigrant workers defend themselves against fascist attacks.

In sharp contrast, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) marched in the demonstration behind a big banner calling for "United Front Self Defense by Workers, Jewish and Immigrant Organizations" and for "Workers Militias" to "Crush the Brown Plague." The fascists will not be scared off by talk of "national unity." They are a terroristic paramilitary action group which must be crushed by the working class.

The "restraint" of the "responsible Jewish leaders" has opened the door to the most right-wing Zionists, ready followers of the butcher of Deir Yassin, the current prime minister of Israel, Menachem Begin. Zionist leaders around the world have blamed the anti-Semitic violence on the French government's pro-PLO/pro-Arab foreign policy. The Zionists want to exploit the wave of popular revulsion against the fascists to pressure the Giscard government to take a more pro-Israeli position. They make the reactionary equation between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. But the fascists want to liquidate the Jews because they are *Jewish*, and their genocidal ambitions wouldn't change in the least if Giscard stopped selling military hardware to the Arabs or voted against the PLO in the United Nations.

In France the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO) has come to the fore, especially among young Jews who are fed up with pacifism and "responsibility" when faced with fascists. The JDO openly declares it is out hunting for Nazis. And in Israel, Shmuel Flatto-Sharon—a French Meyer Lansky who emigrated to the "promised land" to escape a jail term for fraud—is trying to organize Zionist mercenaries to go to France to "protect" the Jews. If the Zionist hit squads bag a few fascists, instead of going after Palestinians and North Africans, they will have done something worthwhile for a change. But it's just as likely that the Zionists will overreach and knock off some prominent anti-Zionist in France. This would call forth a hostile reaction against them to which we would not be averse.

Memories of Nazism in France are strong and could put the government in serious trouble. The authorities have made a great hue and cry about finding and punishing the guilty, while doing everything possible to put the lid on. It is being charitable to the French government to say that its attitude toward prosecution of the fascists is worthy of the police chief in the movie *Casablanca*: "round up the usual suspects."

The "usual suspects" of course are the left. The attorney general, Gaullist Alain Peyrefitte, has "speculated" that the bombing was not committed by fascists at all, but was a provocation by a leftist group. Likewise, interior minister Christian Bonnet baited a Communist deputy that the direction of the government's inquiries "might surprise you." In this Peyrefitte and Bonnet are in chorus with the fascists, who have suggested that the bombing was masterminded by the KGB or Libyans, with Guy de Rothschild, who maintains the source of all terror is Marxism, and with the Israeli ambassador, who accused the Palestinians. Anybody but the fascists!

Paris, 7 October: 200,000 march in outrage over fascist atrocity. France-Soir

Was Giscard d'Estaing in the OAS?

Historically the French government, like the governments of Italy and West Germany, has been up to its neck in fascistic activity. In the early 1960s there occurred a sharp split in the French right over de Gaulle's neo-colonial solution to the Algerian war of independence. The "Algérie française" ultras formed the Secret Army Organization (OAS) which carried out a terror campaign in metropolitan France and led the "generals' revolt" in Algeria in 1961. However, this break was largely overcome in the wake of May 1968, when in order to guarantee the loyalty of the officer corps de Gaulle had to amnesty the OAS generals.

It was public knowledge that in the 1974 presidential campaign the goon squad which protected Giscard was made up of members of the OAS and also Ordre Nouveau, then the main fascist group. According to one account published at the time, Giscard himself, together with future minister of the interior Prince Michel Poniatowski (a descendant of one of Napoleon's marshals), was part of an OAS ring.

It is well known that the authors of fascist attacks are rarely caught. When the Italian fascist Marco Affatigato was arrested by French police after the Bologna railway station bombing, he openly laughed at the idea that he would ever spend any significant amount of time in jail. His laughter was based on experience.

Both the fascists of the European National Fascists (FNE), which is generally held responsible for the Paris synagogue bombing, and the police "unions" claim that 30 of the FNE's reported 150 members are highly-placed police officers, in particular in the Renseignement Général, a sort of combined FBI and Red Squad. In fact, the government was obliged to fire Paul-Louis Durand, an inspector, not because he was a member of the FNE leading body, but because he was reported to have met with Italian fascists shortly before the Bologna railway station bombing in early August. Inspector Durand had an important job in the police—personal bodyguard to the Grand Rabbi of France!

The point however is not to "purify" the police force, to make it more democratic and "republican." The police cannot be "purified"—they are part of the armed might of the capitalist state and must be smashed. Revolutionists demand police out of the union movement.

Neo-Fascists: The Tip of the Iceberg

In the last five years or so the far right in France and the rest of West Europe has after a lull emerged from its ratholes and acquired an increasing respectability. The neo-fascists have recently concentrated on immigrant workers and a broader-based racism. But now the fascist groups are reminding the rest of the right-wing racists that anti-Semitism is an integral part of any mass fascist movement. The fascists need the Hitler regalia and crude anti-Semitism to maintain their self-image of fighting against a secret clique which dominates society. And poor North African or Turkish workers (like blacks in the U.S.) won't fit the bill. But a Rothschild will do fine—or a Jewish communist like Leon Trotsky.

In 1978 with much fanfare the French Parti des Forces Nouvelles got together with the Italian MSI and the Spanish Fuerza Nueva to create the "Euroright," supposedly as an answer to "Eurocommunism." These "legalist" parties maintain close links with the state apparatus in their respective countries and serve as a conduit for fascists. While usually keeping their distance from the paramilitary fascist groups (at least in public) they serve to rally racist and reactionary sentiment and function as a recruiting reservoir for the fascist-terrorist groups.

The small paramilitary neo-fascist groups have increased their activity apace. Their not-so-secret conspiracy uses the tactics of murder and arson to encourage tendencies within the bourgeoisie toward a "strong state" until the social disintegration of capitalism and the miserable failure of the reformist leaders of the working class allow them to come to power. In West Germany the Hoffmann group, reported to have done the Oktoberfest bombing in Munich, is simply the best known of over 50 (!) neo-Nazi groups with a combined membership, according to West German police, of over 15,000. In addition to the indigenous neo-Nazi groups, fascism in West Germany has been augmented by the murderous Turkish "Grey Wolves." And in England there are a number of similar groups which have split off from the National Front.

In France the right wing has for decades organized private militias and fascistic unions with the aim of strike-breaking and union-busting, especially in the auto industry. The rightist union, the Confédération Française du Travail (CFT), dominates the Citroën plants in particular, terrorizing immigrant workers and forcibly enrolling them under threat of deportation. The CFT also furnishes squads of "unionized" workers to break strikes, intimidate militants, even going so far as to murder them. In 1977 a CFT commando killed Pierre Maitre, a young worker in the Communist-led CGT walking his first picket line in Reims. And in 1972 it was an ex-member of the CFT who killed a Maoist, Pierre Overney, leafleting outside Renault-Billancourt in Paris.

Anti-Immigrant Hysteria

The present growth of the far right cannot be understood in terms of a plot by this or that intelligence service to "destabilize" their government, but only in terms of the economic and social background which allows such plots, where they exist, to have even a slim chance of success. Following the 1974-75 economic crisis, West European governments turned to anti-working-class austerity programs, the leading edge of which is anti-immigrant policies. They thus give semi-official sanction to racist attacks on immigrants, which have become commonplace and regularly go unpunished by the police. West Germany has avoided drastic rises in domestic unemployment by sending Turkish and Yugoslav workers back home. Thatcher's Britain not only sharply limits immigration, but government harassment of immigrants includes the scandalous racist practice

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Iran/Iraq: Dirty War, Strange Bedfellows

Were it not fraught with the danger of escalation into World War III, the unlikely and rapidly shifting sets of allies and enemies formed over the Iran-Iraq war would be comical. When the shah was overthrown, a delicately balanced, U.S.-brokered regional stability went down with him. The American imperialists' Persian Gulf policeman was no longer on his throne, and the neighboring states, both those which had feared him and those which had depended on him, had to readjust.

The Iraqis prepared for war. The royal families of the Gulf sheikdoms, as fundamentalist in their Islamic bigotry as Khomeini, nevertheless felt their fragile and narrowly-based regimes threatened by the ayatollah's Shi'ite Muslim "Islamic Revolution." So while the Gulf states' public statements on the current war have reflected a studied ambiguity, the sheiks, emirs and kings have covertly sided with Iraq despite the Baghdad colonels' republican anti-monarchism and expansionist ambitions. Jordan's King Hussein has decided to overlook the fact that his Hashemite royal cousins were killed by the Iraqi military's 1958 revolution and has openly sided with Iraq, allowing war goods to be transported from the Jordanian port of Aqaba to Baghdad.

The Soviet bureaucrats, seeking diplomatic and military advantage on both sides, have signed a friendship treaty with Syria, the sworn enemy of Iraq, despite the fact that Iraq is their chief military client in the region. Thus, they find themselves tilting toward support for the virulently anti-Soviet Khomeini, whom Syria backs as the enemy of its enemy. The U.S. offers spare parts for Khomeini's Phantom jets in exchange for its hostages while U.S. NATO allies simultaneously rush to Baghdad to replace the Russians at the arms bazaar. But Khomeini prefers to hold on to the hostages and purchase war supplies from, of all sources, Soviet client North Korea.

AP

Bani Sadr poses in the trenches of the "Islamic Revolution."

In the interests of convenience in a world of ever-changing alliances, the American and Soviet arms industries might consider the use of interchangeable parts. Their fickle clients among the repressive Middle East regimes could then grind each other's military forces to pieces no matter who was supplying the ammunition.

If most of Iran's new-found friends have been less than candid about their links with Khomeini, two stalwarts have stepped forward to cheer on the ayatollah's war in public. But the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) must find it at least somewhat embarrassing to be leagued with Libya's Colonel Qaddafi in this dispute. For Qaddafi, it's simply a matter of Islamic duty to back Khomeini's *jihad* against the Iraqi "infidels." But the SWP has been bending, twisting and just plain ignoring the truth lately to justify "socialist" support for the ayatollah.

In tailing feminism, black nationalism, gay liberation, etc., the SWP used to say, "If you believe in [fill in the blank], join the Young Socialist Alliance." Now it's not so much a question of belief but of suspension of disbelief. Do you believe that Carter is directing the Iraq offensive? Do you believe that Iran's Arab and Kurdish minorities, victims of savage repression by Khomeini's *pasdaran* ("revolutionary guards"), are now flocking to fight alongside this Shi'ite mosque militia? You do? Well step right up and join the YSA. You'll belong in a party that said Khomeini's veils for women were "anti-imperialist," that mullah-run clerical councils were embryonic "soviets" and that closing the universities to smash the left was "revolutionary." Still, we wonder if even the SWP is so shameless as not to blush at the thought of blocking with the American Qaddafi-ites of the Workers League, who consider the SWP to be a nest of FBI and KGB agents. Dirty wars make for rotten alliances.

One thing's for certain: whichever gang of bloody-handed bourgeois nationalists wins this sordid border war, the working people of both Iraq and Iran will be the losers. Down with the Iraqi colonels and the Iranian mullahs! U.S. out of the Persian Gulf! For the right of self-determination for Kurdistan! Forward to a Socialist Federation of the Near East! ■

NYC Spartacist League Forum

Iran/Iraq Blood Feud—For Workers Revolution in the Middle East!

Speaker: Reuben Samuels
SL Central Committee
Thursday, October 23, 7:30 p.m.
602 Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
For more information: (212) 732-7860

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of subjecting Pakistani and Indian women to vaginal searches.

In France a series of decrees aimed at getting rid of some 40,000 North African and black African workers a year. Last December the right-wing National Front postered France with the slogan "1,500,000 unemployed is 1,500,000 immigrants too many. France and Frenchmen first." The notoriously chauvinist French Communist Party (PCF) contributed with its own calls for total national economic protectionism ("Produce French").

Stalinists Still Look to the Bourgeoisie

If the Stalinists contribute to chauvinist sentiment, the CP-dominated unions in France and Italy also have done nothing against fascist attacks on immigrants or even their own members. Instead they call on the bourgeois state to cleanse itself. The CGT sits back and allows the fascist CFT to dominate Citroën, resorting from time to time to law suits and calling for new laws against the fascists and "heavy sentences" for bosses who infringe on union rights. The PCF/CGT response to the killing of Pierre Maitre in 1977 was to call for a *five minute* "general strike"!

And their response today is no different. The PCF/CGT has refused *to act*. It would have taken the 200,000 workers who demonstrated in Paris just a few minutes to deal with the fascist scum. But the Stalinists want to avoid just that because it would pose a risk to their bureaucratic domination of the workers movement and their aspirations for a new "popular front" with a section of the bourgeoisie. The fact that the office of the neo-fascists is located only 200 yards from the PCF national headquarters on the Place Colonel Fabien should be felt as a provocation by every Communist worker. Yet the local Communist Party cell merely distributes leaflets in neighborhood mailboxes calling on all the "democratic-minded" to protest to the government.

Fascism or Communism

Through calls on the state to ban the fascists, through schemes to resurrect the popular-front "Union of the Left," the reformist workers misleaders chain the powerful labor movement to its bourgeois rulers. Those who would seek a new popular front, those who sentimentalize "The Resistance" and the "glorious tradition" of World War II—"The Great Patriotic War to End Fascism"—must now answer a burning question posed by history: Why are the fascists back again?

During the 1930s, Stalin's party in France prepared the masses to accept their own bourgeoisie in a popular front "against fascism." The French working class was "re-educated" to learn that the main enemy was no longer at home but across the Rhine. And when the war was over the popular front remained, and the Stalinists organized ignominious defeat for the proletariat. It was the Stalinists who forced workers to turn over their weapons so that the "democratic, anti-fascist" capitalists could maintain their rule. Instead of a Socialist United States of Europe the imperialists were handed the reins of state power. Thus continued the cycle from popular frontism to bourgeois reaction. As Trotsky put it:

> "Incapable of solving a single one of the tasks posed by the revolution—since all these tasks boil down to one, namely the crushing of the bourgeoisie—the People's Front renders the existence of the bourgeois regime impossible and thereby provokes the fascist coup d'état. By lulling the workers and peasants with parliamentary illusions, by paralyzing their will to struggle, the People's Front creates favorable conditions for the victory of fascism. The policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie must be paid for by the proletariat with years of new torments and sacrifice, if not by decades of fascist terror."
>
> —"The New Revolutionary Upsurge and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (July 1936), in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1935-1936)*

Unlike the 1920s and the early 1930s, fascism is now no longer a new phenomenon. The experience of the holocaust remains within the living memory of the European working class, and there is little chance that the fascists can pretend to be what they are not. The demand to crush the fascists wherever they raise their heads will find enormous receptivity, for it taps into the workers' deep, almost instinctive hatred for Hitlerite scum.

When the main Nazi criminals were placed in the dock at Nuremberg 35 years ago, their deeds horrifying the entire world, social democrats, Stalinists and liberals believed that never again would fascism reappear on the Western political stage. Yet from Greensboro to Paris, from Bologna to Munich, fascist terror is on the rise. The fascists are growing, perhaps not so much in sheer numbers but in boldness, in the belief that things are going their way.

They are encouraged above all by the NATO chiefs' strident calls for a new crusade against Soviet Communism. "We need more and more weapons to kill Russians," cry the leaders of West Europe and the U.S. The only thing that rivals the anti-Communism of the speeches of bourgeois politicians today is their chauvinism and racism. Franz-Josef Strauss campaigns to drive foreign workers out of West Germany. The Giscardians and Gaullists, partly to be on the right side of Arab oil, indulge in scarcely-veiled attacks on the Jews. "Ethnic purity" Carter slashes social welfare for blacks, while KKK leaders state that the Republican electoral platform could have been written by them. If Strauss, Giscard, Carter and Reagan all have to dissociate themselves from the fascist terrorists, it is precisely because their ideological affinity with them is so obvious.

Of course, the situation today in the Western bourgeois democracies is not Germany in the early 1930s. To think so is to lose all sense of scale. Yet the basic thrust of imperialist-capitalist society—toward war with Soviet Russia, toward wage-slashing and austerity, toward racist scapegoating and violence—all find their realization in fascism. United working-class action against the fascist terrorists, *urgently needed right now*, cannot ultimately succeed without overthrowing this rotting capitalist system throughout the world. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Friday 5:00-8:00 p.m. Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tuesday 5:30-9:00 p.m. Saturday 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tuesday 6:00-10:00 p.m. Saturday 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St.
(one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Saturday 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

WORKERS VANGUARD

Why We Can't Vote Stalinist in '80

CP's Hall/Davis in Search of "Peace-Loving" Imperialists

In this election season of reaction, as Carter/Reagan campaign to lead U.S. imperialism's accelerating war drive against the Soviet Union, we had to think about the slogan, "Vote Stalinist in '80!" How politically useful it would be for workers to have a chance to vote against the warmongering, the racism, the anti-working-class austerity of the Democrats and Republicans. How satisfying it would be to call for a vote to the Communist Party, identified in the public mind with defense of the USSR. But the political platform of the CP in no way merits electoral support from workers and socialists.

In the past couple of elections, the CP had run simply as the Democrats' stalking horse. This time around it had to adopt a more nominally "independent" rhetoric. After all, Teddy Kennedy had been washed out and "détente" is dead for the time being. And that raised the interesting question: would the CP by force of circumstances (its support to Soviet troops in Afghanistan, for instance) run a campaign that in some way represented a break from support to the bourgeois liberal "lesser evils"? Would it adopt some key element of an independent class stand, even hypocritically, as it did in 1939 when the Hitler-Stalin pact forced it to come out against

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Gus Hall at NYC May Day rally: Stalinist gentlemen cry, "détente, détente, détente," but there is no détente.

WV Photo

Break With the Republicans and Democrats!

NMU Tops Grab for Reagan's Right-Wing Coattails

We print below excerpts from a leaflet distributed by the oppositional Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union (NMU) which expresses the outrage of the membership over the bureaucracy's support to the arch-reactionary and racist Ronald Reagan announced at the NMU national convention October 9 in St. Louis.

We protest the expulsion from the convention of the Workers Vanguard *reporter. He was fingered by Roy Rydel, a backer of the Communist Party-supported Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, before the "big switch" to Reagan was accomplished.*

* * * * *

Our NMU officials, at the union convention, endorsed right-winger Ronald Reagan for President, jumping on the Reagan bandwagon along with the Ku Klux Klan. Millions of working people in this country are disgusted with this election. They see in Carter a pro-business incompetent whose "cure" for inflation is more unemployment. Reagan is a hard-line right-winger and outright racist, who wouldn't have a prayer of winning except that people can't stand the idea of four more years of the same under Carter. Perhaps our narrow-minded officials simply feel Reagan will win and are concerned about the crucial role of the federal government in the maritime industry—regardless of what Reagan symbolizes.

It is outrageous that the NMU, a key CIO union during some of the most critical struggles of labor in the U.S. with a *majority* of our membership black and Hispanic should support one of the most *openly* anti-labor, racist capitalist politicians that ever ran for President! For 19 years Reagan has continually and explicitly advocated and administered policies for "right-to-work" laws, extending anti-trust laws to cover organized labor, smashing the predominately Chicano United Farm Workers, "states rights"—the code word for racist segregation—and cutting back on unemployment and welfare benefits. No wonder the executives in the capitalist, union-busting organizations like the National Chamber of Commerce, Business Council, and National Association of Manufacturers have been joined by the Ku Klux Klan in backing Reagan.

Lesser Evilism Is Suicidal

On most of these critical points there is no fundamental difference between Reagan and Carter. Both of these men and their parties stand for the anti-labor, racist, repressive policies of the capitalist class and they are equally hell bent on preparing for a nuclear war that may destroy human civilization. Both represent the enemies of labor, blacks and other minorities. Neither offer an alternative for poor and working people—lesser evilism is suicidal. With U.S. capitalism in decline, it was Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter who plotted the course which has led to a right-wing shift in this country. As governor of Georgia Carter ran an open shop state, attracting run-away textile/clothing companies. He continued these policies in the White House attacking the coal miners with Taft-Hartley....

It is Carter's right-wing course that has made the election of Reagan, the open ultra-rightist, a real possibility.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 267

31 October 1980

Carter, Reagan: No Lesser Evil

The War Elections

OCTOBER 27—In an election campaign in which millions of Americans wish passionately for the defeat of both capitalist candidates, political fortune seems once again to turn upon "the fate of the hostages." As voters—filled with a mixture of resignation, disgust and boredom—prepare to go to the polls, terms of a "deal" are again floated in Washington and Teheran: hostages for spare parts for Iran's American-built military machine in its sordid blood feud with Iraq. Once again the hostage "ready room" in Wiesbaden, West Germany bustles as batteries of telephones are installed and psychiatrists are placed on call for "debriefing." The hostage factor has emerged as the centerpiece of election hoopla. Will all the hostages get out? When? Will there be trials? Not since Carter's early morning "April surprise" the day of the Wisconsin primary has there been so much anticipation of a hostage deal.

Despite the evident cynical manipulation of the hostage issue for purposes of electioneering, the close presidential race could indeed be swept away by an orchestrated hostage return and attendant patriotic fervor. It won't take much to tip an election contest in which the overwhelming fact is that people are trying to pick a lesser evil. The candidates even present *themselves* that way. Carter and Reagan's talk about peace is hardly to be taken seriously. Their real campaign is a series of threats. Carter says Reagan is likely to start World War III. Reagan says Carter will continue skyrocketing inflation and mass unemployment. This is election blackmail.

Der Spiegel

No matter which one of these reactionaries is elected, working people and blacks will get *both* nuclear brinkmanship *and* capitalist austerity. Between these two racist, anti-Soviet warmongers there can be no choice for the working class, no lesser evil.

But for the millions who positively support neither candidate and wonder only which candidate to vote against, the hostage factor could throw the election to Carter. That is, in any case, the judgment of the Reagan and Carter election staffs. These reactionary campaigners recognize that there is no "Great Debate" between the candidates on any fundamental question facing U.S. imperialism. The election is therefore dependent on TV performance and all-round media hype. They have even

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2,500 Jewish Protesters Run Off Nazis in Evanston

CHICAGO—A victory was scored here Sunday, October 19 when 2,500 anti-Nazi demonstrators, many of them concentration camp survivors, drove eleven goose-stepping Nazi punks from Evanston's Lovelace Park, only minutes after they had arrived for an officially sanctioned race-hate rally. The Sunday action was a welcome sight, particularly coming after years of Nazi threats in Chicago's Marquette Park district and nearby Skokie when liberals from the B'nai B'rith refused to counterdemonstrate and the American Civil Liberties Union came out for the fascists' supposed "right" to organize. But although last Sunday's Nazi rally in the middle-class, heavily Jewish suburb of Evanston sparked mass protest, the following week when the Nazis announced they would march to the Ingleside black ghetto, the liberals could care less. Neither could the black reformists: Jesse Jackson, for his part, was too busy stumping for Carter to be bothered protesting fascist terror on the edge of the black ghetto.

The Nazis' arrival in Lovelace Park immediately sparked jeering catcalls and a barrage of eggs and rocks (one of which decked a cop) from the outraged crowd. Then the Hitler-lovers unfurled a banner bearing the provocative

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WV Photo

Anti-Nazi protesters in Evanston join in SL chant: "Sweep the Nazis off the streets!"

Confrontation in Poland...6

S.F. Hotel Strike

San Francisco, Calif.
9/6/80

Dear comrades,

In the August 8th issue of *Workers Vanguard* there is a so-called "article" about the S.F. Hotel Strike. The article is not signed, nor does the article state at any point what your organization, the Spartacist League, actually did in the course of the strike. (You have lots of advice to offer, but advice and slogans at the bottom of an article don't win strikes.) The fact is that the Spartacist League had almost zero participation in the strike...other than selling a few newspapers to strikers. On the left, only the SWP did as little. Before the strike your members and sympathizers did not even bother attending union meetings, abstaining from the fight to dump Belardi. Your reporter (whoever he/she is...) criticizes me personally because at the Central Labor Council I got up as a delegate from the Social Service Union and offered to get strikers food stamps and welfare. But your reporter omitted half of what I said. I also demanded to know what the Labor Council was going to do about scabbing by other unions. Omitting facts to make a point is really childish! (Your reporter also forgot to mention the vote to condemn Mayor Feinstein, which was tabled finally.) So much for accurate reporting....

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent, August 3, calls for mass pickets to win SF hotel strike.

Your article also refers to the Rank and File Coalition, of which I'm a member. You call it: "A pan-union nursing home for stray Maoists, retired Shachtmanites and fake-Trotskyists..." Call us what you want but the Rank and File Coalition brought out nearly 500 pickets in support of the hotel workers. Many of us in the Rank and File Coalition believe in the importance of united front work, despite political differences, so that we can build a class conscious rank and file trade union movement that will be an alternative to the trade union bureaucracy. The Spartacist League, together with the Healyites, rejects this united front perspective because each of your groups claim to be the only ones with the "truth." What a caricature the Spartacist League makes of Trotskyism!

It is interesting to note that two of your members attended a Rank and File Coalition meeting during the strike and opposed the Coalition's plan to picket-lobby unions crossing picket lines. Your members were afraid we might alienate the bureaucrats!

Comrades, leadership does not mean selling a few papers or holding up your banner at a rally like a Burma Shave ad. It means going through the daily struggles of the class, learning from the class as well as opposing their bourgeois illusions, fighting to unify the class through transitional demands. That's how to pose the struggle for power! Not by mouthing revolutionary words, which the Spartacist League and the R.C.P. seem to think will make a revolution.

Fraternally,

Earl Gilman
Rank and File Coalition Steering Committee,
Trotskyist Organizing Committee

WV replies: It is satisfying to get confirmation from a political opponent that our *WV* coverage has hit home. As Bolsheviks we use our press to intervene actively in workers' struggles, shaping their demands and saying what is to be done. At San Francisco hotel strike picket lines and demonstrations, the Spartacist League called for mass picketing to shut the hotels as the way to win the strike. And we fought to expose the misleaders, Gilman among them, whose policies would lead to defeat.

For our readers' information, Gilman is an unreconstructed Healyite from his right-centrist days in the Workers League. Following that he was in a succession of tiny centrist grouplets who buzz around the SL: Harry Turner's VNL lonely hearts club, the CSL (which called for a "Fifth International"), the ill-starred CRSP (a shelter for homeless Mandelites in the U.S.), and now back to Turner's TOC. In other words, he is a professional anti-Spartacist. As far as we know Gilman still holds his 1974 position that cops are part of the workers movement and can even be members of a revolutionary party! His idea of a labor party in San Mateo County was one with Democrats in it (see *WV* No. 56, 8 November 1974).

Gilman protests that his entire intervention in the Central Labor Council (CLC) was not reported. And he cites our omission of "the motion to condemn Mayor Feinstein." Come now, Earl, you didn't raise that motion—it was put forward by Stanley Smith of the Building Trades Council who moreover didn't really mean it. He's a Democrat who's running for Board of Supes; electoral rhetoric is cheap. You were a seated delegate, a member of the Central Labor Council, and in that role the only program you had to offer was food stamps! Revolutionaries would have used that position as a platform to rally the workers, to bring organized union contingents out to shut the hotels and win the strike! You piously instruct us to "unify the class by transitional demands...to pose the struggle for power." But as Lenin warned in dealing with reformists, don't watch their words, watch their hands.

It's also disingenuous to say that you courageously demanded to know what the CLC was going to do about scabbing unions. You had a definite plan to picket those unions and were afraid to mention it in the CLC. But that is what you argued for in and around Local 2 and that was your real program. "Picket-lobby"—you can't do both. Picket lines mean don't cross. In point of fact the SL has no supporters in Local 2 but in the unions where we do support trade-union oppositionists you can be sure they know who to picket...the boss.

Furthermore, what you call the "fight to dump Belardi" was really the fight to elect MacDonald/Lamb—the now-president Lamb who went on to sell out this Local 2 strike. That's no united front—that's building illusions in pro-capitalist bureaucrats. We support trade-union caucuses based on the Transitional Program to defeat and replace those pro-capitalist bureaucrats.

Gilman's Rank-and-File Coalition (a petty-bourgeois social-democratic sandbox) includes the SL/DC, another ostensibly Trotskyist grouplet that is led by another unreconstructed Healyite who supports cop strikes. On paper the SL/DC gave lip service to mass picketing of the hotels, but again their real program was what they fought for in practice—picketing scabbing unions.

The SL/DC ran an article in the July-August 1980 issue of its *Labor News* with a section attacking the SL for having counterposed mass picketing of the hotels to the proposal to picket unions. Although it is not true, as the SL/DC article claims, that Spartacist supporters voted against their proposal (in fact, it never came to a vote), we certainly do oppose such a dangerous diversion. Picketing unions could play into the hands of anti-union forces (whom might one find joining such a picket line?) and it could give the CLC and International bureaucrats an excuse for attacking the Local 2 strikers. And for what? An empty moralistic gesture to substitute for good old-fashioned education of scabs on the hotel picket lines where the strike is.

The SL/DC also quotes approvingly a call for the CLC to expel scabbing unions. This is a completely bureaucratic response, seeking to punish the union membership for the crimes of their leadership. It affirms (as the bureaucrats claim) that the bureaucracy is the union.

What's behind this is that the SL/DC is led internationally by Alan Thornett, who scabbed on his own strike last year in England so as not to deprive the workers of his revolutionary leadership. We feel workers can do without leadership from scabs! Desperate to exonerate Thornett, the SL/DC is slinging mud at the Spartacist League in a pathetic attempt to deflect the criticism and cover up for him. We suggest that if the SL/DC is so eager to picket scabs, they should begin at home.

As for the role of the Rank-and-File Coalition (supported by both Gilman and the SL/DC) during the hotel strike, we can only agree with the after-the-fact self-criticism written by a member of the majority-radical "Rank and File Negotiating Committee" and printed in the "Rank-and-File" Newsletter:

> "The Negotiating Committee...must bear a full share of the blame for this disaster. In my view, the committee all too quickly came under the domination of [International rep] Sirabella and Lamb, and allowed themselves to be led into a self-defeating negotiating strategy...thus helping to turn what could have been an unprecedented victory into a gut-wrenching defeat. The paralysis, confusion and, let's say it, the opportunism of many of the 'opposition' forces within Local 2 at this critical time is also a subject which must be addressed, but at more length than is possible here."

Unfortunately, the Maoists, social democrats and pseudo-Trotskyists of the Rank-and-File Coalition will never find the space or time to do that because then they would have to confront the Spartacist League's class-struggle opposition to their practice of suing the unions, politically supporting out-bureaucrat electoral blocs, voting for settling strikes by arbitration and all the rest. Having failed to break with the politics of "left-center coalition" and congenital reformism, the Rank-and-File Coalition would do it all over again.

As to your objections to our coverage, Earl, the only advice we can offer is, if you don't want it printed, don't let it happen.

Telling the Truth on Iran

13 September 1980

Spartacist Publishing,

Please renew my subscription to every one of your publications. The Berkeley-Oakland office of your group called to encourage me to renew at this time. Here is my check for $7.

I usually read every word of everything you folks print. In fact, there's little else in news periodicals worth reading so I typically only glance at headlines of other newspapers while impatiently awaiting the true story from *Workers Vanguard*. Your political analysis has been the only intelligent one on Iran and you guys are the only organized force in the USA who understands how to fight fascism (KKK & Nazis).

—G.S.

"Changing History"?

31 July 1980

Comrades,

As a somewhat regular reader of *Workers Vanguard* I couldn't help but notice a significant change in your description of the Detroit Anti-Klan rally held in November of 1979.

In your special supplement of 16 November 1979 you say "...five hundred trade unionists, ghetto youth, students and socialist militants protested against Ku Klux Klan terror." "The crowd was overwhelmingly (two-thirds) black; a hundred or more came, individually and in groups, from Detroit factories, particularly the huge auto plants." "In the crowd were a couple dozen Rouge workers, a group from Cadillac, others from Chrysler's Lynch Road, Mack Avenue Stamping, Dodge Truck and Dodge Main."

In *WV* No. 261 of 25 July 1980—"Smash Fascism with Class Struggle!"—you say "Our strategy was the basis for the successful anti-fascist mobilizations of 500 mainly black auto workers in Detroit on November 10....."

Is this what your organization calls "changing history"?

Comradely,

D. Golden

WV replies: We appreciate the careful attention of our regular readers. The Detroit anti-Klan rally on November 10 *was* overwhelmingly attended by black protesters, among them many workers from local factories. But as the letter writer correctly points out, this does not make the participants "mainly black auto workers." We do intend to change history, but not that way.

Why Trotskyists Say Vote for French CP

Since the beginning of the year, the U.S. has dramatically escalated a Cold War drive against the Soviet Union: threatening World War III over Afghanistan, spending hundreds of billions on new megadeath weapons, openly flaunting a nuclear first strike against the Kremlin. Now the United States is engulfed in a war-election atmosphere marked by hostage-rattling over Iran and demands for "strategic superiority" (atomic blackmail) over the USSR. From the start the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has sought to combat this "bi-partisan" imperialist war drive. We have demonstrated against the draft and Euromissiles, our banners boldly proclaiming, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" We have mobilized labor and minorities to stop fascist terrorists, the domestic excrescence of anti-Soviet hysteria.

In this dangerous Cold War atmosphere, revolutionaries must also attempt to carry the battle into the arena of bourgeois elections, currently a focus of public attention. As Carter/Reagan compete in nuclear brinkmanship, we would look for opportunities to stand together with other forces which claim to defend the Soviet Union, using the Leninist tactic of critical support. In the U.S., where the Communist Party (CPUSA) is popularly identified with Russia and Communism, we asked: can Trotskyists call on American workers and minorities to cast ballots for CP candidates Gus Hall and Angela Davis? Could this be a vehicle for a class-against-class vote? We answered in our last issue, "Why We Can't Vote Stalinist in '80" (*WV* No. 266, 17 October).

Previously the CPUSA had campaigned for such empty "practical" proposals as "detente means jobs." Now faced with Carter's threats of nuclear holocaust their response has been to dream of bygone days of SALT heaven! "Return our national policy to the road of detente and peace," says the Hall/Davis election platform. And then it's People Before Profits, the Anti-Monopoly Coalition, etc.—the same old "Fight the Right" program they were peddling as they delivered votes on the sly to McGovern, Johnson, Kennedy, Stevenson, Truman, Roosevelt... Touchy questions such as Soviet intervention in Afghanistan are simply ducked. A recent *Daily World* (21 October) editorial makes it clear that a vote for CP candidates is simply a "way of putting pressure on Carter and Reagan." Trotskyists have no interest in voting for illusions of lesser-evilism and "détente" with warmongering imperialism.

However, not all pro-Moscow "Communist" parties reacted to the Cold War chill by retreating into such ethereal class-collaborationism that never touches ground. The French Communist Party (PCF), for one, has due to defensive reasons undertaken a bureaucratic shift to the left. Drawing back from a mid-'70s Eurocommunist fling, the PCF today could be described as more or less Kremlin-loyal "Eurostalinist." And following the break-up of the popular-front Union of the Left in 1977-78, it adopted an aggressive electoral line against its former allies of the Socialist Party (PS). This was crystallized by the nomination in mid-October of PCF leader Georges Marchais as the party's candidate in upcoming French presidential elections. Rather than being used as a bargaining chip to obtain a common "left" candidate, the Marchais candidacy is universally seen as counterposed to unity with the PS.

As a result, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), following their fifth national conference earlier this month and discussion in the International Executive Committee of the iSt, this week issued a leaflet projecting "savagely critical support" to PCF candidate Marchais in the April 1981 elections. The call was conditional on the PCF "continuing the anti-'unity,' i.e., conjuncturally anti-popular-front line of its election campaign." The savage criticism will be directed in particular against the Communist Party's notorious anti-German chauvinism, from "Everybody get a Kraut" in 1944 to stopping imports of German steel in 1979. And the LTF's campaign is directed not only at the PCF ranks, to split them from their reformist leaders, but particularly against the fake-Trotskyists who have tailed after the popular front for years and today wail for "unity." The leaflet concluded with the slogan, "DOWN WITH 'UNITY'—VOTE P.C.F.!"

So what does Georges Marchais have that Gus Hall (and Angela Davis) doesn't? Answer: he's been burned by his own popular front.

In his report to the recent PCF nominating convention, Charles Fiterman remarked, "For the first time we are directly placing...the question of a Communist vote at the center of the battle" (*L'Humanité*, 13 October). In contrast, Gus Hall declares that "socialism is not on the ballot in 1980" (*Daily World*, 27 September). And in a WPIX radio interview Hall denied the CPUSA was for revolution but instead favored "evolutionary socialism" (borrowing the title of German Social-Democratic reformist Bernstein's classic book). Since the PCF feels constrained to run a "red" campaign, it also denounces Carter's Olympic boycott, imperialist pressure on Cuba and Vietnam, and attempts to "prevent the progressive consolidation of popular forces in Afghanistan." Couched in the language and reformist perspectives of Stalinism, Marchais & Co. are projecting an up-front, tough campaign. But for all their services as mouthpieces for Brezhnev, Hall/Davis are stuck in rusty détente rhetoric and can't even behave as seriously hard-nosed Stalinists!

Ballini

CP leader Georges Marchais. Today he says, "No to unity," but tomorrow?

Three Times, That's All

The origins of the French Communist Party's turn are not hard to divine. Following the spectacular Portuguese pre-revolutionary crisis in 1975, the European bourgeoisies and their U.S. big brother became worried about the stability of capitalist rule in West Europe. Suddenly right-wingers began stepping up the pressure; Washington declared that there was no way it would tolerate popular-front governments in Paris and Rome. Within two years the Union of the Left and the Italian "Historic Compromise" were only memories. The arm was put on the Eurocommunists to decide which side they were on: Carrillo in Spain went with his king, Marchais in France went back to Moscow. The French Socialists began talking about limiting nationalizations under the Common Program, limiting the PCF role in a popular-front government, following a pro-NATO foreign policy. In the fall of 1977 the PCF finally drew the line.

Seeing themselves forced back into "the ghetto" of perpetual parliamentary opposition, the Communist Party responded by hardening its tone toward the PS. And in gearing their ranks up for battle, the Stalinist leaders now feel obliged to take up previously taboo subjects. Thus during the PCF's October 12 nominating convention at Nanterre, several PB and CC members explicitly criticized the party's past experience in popular-front alliances:

- The situation is "new compared to previous facts of our history, to the periods of the Popular Front and of Liberation...; a situation, therefore, which requires new responses." (Francette Lazard)
- Three times, with the Popular Front [1936], following Liberation [1945] and with the signing of the Common Program [1972], "the PS-PCF union, although born in happiness, met a bad end." (Henri Malberg)
- "The French bourgeoisie was afraid at the time of the Popular Front and when the Common Program was signed. Both times it managed to hold onto its interests. It believes it still has the means of conjuring away the danger, namely the imbalance of the left in favor of the PS." (Roland Leroy)

WV Photo

Gus Hall

Three times the Communist Party tried the popular front, three times (its leaders currently admit) the bourgeoisie won. Trotskyists certainly have something to say here. It was Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International who warned that the popular front was one of the capitalists' last weapons to stave off proletarian revolution; that by tying the workers to "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie, it opened the road for fascism and bloody Vichy/Francoist bonapartism. Of course, these died-in-the-wool Stalinists are not about to take up a principled fight against popular frontism. They merely want to increase their bargaining strength (voting power) so they won't get pushed out so easily the next time around:

> "It's been 30 years now that the Communists have been excluded from governmental responsibility.... We say clearly to the workers: until now they have not given our party enough forces to obtain a sufficient place.... We are not looking for a monopoly, or even domination. Our line...is to seek the union of all the popular forces, the union of the left...." (Fiterman)

For now, however, the PCF leaders are against a new popular front and even fight against soft elements yearning for a return to the Union of the Left. Thus when five Eurocommunists of the PCF's

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 267 31 October 1980

W. Berlin S-Bahn Strike Derailed at Cold War Switch

TRANSLATED FROM SPARTAKIST NO. 33, NOVEMBER 1980

Der Spieget

East German train police at West Berlin signal tower.

FRANKFURT, West Germany—Through a turbulent week some 600 striking West Berlin workers of the East German-owned Deutsche Reichsbahn (DR—German State Railways) carried out one of the most contradictory and difficult work stoppages in recent times. Although it began as a dispute over wages, working conditions and benefits, the strike could not avoid raising *political* questions, since it took place at a focal point of the class confrontation between Western imperialism and the deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. And as it headed toward a desperate end, the strike was shunted onto Cold War tracks where it only played into the anti-DDR (East Germany) crusade of West German revanchists. After this turning point, the strike could no longer be supported by class-conscious workers who unconditionally defend (as Trotskyists do) the collectivized economy and revolutionary social gains "on the other side of the wall," despite all the Stalinist deformations.

The strikers directed their struggle against the East Berlin Reichsbahn management, demanding higher wages from a transport system which already suffers from heavy losses: the S-Bahn (elevated railway) costs East Germany 140 million Deutschmarks yearly in Western currency. (The DDR clearly maintains the entire operation only to demonstrate through its presence in West Berlin that the latter is not integrally part of West Germany, that Berlin is still administered under the four-power Potsdam agreements.) And the job action exerted no economic pressure to speak of: only 70,000 people use the S-Bahn daily and rail freight was easily shifted over to trucks. East Berlin authorities had already asked the West Berlin Senate to subsidize the S-Bahn. But this attempt at enticing the capitalist powers to financially underwrite East German rights inside West Berlin was soon revealed as nothing but a "détente" pipe dream.

The strike caused such a commotion from the start because the railwaymen consisted largely of members and sympathizers of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (SEW), a branch of the Stalinist East German SED. Consequently the sympathy of "public opinion" toward the strikers was not exactly due to proletarian solidarity but to something quite different. As the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (20 September) noted:

> "*Schadenfreude* [malicious glee] certainly joined in the honking spree: for the 'great sympathy' (of West Berlin Mayor Stobbe) with which the strike was followed by most of the Berlin populace is certainly linked to the fact that in a city divided by a wall, for many people there is nothing more delightful than seeing Communists come to blows with Communists."

Previously the mood was not so friendly. The railwaymen bitterly complained that for years they had been reviled, and often even spat upon, if they dared to go into the streets with their uniforms on. A striker who had worked 15 years at the Reichsbahn told a comrade of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, German section of the international Spartacist tendency) that he couldn't rent an apartment if he mentioned his job.

In contrast to the hypocritical and cynical applause from the bourgeois press and politicians, for Trotskyists the strike by West Berlin Reichsbahn workers was extremely important coming on the heels of the August strike movement in Poland, [an opportunity] to give the latter a more unambiguously proletarian character. (The Polish strikes, while they won significant concessions from the Stalinist regime, were strongly influenced by the Catholic church and social-democratic dissidents, which ultimately pose a counterrevolutionary danger.) But instead of appealing to their fellow workers and trade-union brothers in East Berlin to support them with solidarity action and strikes—igniting a powerful anti-bureaucratic workers protest—the strikers appealed increasingly openly to Western trade unions and the West Berlin Senate, a course which led to the collapse and then desperate defeat of their action.

Development of a Derailed Strike

The strike of the West Berlin DR workers came about following an initial wave of layoffs last spring. So in mid-September when management announced major cutbacks in the S-Bahn schedule, as well as the imminent closing of half the West Berlin freight depots, the railway workers saw themselves threatened with mass firings. And this in a company that in the late '60s recruited workers with the slogan, "Secure jobs in a socialist enterprise of the DDR"! Along with these rationalization plans, a further cause of the strike was falling real wages. Thus when the Reichsbahn employees began their strike on September 17 they raised the following demands: 160 Deutschmark [roughly $100 a month] pay raise, improved benefits and wage parity with the West German Bundesbahn (DR workers earn 20-25 percent less than West German railwaymen).

When the demand for "free trade unions" was raised at a strike meeting, the press immediately drew comparisons with the recent Polish strikes. Initially the strikers were determined not to let themselves be used against the DDR government. What they demanded was the right to elect their own representatives *in the East German trade-union federation FDGB*, instead of having them appointed from above. And the strikers reacted with justified distrust of the sudden wave of sympathy extending from the West Berlin Senate to the revanchist Springer newspaper chain. As one of them stated, "We aren't going to let ourselves be hitched to the Senate's wagon, only to be disposed of once the strike is over" (*Der Abend*, 19 September). They refused to give interviews to Springer newspapers and rejected money from the arch-Maoist anti-Soviet MLD.

Throughout the strike roughly 600 of the 3,500 Reichsbahn employees took part in the work stoppage; in addition they claimed another thousand sympathizers among the railway workers. They were led by a strike committee elected at a 600-member general assembly. The strikers' first step was to immediately occupy the Moabit container freight depot, thus crippling all freight transport to and from West Germany. On the evening of September 17 West Berlin S-Bahn employees joined the strike and the signal towers were occupied. The DR management thereupon sent in scabs (imported in part from East Berlin) to run the S-Bahn, and the East German news agency ADN slandered the strikers as "criminals, terrorists and provocateurs." Eighty strikers were fired. The battle intensified on September 20 when strikers occupied the signal tower at the Zoo train station, cutting off passenger traffic with West Germany; West Berlin police blocked DDR railway police from storming this key position with pickaxes and crowbars. The next day about 100 SEW members tried to retake the signal tower, leading to a confrontation with the West Berlin police; this time the strikers left the occupied tower.

On Monday, September 25 there was a fundamental turnabout in the strike as its leaders declared the strikers were no longer willing to work for the Reichsbahn. They now turned to the West Berlin Senate, demanding it negotiate with the "Allies" and the East Berlin government to take over operation of the S-Bahn and the railroad right of way. Driven to despair by the stubborn refusal of the DDR tops to make the slightest concession or even to negotiate with the strike committee, the strikers fell into the anti-Communist stream. But to no avail. The Senate promptly rejected this new political demand, and over the next few days West Berlin police let the DR railway police clear one occupied signal tower after another, despite appeals from the strikers; the British military police also stood aside when strike headquarters at the container freight depot were forcibly taken on September 23.

At the end some 500 Reichsbahn workers followed the call of their leaders to accept offers of jobs from the BVG [West Berlin public transport] and the Bundesbahn [West German Federal Railways]. A final leaflet by the strike committee stated significantly: "We are Berliners and want the same rights as our fellow workers in Western enterprises. Naturally, as we're well aware, we will then have the same problems too." No doubt. But there was still one little hitch before the West German bourgeoisie would accept them as "upright citizens," as real (West) Berliners at last: the railway workers would have to pass a loyalty check by the *Verfassungsschutz* ["Office for Protection of the Constitution," the enforcer of West Germany's extensive McCarthyite legislation], whereby all SEW members will automatically be excluded by the *Berufsverbot* [prohibiting public employment to members of Communist organizations]. Welcome to the "Free West"!

What Kind of Solidarity?

When those professional strikebreakers, the police, are supposedly protecting strikers, watch out—for the bourgeoisie which dispatches them it's not the strike that counts. What began as a justified strike of the Reichsbahn railwaymen was to be transformed into a campaign against the DDR. In the last ten years over 100,000 jobs have been eliminated in West Berlin, there have been mass firings at AEG [West German General Electric]—but all this was swept away in the response of bourgeois "public opinion." The DR strike was just the thing to appeal to West Berlin

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Uniontown vs. KKK Terror

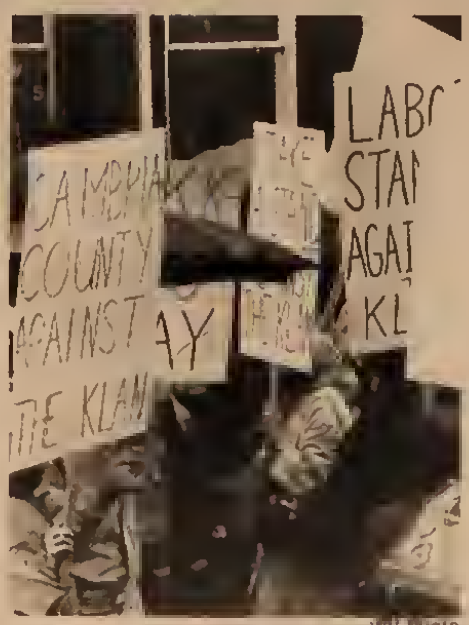
UNIONTOWN, Pa., October 25—Despite torrential rain throughout the day, over 500 people demonstrated at the Fayette County Courthouse here this afternoon to protest a Ku Klux Klan rally and cross-burning in nearby Point Marion. Significantly, most of the demonstrators were workers and about one-third were black. More than a hundred steel workers came from the mills in and around Pittsburgh, and they were joined by several carloads of miners from the surrounding coal towns.

The protest reflected an awareness that KKK guns will be trained not only against blacks and Jews, but at the union movement. The heavily Catholic East and South European-derived working class in the coal and steel areas of southwestern Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia has long been a target of hatred among rural whites who swell the ranks of the KKK. The night before the cross-burning, the KKK sent a warning to the media that no blacks, Jews or *Catholics* could attend.

The anti-Klan protest was endorsed and publicized by United Steelworkers of America (USWA) District 15 president Paul Lewis, who addressed the rally along with two district leaders of the Mine Workers union. Jim Kelley, president of UMWA District 4, correctly warned that the fascists "want to destroy organized labor." The protest was also unanimously endorsed by the West Virginia AFL-CIO Labor Council and by union bodies as far away as Chicago USWA Local 65. Even the hidebound conservative International president of the Steelworkers union, Lloyd McBride, felt compelled to issue a paper denunciation of the KKK gathering.

Despite a strong union presence, the anti-Klan rally was nevertheless dominated by preachers and Democratic Party politicians who told the crowd to *ignore* the KKK. Uniontown mayor Robert Jones denounced "several subversive and radical groups" (that is, anti-Klan leftists) who were giving Uniontown a "bad name." Other politicians stressed the Klan's "right" to rally and recruit. Letting these fascist groups run free can only result in terror and murder, as many people in the crowd attested from their direct experience. One black steel worker told *WV* his aunt was gang-raped by the Klan in 1932 and then sent to jail for trying to defend herself. Another black steel worker from Mississippi said he still had a bullet hole in his back from a KKK gunman in 1963.

But the union leaders had only the same old warmed-over pathetic "solutions" to lull the working class to sleep when what is needed is labor/black mass mobilization to stop the Klan. A member of USWA Local 65 thanked the mayor and other politicians for their "beautiful show of support today" and said it was the "duty of our elected representatives" to prevent fascist terror. But the capitalist state *cannot* smash the Klan, because it holds the fascists in reserve for when they are needed to crush the black movement and a combative working class. Just a year ago in the Greensboro massacre, a police informer was in one car in the KKK/Nazi caravan of death, while a local cop followed along at the rear! And it is the capitalist politicians from "ethnic purity" Carter to KKK-endorsed Reagan who have fueled the right-wing atmosphere which has encouraged the Klan and Nazis to strike.



WV Photo

Trade unionists stand against the Klan in Pennsylvania.

That evening, an estimated 500 fascists gathered on a farm some 19 miles from Uniontown for a cross-burning and race-hate speeches by "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson. The site was protected by state police as well as by shotgun-equipped Klansmen who boasted of having 60 additional firearms ready for use. This did not have to happen. This is union country—had there been the slightest attempt by labor leaders to mobilize the tens of thousands of steel and mine workers in the area, backed up by hundreds of thousands of union brothers in the Pittsburgh area, this fascist terror-rally could have been stopped before it got off the ground. For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop the Klan! ■

Workers Shafted in J.P. Stevens Deal

The day after the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) signed a deal with J.P. Stevens Co. on October 19, the United States Supreme Court let stand an NLRB ruling which would have forced the company to open all its plants to union organizers for two years. But this legal victory was rendered useless by the so-called "settlement," in which the union *agreed to forgo any such rights for 18 months!* Moreover, the ACTWU agreed not to single out the company in its organizing efforts. Considering the ACTWU's abject reliance on legal maneuvers in the capitalist courts, this giveaway underscored the desperation of the union bureaucrats to bury the entire J.P. Stevens organizing campaign.

After 17 years and a reported $10 million spent by the AFL-CIO, the ACTWU has won contracts for about 3,000 workers out of 41,100 in the J.P. Stevens textile empire. The unionized workers, located mainly in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, merely got their wages raised up to the level of the non-union workers, while the ACTWU officially terminated its ineffective consumer boycott and "corporate campaign" against the company. The best that one could say about the contract is that the union got a toehold: for the first time, the die-hard anti-union bosses of J.P. Stevens granted a substantial recognition to the union by signing contracts which included dues checkoff and some grievance procedure. But on the whole it was a wholesale defeat, the result of the dead-end "strategy" of the ACTWU officials, who had counted mainly on their Democratic Party "friends" like Jimmy Carter.

The intention of the union tops was to wash their hands of this expensive fiasco. Even while Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO and Murray Finley of ACTWU trumpeted a "victory" on October 19, J.P. Stevens spokesman Whitney Stevens held his own separate news conference at company headquarters, where he boasted that "after 17 years the union will no longer single out the company as its primary target in the textile industry.... We will continue to oppose the unions." While concessions are sometimes necessary to save an organizing drive from utter defeat and prepare for future struggles, the ACTWU officials have made it clear they have no intention of struggling in the future against J.P. Stevens. And the no-strike binding arbitration clause is meant to prevent any independent workers' struggles—on that point, the company and the union leaders see eye-to-eye.

The *Washington Post* editorialized that the settlement was a victory and a case of life imitating art, referring to the movie "Norma Rae." More accurately it was a case of art presaging sellout: both the movie and the real-life organizing drive were based on treacherous liberal reliance on the good will of the capitalist government. Indeed, in the 68-year history of the ACW/ACTWU, the bureaucracy created by social democrat Sidney Hillman was the "pioneer" of binding arbitration. For *50 years* (up to 1974) the leadership went without calling an industrywide strike, resulting in some of the lowest unionized wages in the country, and no effective organizing of Southern textile.

WV Photo

March 1977 protest outside J.P. Stevens headquarters in NYC: SL called for militant labor action to organize the South's number one anti-union firm.

In the J.P. Stevens campaign, genuine strikes combined with "hot-cargoing" by Teamsters, longshoremen and other union workers who transport the textile goods could have brought the company to its knees very quickly. But when the Spartacist League (SL) joined a union demonstration in New York in 1977 with a sign calling on labor to "hot-cargo" J.P. Stevens products, the ACTWU sent the SL a letter which read in part:

> "We wish to inform you that the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union has never advocated 'hot-cargo' strategies, nor will it at any future date. [!]
> "We are not in the habit of encouraging anyone to break the law...."

Thus in the name of "legality" the ACTWU refused all labor action against J.P. Stevens, even in those plants where the union had won NLRB elections and the company trampled on the law and workers' rights by refusing to recognize the validity of the elections.

More than any other employer, J.P. Stevens got away with openly ignoring every NLRB ruling, every mealy-mouthed court judgment, and became the symbol of the non-union Simon Legree sweatshop. Six-day weeks, poverty-level wages, arbitrary firings, brown lung disease—enough drama for an Academy Award-winning movie—and with the current accords, the company has hardly been dented. Yet the fake left, which has been tailing the ACTWU's belly-crawling campaign—the CP, the SWP, the *Guardian*, the Maoists—all echo the union claim of "victory."

Organizing J.P. Stevens means organizing the South, the historic failure of the AFL-CIO. The South has remained an open-shop bastion by reliance on massive police repression and the armed terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan and other racist vigilantes. Hence every major organizing effort or social struggle—from the Gastonia textile strike in 1929 to Harlan County miners in the '30s to the civil rights struggles in the 1960s—has involved massive confrontations with the state. And the staid officials of the AFL-CIO cannot conceive of a strategy which involves fighting their "friends" in the capitalist government.

Historically it has been the communists who dared to mobilize Southern labor against the racist cops, KKK lynch mobs and their Dixiecrat friends in the courthouse, statehouse and White House. Today as well it will take militant class-struggle methods to crack employers like J.P. Stevens. Victory in unionizing the South will come as part of the struggle for a workers government. ■

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"The agreement came without violence and this shows we can work together. We've got all that's possible in the current situation. It's what we wanted and dreamed of—we've got independent unions."

—Interfactory Strike Committee leader Lech Walesa

"We've spoken to Poles as Poles, the way it should be. There's no winner or loser. The important thing is that we've understood each other and the best guarantee for what we've done is hard work."

—Polish deputy prime minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski

Gdansk Settlement Settles Nothing

Confrontation in Poland

Der Spiegel

OCTOBER 28—So they said when the Baltic coast general strike in Poland was ended with the signing of the much-heralded Gdansk agreement on August 31. We said no, the settlement is only on paper: "The compromise creates an impossible situation economically and politically; it cannot last." No Stalinist bureaucratic caste, we pointed out, which must monopolize political power to preserve itself, can tolerate any genuinely independent working-class organization. And the strike leadership around Lech Walesa, which strongly identifies with the powerful Catholic church opposition, would increasingly challenge the damaged and discredited regime.

In the less than two months' time since the Gdansk agreement, everyone senses Polish society has lost its moorings and is headed god knows where. The state of trade-union organization has become utterly chaotic and confused. The regime is paralyzed, with the top leaders frantically scapegoating one another. Meanwhile, the Kremlin and its hard-line satellites, especially East Germany, speak incessantly of the growing threat of "anti-socialist forces" in Poland. This is the same language they used during the 1968 Prague Spring and everyone in Poland, indeed throughout Europe, knows how that ended.

Already, leading bourgeois commentators foresee a showdown. Cold War historian André Fontaine entitled a front-page editorial in *Le Monde* (18 October) "Last Chance for Poland?" His summary of the Polish situation: "A political dead end."

Cold Dual Power

The leadership of the newly-formed Solidarność ("Solidarity") union federation and the regime have exchanged charges and countercharges that the other side has violated the terms of the Gdansk settlement. Claiming the government wasn't coming through with the agreed wage increases or giving the new unions enough publicity in the mass media, the Solidarity leadership called a successful nationwide one-hour work stoppage on October 3. In turn, the government refused to legally register the new federation on the grounds that its leaders had reneged on their pledge to recognize the "leading role" of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP).

Some Solidarity activists talked about a nationwide general strike to force government registration. Warsaw officials replied that a new strike would be met by imposition of a state of emergency. Now the courts have registered the union, but only after the judge "amended" Solidarity's charter to stipulate the "leading role" of the Communist party. The Walesa leadership is defiant: they have threatened a general strike unless the government negotiates a new agreement. At the top of their list of demands is eliminating the "leading role" clause. The confrontation continues.

At first the Warsaw regime tried to put a good face on things. Trust a Stalinist to claim any defeat is pregnant with victory. But PUWP spokesmen reached new heights of bureaucratic pollyannaism. The editor of the party's theoretical journal *Polityka*, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, said of the Baltic coast general strike: "The events in Poland show that the working class regards itself as sovereign, and that is good for socialism" (*Der Spiegel*, 8 September)! Official news agency chief Miroslaw Wojciechowski projects: "The new unions will gain self-confidence and the consciousness to be a permanent element of the social-political landscape in Poland" (*Der Spiegel*, 29 September).

But whatever rosy pictures they paint in the West European liberal press, at bottom the Polish Stalinists instinctively must feel the "new, self-governing unions" as a grave threat to their power. At the time of the settlement the strike committee published an apparently authentic document by a high party commission which maintained: "Such unions would fulfill the role of a

SWP: Lawyers for Catholic Reaction

"What do Marxists think about the demand made by strikers in Poland that all religious groups be given access to the media?

"We support this demand."

So began the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in its "Learning About Socialism" column in the 19 September *Militant*. The SWP was clearly responding to a sense of unease, at least in the radical-liberal milieu, if not in its own ranks, about the importance of the Catholic church as symbol, supporter and adviser to the Polish strikers. They were also obviously responding to the Spartacist League, though not by name, which had emphatically warned against the real dangers of the expansion of the Catholic church's role, while everyone else on the left wanted to sweep it under the rug. The demand for church access to the media, we wrote, "is an *anti*-democratic demand which would legitimize the church in its present role as the recognized opposition to the Stalinist regime" ("Polish Workers Move," *WV* No. 263, 5 September). In addition to the possibility of workers political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy, we stressed that this demand reflected the very real danger of capitalist *counterrevolution* which must be fought. Particularly in Poland with its large private sector in agriculture, the Catholic church has a potentially mass counterrevolutionary social base in the peasantry.

The SWP doesn't fight the influence of the Catholic church; they hail it. And what could you expect, from the people who beat the drums for Khomeini's Islamic clerical reaction in Iran over the past year and a half? The SWP claims, for instance, that the jailing of Cardinal Wyszynski until 1956 "was a symbol for many Poles of the sweeping violations of national and human rights." So these pseudo-Trotskyist social democrats turn the Roman Catholic church, this instrument of capitalist and even feudal rule, into the representative of democratic-national aspirations. What do they think about the arrest of the clerical-reactionary Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary in the late 1940s? Was this also a symbol of Stalinist violation of "human rights"?

In the manner of *1984* Newspeak ("war is peace"), the *Militant* baldly states: "The separation of church and state is not at issue here." Is that so? Polish radio and television were and remain controlled by the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Gdansk-based strike committee did *not* demand general democratization of the media, allowing all political groups, for example, the social-democratic Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), to present their views. Significantly, the Interfactory Strike Committee did not even demand such media access for itself or for the "free trade unions" it sought to establish. Rather, it *singled out* the Catholic church to break the bureaucracy's monopoly of the mass media. Since the regime has acceded to this demand, today Polish state radio presents two and only two ideologies: that of the Stalinist bureaucracy and that of the Catholic church.

With an air of democratic righteousness, the SWP declares: "Marxists support the principle of freedom of religion, and are against the use of coercion for or against it." The *Militant* here implies that the Polish Stalinist regime suppresses individual religious worship. Nothing could be further from the truth. There *is* freedom of religious worship in Poland today, at least for the Catholic church. It has enormous resources and effective freedom to express its views on a mass scale. In fact, it is the only organization with de facto freedom of political opposition. Since 1956 the Catholic ZNAK group has been the *only* legally recognized political opposition in Poland, indeed in any Soviet-bloc country. It publishes a number of newspapers and journals. Granting the church media access

political opposition party inspired by anti-Communist forces. They would create a division of power" (*New York Times*, 1 September). This unquestionably expresses social reality from the standpoint of the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy.

To cover over this reality the government negotiators insisted that the new unions stipulate the "leading role" of the PUWP. Perhaps fearing Soviet military intervention or maybe simply the spreading social disruption, the strike leaders made this concession (not without sharp dispute). But they made it through clenched teeth. Throughout, the strike leaders pointedly addressed the government representatives as "mister," not the conventional "comrade." And in Stalinist Poland such terminological niceties are very important. Now, perhaps sensing the weakness and internal disarray of the regime, the Solidarity leaders have reneged on the "leading role" compromise. "We will not include that formulation in our statutes," Walesa declared (*New York Times*, 21 October).

Of course, the Polish United Workers Party is *not* a revolutionary (Leninist) vanguard; it is the instrument of a parasitic bureaucracy. In struggling for proletarian political revolution, Trotskyists support independent trade unions based on a socialist program and would under no circumstances recognize the "leading role" of the Stalinists. But Lech Walesa rejects the "leading role" of the PUWP not from the standpoint of revolutionary socialism or even of primitive trade-union syndicalism (as many anti-Soviet leftists in the West falsely claim). Rather he is expressing his clerical-nationalist allegiances.

Solidarity, a Clericalist Union?

The Solidarity leaders claim eight million members out of a labor force of 13 million. Given the widespread participation in the 3 October protest, this may not be that exaggerated a claim. However, many workers are undoubtedly paper members of both the new Solidarity unions and the old official ones. The totally discredited Central Trade Union Council has now been abolished and even before that nine of its 23 member unions had become "independent," whatever that means. Probably no one in Poland knows what the workers are doing politically and organizationally in most areas. Walesa himself (and this takes chutzpah) complains about the anarchic state of the country's trade-union movement: "If it [the general strike] had taken place next year, we would have had the statutes drawn up. Now we have chaos" (*Los Angeles Times*, 7 October).

Where the Solidarity unions are strong, like in Gdansk, the bureaucracy is undoubtedly instructing party members to join them. According to some Western press reports, the Solidarity leaders are seeking to counter this by excluding PUWP members or at least barring them from officership. In other words, the "independent" unions in Poland would have an "anti-red clause." If this is true (and the bourgeois press might well falsify this point), Solidarity would be constitutionally a clericalist, anti-Communist union.

While many things are confused and uncertain about Solidarity and its relation to the old official unions, one thing is not. And that is the strong influence of the Catholic church, especially among its Gdansk-based leaders. When Walesa left Gdansk the first time after the settlement, it was to go to Warsaw for a private audience with Cardinal Wyszynski. Solidarity's outside advisers consist of Catholic activists, mainly from the ZNAK group, the semi-official political arm of the church.

Dejean/Sygma

PUWP leader Stanislaw Kania. Who?

Poland's most prominent "Western-style" social democrat, Jaček Kuron, was conspicuously rejected as one of Solidarity's official advisers. Kuron is something of a *persona non grata* in Gdansk these days. Bourgeois journalists speculate that this is because the leader of the dissident Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) is too controversial a figure and an easy target for the regime. A more plausible explanation is that Kuron's brand of secular social democracy has little support among Solidarity's organizers.

Between the protests/strikes of July 1976 and the start of the Baltic coast general strike this August, KOR basically ran point for the church hierarchy, testing the regime's hostility to independent labor agitation. Kuron served essentially as an intermediary between dissident Catholic workers, like Walesa and Anna Walentynowicz, and the church leadership, especially the ZNAK people. But who needs Kuron now when Walesa and Wyszynski can and do confer directly?

Church influence is so visible that Walesa felt the need to deny he was organizing a union for Catholics only: "I don't want to create church trade unions" (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 September). That Walesa is compelled to issue such a disclaimer indicates there are many Polish workers who want a union independent of the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy, but one that is not the labor arm of Wyszynski's episcopate either. The Silesian miners, for example, traditionally a solid proletarian base for Polish Communism, are unlikely to want a union which kneels down before cardinal and pope.

But so long as clerical-nationalists like Walesa lead the new unions, they stand in imminent danger of subordination to the counterrevolutionary aims of the Catholic hierarchy and behind it Western imperialism. As we wrote at the time of the Gdansk settlement:

> "A central task for a Trotskyist organization in Poland would be to raise in these unions a series of demands that will *split* the clerical-nationalist forces from among the workers and separate them out. These unions must defend the socialized means of production and proletarian state power against Western imperialism." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Polish Workers Move," *WV* No. 263, 5 September

"The Party Is in a Shambles"

"The apparat is frightened. The rank and file are under tremendous pressure. And the leadership is turning on itself in typical cannibalistic fashion." So a "well-connected" Polish writer described the present situation to a reporter from the *New York Times* (8 September).

It was predictable that Gierek would be axed for the gross economic mismanagement that impelled the workers into motion against the regime. But whereas Gierek had been a credible and even somewhat popular figure when he replaced Gomulka during the 1970 workers' explosion, Stanislaw Kania is an anonymous *apparatchik* if there ever was one. "Who the hell is he?" was the typical reaction to Gierek's successor as PUWP chairman. And Kania's former job as head of internal security is unlikely to endear him to Poland's workers.

The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy has run out of leaders whom the masses respect and believe to be sincere reformers. At most, people are concerned whether it is hard-liners who are gaining the upper hand or "moderate" *apparatchiks* who will make concessions to pressure from below.

Making a big show of cleaning up its act, the regime has publicized the purging of one Maciej Szczepanski, head of state radio and television and a crony of Gierek. Comrade Szczepanski's lifestyle appears to have been modeled on characters out of Harold Robbins' novels. This "socialist" media czar enjoyed ten lavish residences, one off the coast of Greece. He is now being crucified for affronting the puritanism of Catholic Poland (according to pope Wojtyla a man who "lusts" for his wife is an adulterer); much is made of Szczepanski's collection of 900 porno video cassettes. Not being a passive observer, he reputedly also kept a harem. While his sexual affairs don't bother us Marxists, his financial ones very much do. He owned shares in Austrian companies, held $1 million in a London bank account, etc. Szczepanski is literally a representative of capitalist-restorationist elements within the demoralized Polish Stalinist bureaucracy.

Perhaps the most unexpected and ominous aspect of the present frenzied shake-up is the reappearance of General Mieczyslaw Moczar, an extreme nationalist who ran the vicious anti-Semitic campaign in 1968. Trotsky had types like Moczar in mind when he said a wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy could go over to fascism. Perhaps some elements in the bureaucracy think that this Stalinist would-be Pilsudski can effectively compete as a nationalist with Wyszynski/Walesa. If so, they are playing a dangerous game indeed.

The Polish Stalinist regime has not only been forced for the moment to tolerate independent unions, but factional/cliquist infighting is destroying its effectiveness as a bureaucratic apparatus. The fact that their Warsaw counterparts appear to have lost control over Polish society is what makes Brezhnev, Honecker & Co. panicky.

The Polish Stalinists try to cow their masses with the spectre of the Soviet army, while Western social democrats (especially the "state-capitalist" fringe groups) rant about Soviet "imperialist exploitation" of East Europe. In reality, in the past decade the Kremlin has tried to stabilize Poland by economically subsidizing a country in which the standard of living is far higher than in their own. In a perceptive article in the *Oakland Tribune* (2 September), left-

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further extends its role as the recognized opposition.

And how does the church hierarchy use its freedom of political opposition? The very day after the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard seizure Cardinal Wyszynski led a mass (actually a political demonstration) of 150,000 commemorating the defeat of the Bolshevik Red Army in 1920 at the hands of the right-wing Polish nationalist (and later fascistic dictator) Pilsudski. Does the SWP believe the Polish Catholic church has the "democratic right" to organize this kind of counterrevolutionary demonstration? Since these cowardly legalists have become notorious on the American left as defenders of "free speech" for fascists, we assume the answer is yes. But no one in the world thinks that a government led by Lenin and Trotsky or even by Stalin would have permitted the head of the Russian Orthodox church to lead a mass demonstration celebrating a historic defeat of the Red Army!

The SWP likes to cite the authority of Castro's Cuba and does so on this occasion too: "While guaranteeing religious freedom, the revolutionary Castro leadership was able to isolate the hierarchy...." But in contrast to his cowardly American sycophants, the Stalinist Castro did not and does not tolerate openly counterrevolutionary agitation by that hierarchy. Does anyone believe for a moment that a Cuban Catholic prelate would be allowed to organize a demonstration commemorating the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba in 1962 as a result of John F. Kennedy's successful nuclear blackmail? Even the *fidelista* social democrats on the *Militant* staff know the answer to that one.

The SWP says, "We can assume that in Poland, as elsewhere, the church is not a monolith." This bizarre idea of splitting the church no doubt comes from the SWP's current fascination with Sandinista Nicaragua, where three Catholic clerics are members of the Government of National Reconstruction, including a Maryknoll priest as foreign minister. (In fact, Fred Feldman, the *Militant*'s "Mr. Nicaragua" called in a 30 August New York forum for "a daily Wyszynski Hour on television"!) Just one more example of the SWP's whitewashing of the capitalist elements in the Nicaraguan government which they call a "workers and peasants

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Laski/Sipa

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa kneels before church.

Poland...

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liberal scholar Franz Schurmann indicates that following the violent December 1970 strikes/protests, "Moscow...allowed the Poles to look to the Western capitalist economies for help." In 1976 "the Soviet concession was to allow the Poles to cut back on their Warsaw Pact defense spending while Moscow picked up the slack." Schurmann concludes that this present crisis is worse than 1970-71 or 1976:

> "The Soviets have only two options if they are to reject even the slightest alteration in Poland's current political structure—pay off once again, or resort to force."

For the Revolutionary Unity of Polish and Russian Workers

Will the Kremlin and its allies militarily intervene in Poland as they did in Czechoslovakia in 1968? They're certainly talking as if they might. "Attempts to exert an effect on the events in Poland from anti-Socialist positions, far from ending, are being stepped up," warned an authoritative *Pravda* article (*New York Times*, 27 September). Acting as Moscow's hard cop, East German party boss Erich Honecker has made the clearest threat to date:

> "Poland is and will remain a socialist country. It belongs inseparably to the world of socialism and no one can turn back the wheel of history.
> "Together with our friends in the socialist camp, we will see to that."
> —*New York Times*, 15 October

These threats have been echoed by Czechoslovakia and even "independent" Romania. A few weeks later Honecker warned NATO against intervening should Soviet-bloc forces go into Poland:

> "If they want to start a war in Europe against socialism, they will suffer defeat by the fighting power of the Soviet Army and the other armies in the Warsaw Pact."
> —*New York Times*, 28 October

The Kremlin justified its crushing of the 1968 Prague Spring by claiming it was really the beginning of a fascistic, pro-imperialist counterrevolution. This lie was not just a diplomatic cover, it was directed above all at winning the Soviet people to this military intervention. When Soviet soldiers actually occupied Prague, many were visibly shaken by the protests of Communist workers and left-wing students. "We were told we were being sent to combat a counterrevolution, but when we came here we didn't see any," confessed a Soviet colonel harangued by a Czech army officer (*New York Times*, 23 August 1968).

The Prague Spring was made under the banner of a liberalized Stalinism ("socialism with a human face"). But in Poland the discontent and rebelliousness of the working masses is being tapped by clerical-nationalist forces. There is a big difference between the liberal Stalinist Alexander Dubček and Cardinal Wyszynski, who in the first few days of the Baltic coast strike commemorated the "miracle on the Vistula"—the defeat in 1920 of the Soviet Red Army at the hands of the right-wing nationalist Pilsudski. The counterrevolution which did *not* exist in Czechoslovakia in 1968 *could* develop out of the present Polish crisis.

But as revolutionaries we do not consign the Polish working class to the camp of clerical-national reaction. As we wrote in "Polish Workers Move," the present crisis, especially the existence of independent working-class organizations, also contains the potential for proletarian political revolution. It is this outcome which we as Trotskyists strive for.

In following clerical-nationalists like Walesa, Polish workers not only serve their class enemies in Poland, but contribute to the Kremlin's efforts to rally the Soviet people against them. Revolutionary Polish workers cannot hope to appeal to Soviet soldiers unless they assure them that they will defend that part of the world against imperialist attack. Only by addressing their Soviet class brothers in the name of revolutionary socialist internationalism can the Polish proletariat liberate itself from the chains of Stalinist oppression. This is the urgent task which requires above all the formation of a Trotskyist party in Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International. ■

SWP...

(continued from page 7)

government" (while calling for U.S. imperialist aid to the junta).

Another of the *Militant*'s anti-Marxist arguments for granting the Polish cardinals the "right" to spread their religious propaganda over the airwaves is that this is "smart" tactics: "The demand was also justified as a *political* move to broaden support for the workers' struggle" [emphasis in original]. For the wily opportunists of the SWP, it is clever to offer state privileges to organized religion in return for support to labor struggles. One wonders why during the great 1977-78 American coal strike the SWP didn't propose to its then-hero Arnold Miller that he come out for Christian fundamental instruction in the schools so as to win the backing of reactionary Baptists who were burning "atheistic" school books in West Virginia. And why doesn't the SWP suggest that the AFL-CIO call for the illegalization of abortion in order to win the American Catholic church for the cause of organized labor?

If the SWP thinks this is smart strike strategy, their little brothers of the "Third Camp" League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) think it's bad tactics:

> "It may be, that is, that Walesa and other reformist leaders thought that a public display of religiosity would be a good technique either to cow the government, appeal to the West, or perhaps even win over reluctant workers. Such a maneuver, if that is what it was, could have led the strike to defeat, for example, if the Church had won the leverage to mediate. The Church's timely betrayal prevented that."
> —*Socialist Voice*, Fall 1980

It never seems to occur to these social-democratic "strategists" that their heroic strike leaders may actually *believe* in Catholicism. Indeed, the liberal West German *Der Spiegel* (8 September) described the premier strike leader Lech Walesa as a "committed Catholic and nationalist" who "has not the least in common with communism." Why this willful blindness? The LRP states openly what the SWP implies, that in Poland "the Church as an institution is a reactionary bastion of the ruling power." And the Shachtmanites at least have the virtue of an upside-down consistency in claiming that this state power is "capitalist."

In the end, the SWP appeals to "pure" classless democracy, to "majority rule": "In Poland it is neither liberating nor realistic to deny the right of the Catholic majority to hear the views of the church." What if the Polish Catholic majority wants to replace the Stalinist regime with a clerical-nationalist government blessed by Pope Wojtyla? And what if they want to break the military alliance with "atheistic" Soviet Russia and align Poland internationally with the "god-fearing" countries of Jimmy Carter and Franz Josef Strauss? For that matter the *New York Times* (22 September) noted that with religious mass now broadcast on Polish radio, this "will bolster the church's position in pressing for other demands, such as for full legal status, that would clear up confusion about its rights to own land." Does the SWP think that this, too, is merely a democratic demand? Does the *Militant* believe it is "neither liberating nor realistic" to deny a Polish Catholic majority the right of capitalist counter-revolution? In short, whatever happened to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*? It is here that the social democrats of the SWP join hands with the "free world" imperialists like Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Should the "Catholic majority" (i.e., the church hierarchy) really try to fulfill that "Polish national heritage" so respected by the SWP, no doubt we will soon see in the *Militant*'s "Learning About Socialism" column Part II in the Poland series entitled, "Where the Catholic Church Goes Wrong on Democratic Rights." But it would be a bloody lesson indeed for the Polish working class, and genuine Trotskyists fight not for a "Cardinal Wyszynski Hour" on TV but to mobilize the workers against Catholic reaction, whether dressed in the colors of Pilsudskiite anti-Semitism or Carter/Brzezinski's "human rights." We fight for proletarian political revolution precisely in order to crush the danger of capitalist counterrevolution—conciliated by the Stalinist bureaucracy—embodied in the Catholic church. ■

S-Bahn...

(continued from page 4)

front-line Cold Warriors. While Senate members were toying with Berlin Blockade hysteria, the bourgeois press reacted with its customary anti-Communism. (A headline in the Springer tabloid *Bild Zeitung* read: "Will the East Storm the Train Stations?") In the city parliament Christian Democratic spokesmen called for taking over the "operating rights" of the S-Bahn—i.e., for revanchist violation of the four-power status of Berlin fixed by the Potsdam accords.

But social-democratic Mayor Stobbe rejected any takeover of the S-Bahn. The SPD-led Senate was of course chuckling to itself over the massive difficulties facing the DDR bureaucrats and was only too glad to brag about the "advantages of the Western system." But to endanger the "détente" policy pursued by the SPD in the interests of West German capital over the S-Bahn and a few hundred railway workers—that was too high a price. Nor are the Western allies presently interested in such an escalation.

And the West Berlin left? The SEW, of course, felt itself directly attacked by the Reichsbahn strike: for them any workers' protest against the DDR bureaucracy is counterrevolutionary; moreover, its situation was rather ironical given the high percentage of the workforce consisting of SEW members. Already, DR management's dismissal of 90 railwaymen last spring contributed to a split in the SEW in June, when a right-wing faction grouped around the newsletter "Klarheit" and tending toward Eurocommunism was chucked out of the organization. Now the SEW is facing new internal difficulties. The *Spandauer Volksblatt* cited an older railroad worker: "I'm in the FDGB. I'm in the SEW. My son was just fired by the Reichsbahn simply for expressing his outrage at the bad conditions of the West Berlin DR workers. After 20 years I'm quitting the party tomorrow."

While genuine communists supported the strikers in their initial, legitimate demands, they also had to warn against being sucked into the anti-Communist frenzy. Comrades of the TLD carried on discussions with the striking railway workers over revolutionary perspectives. In contrast, the reformist ISA, a Stalinophobic relative of the French OCI, stood politically to the right of the SPD and many of the Reichsbahn workers. Social-Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt was unwilling to give up détente and limited himself to ironic asides, but the ISA called on the Social Democrats to intervene in true Cold War spirit. Their leaflet proclaims: "The trade unions and the SPD must act at once!...Protect the Reichsbahn workers against the SED gangs of thugs." Thus they appeal to the DBG [West German trade-union federation] with its anti-red clauses (*Unvereinbarkeitsbeschlüsse*), and to the Social Democracy whose (in)famous Ostbüro [Eastern Bureau] was notorious for years of providing cover to Western intelligence services in the Soviet bloc and through whose hands millions of dollars in CIA money passed to finance counterrevolution in Portugal. West Berlin Reichsbahn workers didn't need this kind of "solidarity"!

For Revolutionary Reunification!

No matter how hard they tried, in such a complicated situation—at a confrontation point between two blocs representing counterposed class interests, where military questions are directly posed—the railway workers could not keep politics out of the strike. The S-Bahn problem reveals in miniature the problem of West Berlin as a NATO capitalist island [inside the DDR]. Short of a revolutionary reunification of Germany there can be no "solution to the Berlin problem." In 1945 the Soviet Red Army freed Berlin from Hitler's fascism only to later hand over West Berlin to the Western allies as part of the diplomatic horse trading. In 1949 two German states were formed, one capitalist, the other a bureaucratically deformed workers state. By 1961, Stalinist coexistence policies of "socialism in half a country" had brought the DDR to such an impasse that it was forced to defend itself against the draining off of its workforce by building the Berlin Wall. Up until then the DDR-run S-Bahn had operated a full circle around Berlin; from then on there were only two separate semi-circles.

Raising the wall enraged West German imperialism. Anti-Communist cold warriors called for boycotting the S-Bahn: "Every *Groschen* [dime] for the S-Bahn buys a piece of barbed wire!" Willy Brandt called on West Berliners not to ride the S-Bahn. Simultaneously the Senate initiated a systematic policy of expanding and extending its own mass transit system, the BVG, in such a way as to make the S-Bahn superfluous. Thus the ruin of the S-Bahn was the result of a deliberate capitalist Cold War campaign. Hence the huge S-Bahn deficits; hence the contempt with which the S-Bahn is held by much of the West Berlin population, a contempt which many of the DR railwaymen were no longer willing to endure.

The demand that the Western allies should "hand over" to the Senate the S-Bahn operating rights in West Berlin is an attack on the DDR, an attempt to bind West Berlin more tightly to capitalist West Germany. Trotskyists supported the original demands of the railway workers for wage raises and job security. But when the wage dispute was turned into an attack on the DDR, all class-conscious workers had to unconditionally defend the Soviet bloc against imperialism.

Unemployment in West Berlin is high. Important sectors of industry are moving to West Germany, leaving behind only unimportant branch offices to profit from the tax breaks. The very existence of this artificially supported city is a standing provocation against the DDR, an anti-Communist bridgehead in the DDR. There is no real solution for the railway workers of the half-circle, nor for the half-city, outside of a revolutionary reunited Germany.

In both parts of Germany a struggle must be waged to build Trotskyist parties. The parasitic bureaucracy of the DDR, indifferent to the fate of several hundred railway workers, must be swept away through a proletarian political revolution. In West Berlin and West Germany bourgeois rule—and along with it unemployment, inflation and warmongering—must be brought to an end through social revolution. The German revolution is a centerpiece of the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe. Only in this framework can a reunited *Soviet* Berlin achieve a new economic and cultural flowering. ■

Elections...

(continued from page 1)

adopted the vocabulary of the sports reporter to describe their respective campaigns. A cynically pious Carter asks that the hostage issue not become a "football." A senior Reagan aide announces that if Carter does get the hostages returned before November 4, Reagan will have to "punt." And another Reagan aide puts it even more bluntly: "If he gets the bodies out, that's the ball game."

While most of the Reagan "team" agonized over the hostage factor and waited for the instant video replay, William Safire—Reagan's man on the *New York Times*, took the offensive. In a column titled "The Ayatollah Votes" (27 October), he assailed the Carter-Khomeini conspiracy to get Carter elected and appealed to American chauvinism on behalf of Reagan: "We will not let him [Khomeini] seize the opportunity to choose our President and draw us into a war."

The idea that Khomeini could want to "vote" for Carter by releasing the hostages is pretty difficult to explain for the leftists who have hailed the ayatollah as the most implacable foe of the Great Satan and the seizure of the hostages as a militant and anti-imperialist act. There has been a strange political symbiosis between Carter and Khomeini since the first day the American embassy was taken nearly a year ago. Even as their respective effigies burned in Teheran and Washington, Carter and Khomeini were busy taking advantage of the situation. Carter's popularity at first rose from the lower depths in a burst of "rally 'round the flag" patriotism. For Khomeini and the mullahs the hostage seizure was an opportunity to pose as anti-American to a population that justifiably has bitter memories of U.S. imperialism's installation and backing of the butcher shah. At a time of growing resistance to reactionary clerical rule, the seizure of the U.S. embassy's "nest of spies" gave Khomeini a political lease on life. Now Jimmy Carter is again applying for a similar lease on the White House for another four years.

The U.S. was always prepared to make a deal to maintain Iran as a bastion against that Greatest Satan of them all, "godless communism" and the USSR. But a deal might come up against some problems in Iran. After all, the official propaganda of the Iranian regime is that the Iraqis are advancing under the conspiratorial influence of the U.S. Does it make sense then to return the hostages at the very moment when the U.S.' co-"conspirators" are bombing the hell out of Iranian cities? Of course it doesn't make sense to anyone who actually believes in a U.S. conspiracy behind the Iraqi military thrust. But such people are to be found only among the most benighted of Muslim fanatics and the most naive of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) mullah lovers here. However, given the internal chaos of Iran and the religious fanaticism of the rulers, rational speculation on what makes sense for the mullahs and their hostages has proved an unpromising enterprise.

Tilting Toward Teheran

Despite the indignation of Reaganites like Safire, the Carter administration's tilt toward Teheran is *not* simply or even primarily an election ploy to bring back the hostages. That affects the timing of State Department pronouncements, but not its basic policy. U.S. ruling circles (and not just the Carter gang) are committed to preserving the "territorial integrity" of Khomeini's Iran, just as they were of the shah's Iran, and for the same reason. U.S. imperialism looks upon Persian chauvinism as a most important ally *against the Soviet Union* in the Near East. Whether the Persian chauvinist is imam Khomeini or shah Pahlavi is a secondary matter. The *Washington Post* (27 October) explains to its readers why the U.S. should oppose Iraq's dismemberment of Iran despite Khomeini's outrageous behavior and anti-American rantings:

> "Now U.S. officials fear that an Iraqi military victory that would take large chunks of Iranian territory and humiliate Iran's Islamic clergy-dominated government could unleash a new wave of internal unrest marked by new separatist movements among Iran's various minorities and a political backlash against the present leaders.... "In addition to becoming susceptible to an internal takeover from the left, an Iran weakened in this way would be more vulnerable to pressure and possible territorial grabs from the neighboring Soviet Union."

While the rest of the left was hailing the religious reactionary and Persian chauvinist Khomeini as a great "anti-imperialist," the Spartacist tendency maintained that Washington would seek to make its peace with the "Islamic Revolution" for a common holy war against "atheistic Communism." When the hostage crisis first broke out and hordes of Americans were running through the streets chanting "Nuke the Ayatollah," we noted:

> "Carter's response to the seizure of the American embassy has been characterized as one of great restraint.... Carter's 'moderation' is motivated *not* so much by concern for the hostages as by anti-Soviet strategic calculations. The fact is that the U.S. wants an anti-Soviet Iran." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"No to Carter's War Threats," *WV* No. 245, 7 December 1979

Now with Iraq threatening to take oil-rich Khuzistan, Washington thinks it can regain that anti-Soviet Iran.

Among the numerous mullah lovers on the American left, perhaps none is quite so servile as the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Of course supporting Khomeini's Iran in the war, it claims that the army of Moscow-allied Ba'athist Iraq (which has not even had diplomatic relations with Washington for the past 13 years) is practically a regiment of the U.S. Marine Corps. When the war broke out, the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (29 September) blazoned on its front cover, "Washington Stands Behind Iraqi Attacks—Hands Off Iran!" An article entitled "Why Washington, Baghdad Attack Iran" informs us that "the all-out offensive launched today by the Iraqi regime...is part of the drive of U.S. imperialism to crush the Iranian revolution." Well, as Stalin once said, paper will take anything that's written on it. That Washington is now tilting *toward Iran* is obvious to everyone in the world.

As Trotskyists we would take a defeatist position toward both sides in a war between two such bloody-handed bourgeois regimes *regardless* of their transient and reversible relations to Washington and/or Moscow. Thus we took a defeatist line in the 1971 India/Pakistan war although Nixon/Kissinger definitely tilted toward Yahya Khan's Islamabad while Indira Gandhi's India was a semi-client of Russia. But now the SWP finds itself defending the same side as Washington.

Khomeini's rabid anti-Americanism, based on Islamic fanaticism and Persian chauvinism, allowed the SWP to claim him as an "anti-imperialist fighter." But the imperialist bourgeoisie, even in the person of a Jimmy Carter, can see the basic political reality beneath the name-calling and diplomatic provocations, like the hostage crisis. Thus the SWP links arms with Carter in defending the "territorial integrity" of Khomeini's Persian-dominated prisonhouse of peoples.

Sandler/Newsweek

By Mike Peters for The Dayton Daily News

Down With the Colonels, Down With the Mullahs!

Arguing for revolutionary defeatism in the current Persian Gulf war, Spartacist League Central Committee member Reuben Samuels addressed an audience of 75 people at New York's Columbia University on October 23. At a forum entitled "Iran/Iraq Blood Feud," Samuels explained why the working class and oppressed people of both countries have no stake in the victory of either side:

> "Both of these regimes are equally unsavory, are equally reactionary. One [Iraq] is a republican regime that actually overthrew a king and paid lip service to some kind of socialism, some kind of secularism. But it has created a state that is nevertheless very narrowly based on a religious minority, and the religious majority and all of the national minorities are terribly persecuted, savagely persecuted in the case of the Kurds.
>
> "And likewise in Iran. There was a 'republican' revolution in the sense that the monarchy was overthrown. But it was certainly not republican in the vaguest sense of even paying lip service to the democratic rights of the bourgeois revolution—for example, the equality of women."

In the discussion which followed Samuels' presentation, speakers suggested that for "tactical" reasons the workers of Iran "finish with the Iraqis first" or give "military support" to Khomeini. For revolutionaries, Samuels explained, active opposition to the war efforts of both Saddam Hussein and Ayatollah Khomeini is the key to advancing the struggles of the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities of the region:

> "So the road to national liberation is the road to social emancipation through socialist revolution, through internationalism that transcends nationalism. Which doesn't say, 'Well, who's going to come out on top? Is the "Arab revolution" going to come out on top in this war or is the Iranian revolution? Which is more progressive' [An internationalism] that addresses it from the standpoint of what is in the interest of the working people—the people in the refineries of Abadan and the working people in the refineries and oil fields of Iraq. And for them and for the toilers on the land, their social question is not being resolved by the war except insofar as they exploit the war to advance their own social and democratic interests.
>
> "This is the opportunity now for the Kurds to rise up and fight for their national emancipation and liberation. This is the time for the Iraqi and Iranian toilers to advance their interests and to appeal to their brothers in the armed forces to resolve the struggle in a revolutionary fashion. And this requires a party.... The Bolshevik Revolution must be extended by parties forged in the working classes of these countries through their own socialist revolutions, but as part of an international, a reborn Fourth International, standing on the tradition of Trotsky and Lenin." ■

Los Angeles SYL Forum

Iran/Iraq Blood Feud—For Workers Revolution in the Middle East!

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Evanston...

(continued from page 2)

slogan, "Holocaust—Six Million Lies." While a police helicopter hovered menacingly close overhead, the demonstrators surged forward against the police barricade and succeeded in breaking through in many places. The 70-plus Spartacist League contingent was the largest organized left presence and our chant "Cops Out of the Park, Smash the Nazis Now!" was picked up by many demonstrators. Certain of being torn limb from limb before their cop protectors could intervene, the fascists turned tail and fled. They left behind only the heavy steel posts which had supported the police barricades, bent completely out of shape by a crowd fixed on getting its hands around some wretched Nazi necks.

The demonstration was also a repudiation of the "free-speech-for-fascists" liberalism exemplified by a rally that same day at Northwestern University several miles away. Sponsored by the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation and attended by a host of dignitaries, including John Anderson, it had been deliberately scheduled to overlap in time with the Lovelace Park demonstration. But while the mayor of Evanston shed crocodile tears over how bad it had made him feel to issue a permit to the Nazis, 2,500 determined protesters—predominantly Jewish groups led by the Jewish war veterans and including socialist and civil rights groups—stood ready to make sure that there would be no Nazi rally in Evanston, permit or no permit, police security or no police security... and they won.

The giant Spartacist League banner read, "For Mass Labor/Black/Jewish Mobilizations to Smash Fascist Terror." Not surprisingly, though, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was absent—not so much as a *Militant* salesman showed up. Unlike Trotsky who fought for mass mobilizations to "acquaint the fascists with the pavement," these fake-Trotskyists are concerned only with providing these thugs with a platform for their racist propaganda, as in the recent debate between SWP congressional candidate Mark Friedman and KKK "Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger. The concentration camp survivors who led the charge at Lovelace Park may never have read Trotsky; only a few may be leftists, but every last one of them understood the elementary fact that seems to have eluded the SWP: *with fascist gangsters there is nothing to debate!*

Mass action like that which drove the Nazis out of Lovelace Park—this is what is needed to crush fascist terror, not the pathetic calls of reformists like the Communist Party and the black liberals of the NAACP for reliance on the capitalist courts and cops. Nor is suicidal substitutionalism by small groups of radicals the answer to the Hitler-lovers or their brothers under the sheets. Groups like Progressive Labor, the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Communist Workers Party which throw their tiny forces against the fascists are frequently beaten back by police goons—and sometimes by fascist bullets, as tragically occurred in Greensboro last November—thus emboldening the KKK/Nazis. Only mass mobilizations of labor, blacks, Jews, Latins—the potential victims of fascist genocide—can stop these would-be murderers cold. This was the message of 500 anti-Klan demonstrators in Detroit last November 10, and of 1,200 who stopped a threatened "celebration" of Hitler's birthday in San Francisco April 19 (both demonstrations heavily built by the SL). And it was demonstrated again by the 2,500 people who drove the Nazis out of Evanston last Sunday.

Trade-union militants, in particular, must fight for the unions to take the lead in mobilizing to crush fascist terror—the organized working class alone has the social power to smash fascism. The Executive Board of Local 1010, United Steel Workers of America in East Chicago, Indiana correctly endorsed the resolution submitted by four union militants that called for a mass union contingent at the anti-Nazi demonstration. This resolution was passed by the local membership and the exec board further voted to reimburse participating union members $20 for expenses. But while endorsing the resolution *on paper*, the bureaucrats did nothing to actually build a mass contingent.

"Spartacist—Like Rosa Luxemburg"

Several Jewish demonstrators who had grown up in pre-war Germany were familiar with the name "Spartacist." One approached our contingent and said, "Oh, you are Spartacists like in Berlin." "Spartacist—like Rosa Luxemburg," said another, eagerly taking the latest *Workers Vanguard* out of our salesman's hand. The SL is proud to stand in the tradition of Luxemburg and the German Spartacists. If they had won, the history of the world would have been very different. For one thing, many older Evanston residents would not have numbers tatooed on their arms. Today, ultra-right terror incidents mount across the country and open Ku Klux Klansmen and Nazis run on both bourgeois party tickets. It could not be clearer that a *political* struggle is necessary to root out the fascists, a struggle whose perspective is embodied in the Spartacist call, "Break with the Democrats and the Republicans! Build a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!" ■

SWP Excludes Anti-Klan Steel Workers

CHICAGO—The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) brags that it debates with the terrorist Ku Klux Klan in southern California. But how do these oh-so-"democratic" SWPers feel when it comes to discussing with trade-union militants who want to *smash* the Klan? The answer was clear October 17 in Gary, Indiana where the SWP physically excluded steel workers and Spartacist League supporters, among them several active militants from the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), from a "public" forum on the need for a labor party.

Milly Leonard of USWA Local 1010, who received over 800 votes in her bid for delegate to the USWA convention last July, told *Workers Vanguard*, "The SWP mobilized goons who threatened me and others with violence to keep us out. It's a slap in the face to several hundred black and Latino Local 1010 members who voted for me in the delegate election because of my call to mobilize integrated labor defense guards against the fascists."

Only the night before the exclusion, Local 1010 approved an executive board resolution submitted by Leonard and three other steel workers to endorse an anti-Nazi demonstration in Evanston on October 19. Obviously the SWP didn't want its supporters to hear about this. At the demonstration itself, 2,500 protesters (including numerous concentration camp survivors) put the Nazi scum to flight (see article, this issue). The Spartacist League was there, prominently, but the SWP was so concerned about protecting "free speech for fascists" that it did not even appear.

"I emphasized the importance of labor protest against racist terrorism at our union meeting," Leonard told *WV*, "but SWP supporters couldn't mobilize themselves to say anything.... And when I spoke against an AFL-CIO lobbyist who urged us to vote for our 'friends' Jimmy Carter and Birch Bayh, the SWP supporters didn't so much as bring up their scab presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, let alone a labor party. I spoke for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and building a workers party."

All around the country the SWP has routinely excluded Spartacist League supporters from its "public" forums. In Gary it proved once again that it hates and fears above all else providing a platform for class-struggle politics. The KKK's "program" is genocide against blacks and Jews and holy war on the labor movement. While the Klan kills, the SWP "debates"—but only with these murdering fascists, not with anti-Klan union militants!

French CP...

(continued from page 3)

21 Paris municipal councilors announced they would not vote for Marchais in April, the party tops said they were free to leave as soon as they wanted to. Marchais, speaking on the TV program "Cards on the Table," pointed out that even though PS leader Mitterrand has been the perpetual candidate of the left, the right wing is still in power: "Therefore we aren't going to repeat, unity, unity, unity... elections, unity, elections like parrots. We are using our heads and we say, since we haven't succeeded by that way...we must find another path" (*Le Monde*, 15 October).

All the King's Horses, All the King's Men...

In France "unity" has become the codeword for reconstituting the defunct popular front. And it is a devastating condemnation of the several large pseudo-Trotskyist groups (OCI, LCR, LO) that they are the loudest parrots of all in screeching "unity, unity, unity." The OCI has plastered Paris with posters calling for "Unité PS/PCF" while the LCR denounced the Communist Party candidacy as divisive; its headline called on Marchais to step down ("Désistement") in favor of the Socialists on the second, decisive round of presidential voting. Earlier, while abstractedly criticizing the popular front, these fakers egregiously tailed after it in practice. Now, ever since Humpty Dumpty fell off the wall after Portugal '75, they have rivaled the king's horses and the king's men in trying to patch the Union of the Left back together again.

This underscores the importance of the slogan projected by the Ligue Trotskyste de France for the election campaign: "Down with 'unity'—Vote PCF!" A "sectarian" slogan? Tell it to four million French workers! And our comrades' aggressive program of class independence has a history. In the 1978 parliamentary elections, the LTF was alone in proclaiming "No 'Critical Support' to the Popular Front!" while the rest of the Trotskyoid left was voting for the PCF and PS in the framework of the Union of the Left. At that time we stood alone defending our proletarian opposition to class-collaborationist coalitions. Now, however, for their own reasons Communist Party leaders have provided an opening for genuine Trotskyists to address their ranks, through the tactic of critical support. Meanwhile, we will be hammering away in particular at the militants of the OCI/LCR/LO whose popular-frontism and anti-Sovietism conjunctturally places them *to the right* of the PCF.

The present political conjuncture in France is a classical example of when the *tactic* (not strategy) of critical support can be applied. The Stalinists are running independently despite their fundamental class-collaborationist program. Having made a left turn in practice, the Stalinists may find it difficult to prevent their membership from fundamental discussion of the origins of their old policies and consequences of their current line. It recalls Trotsky's call on the American SWP to offer critical support to the Communist candidate Browder during the brief period of 1939-40 (the Stalin-Hitler pact) when the Comintern was not supporting the imperialist "democracies" (FDR, et al.). Trotsky wrote:

> "What I propose is a manifesto to the Stalinist workers, to say that for five years you were for Roosevelt, then you changed. This turn is in the right direction. Will you develop and continue this policy or not? Will you continue and develop it or not? If you are firm we will support you. In this manifesto we can say that if you fix a sharp program for your candidate, then we will vote for him."
>
> —"Discussions With Trotsky," 12-15 June 1940

This is the spirit in which our French comrades are raising the question of critical support to the PCF today. And this electoral support will be as Lenin suggested, like the rope "supporting" the hanged man. For we will point out that the Communist Party's historic policy of popular front was no "mistake" but a deliberate program of blocking the road to revolution. Explicitly stated, as Stalin did in the Spanish Civil War: "Democracy now, revolution later" (i.e., never). Taken to its logical consequences, as with PCF leader Thorez' famous statement during the French general strike of June 1936 (at the time the Popular Front first came to power): "One must know how to end a strike." We will show how the popular front paved the road for Vichy, for Hitler. We will recall how following Liberation PCF ministers in the coalition government disarmed the workers, suppressed strikes, sent the colonial army to Vietnam to suppress an independence revolt by their "comrade" Ho Chi Minh.

We will point to the betrayals of Stalinism, such as murdering thousands of Left Oppositionists and leaders of the Fourth International. Our comrades call for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies of the degenerated/deformed workers states, as part of the steadfast Trotskyist defense of the USSR against imperialism. (Unlike the Pabloist/Lambertist ex-Trotskyists and Eurocommunists who join in Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, applauding every tsar-lover who calls himself a dissident.)

The LTF points out that the Communist Party leaders cannot answer fundamental questions raised by the PCF campaign, "using our heads to find another path." Three times popular front, three times the bourgeoisie wins. (Not to mention the bloody tragedies of Spain and Chile.) Who but the Trotskyists can truthfully say they have a program of proletarian opposition to this bankrupt class collaboration? Certainly not Georges Marchais (or Gus Hall). Vote for the Stalinist bureaucrat, Marchais! No vote for the Democratic Party's flunkies, Hall and Davis! ■

Vote Coleman...

(continued from page 12)

real concerns of San Francisco working people: jobs, the right to a decent livelihood and affordable housing, schools that can teach youth to read and write, stopping the growth of fascist groups and fighting to stop the mad anti-Soviet war drive that would send millions of working-class youth (and the rest of us) to their destruction.

A Spartacist League forum on the election on October 25 was attended by over 100, and $525 was collected for the Coleman campaign. Unlike the various reformist "left" candidates, Coleman attacked electoralist illusions head-on:

> "We are not trying to fool people that you can reform capitalism or have socialism in San Francisco or tax the corporations out of existence.... We are trying to build a mass revolutionary workers party [to] lead the class struggle where the real changes will take place—on the picket lines and in the streets and in the heat of battle."

Another featured speaker at the forum was Brian Campbell, a former two-time candidate for mayor of Vancouver on the New Democratic Party (NDP) line, now a supporter of the Trotskyist League of Canada, Canadian section of the international Spartacist tendency. Supporting the Coleman campaign, Campbell said:

> "There's been a lot of talk about the need for a labor party from groups like the Socialist Workers Party.... In Canada we *have* the kind of labor party that they are talking about...a reformist party, a bourgeois workers party. The NDP and social-democratic parties like it are a roadblock that will become more virulent, more vigorous the closer the possibility of attaining workers power becomes.... I am extremely happy to be up here on the podium with Diana tonight because it is the program of a revolutionary party that is being put forward in this campaign. And you get what you build. In Canada they built a reformist party that doesn't take us anywhere and has to be destroyed."

Coleman campaign wins active support from class-conscious SF workers.

WV Photos

Most of the fake "socialists" in San Francisco, confronted by Coleman's forthright socialist program, have tried to ignore or run from the Coleman campaign. There was one tiny left group, though, which has given her critical support—as well as to the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Workers World Party! The Socialist League/Democratic-Centralist, whose criticisms of the Spartacist League from the right were not matched by any criticism of the SWP, attended the October 25 forum and falsely claimed that the controversial SL slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" wasn't in the Coleman election brochure. After Coleman corrected them and challenged SL/DCers to explain whether they supported the feudal reactionaries fighting the Soviet Army there, they refused to answer. Lenin compared communist critical support to a rope's "support" of a hanging man. But as Coleman pointed out, summing up the SL/DC's confused and peculiar performance, their notion is "sort of a case of a hanging man giving critical support to the rope."

What Makes the SWP Run?

San Francisco has seen plenty of pseudo-socialists and ex-Marxists end up in the Democratic Party, playing the losing "politics of the possible" game. Like the reformist Communist Party and Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the SWP can barely restrain its appetite to jump into the "big time" of bourgeois betrayals. As we reported last issue, they initially offered critical support to Stan Smith, a local Democratic Party leader who was a Kennedy delegate at the 1980 convention, for supervisor. When Coleman confronted two SWPers on this recently, they told her the SWP had "reconsidered"—but not because this labor faker is a Democrat. No, "he had a bad record on some things like opposing affirmative action in his own union," they said. But maybe next time...

When Diana Coleman tried to attend a public forum given by her SWP opponent in the SF supervisors election, the SWP wouldn't even let her in the door. Their slanderous excuse was that SL supporters might cause "physical disruption." But while the SWP's Mark Friedman brags about how he debated the terrorist Ku Klux Klan and whines about how the Republicans won't get on the same platform with him, the SWP's fascist "debating partners" set off a pipe-bomb at the SWP's own headquarters! It's a good thing the SWP isn't in any position to mislead the working class, which their reformism would leave as politically disarmed and physically unprotected as their own headquarters.

Coleman finally ran into Mark Friedman at a pro-abortion rights rally, repeatedly challenging him, "Why will you debate the Klan and not me?" His answer was, literally, to turn and run. It is not the cowardly reformism of the SWP but Diana Coleman's revolutionary socialist program that can speak to the real needs of working people in San Francisco. Vote Diana Coleman for SF Supervisor! ■

Khomeini Connection...

(continued from page 12)

and Manfred Roeder, 51, a former lawyer disbarred in West Germany for anti-Semitic activities, talked about their children and about "the movement." Metzger, who could not be reached for comment here yesterday was quoted by the newspaper as saying: "Manfred is a friend of mine, and if he ever comes around I'll meet with him again. I have a lot of sympathy for what he stands for in Germany."

Roeder is suspected by West German authorities of masterminding a series of bombings of synagogues and camps housing foreign workers—charges that Roeder denies. Sources said Roeder instructed Klansmen and American neo-Nazis in the San Francisco Bay Area in the use of explosives during a three-month stay earlier this year. Roeder later was arrested after returning to Germany.

Sources said Metzger and Roeder met twice—once in San Jose and once in San Diego county—although Metzger will confirm only the San Diego county meeting, the newspaper reported. Metzger said there is no official link between the Klan and Roeder's group, the German People's Movement.

"I'm not a member of his group and he's not a member of my group," Metzger told the newspaper. "But individuals from my organization are free to receive his literature and keep in touch with him. That's why I have no qualms about having them put him up for a night or feeding him a meal while he was in the Bay Area."

Police said they knew Roeder was in the United States, but that he was not arrested because no charges had been levied against him in this country. Roeder arrived in Oakland in May from Teheran, where he had been given political asylum by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

After leaving the Bay Area, sources said, Roeder travelled to Washington, D.C. and Buffalo, New York where he talked to sympathizers before returning secretly to West Germany.

German authorities arrested Roeder on September 1 in Hanover-Muenden after being tipped by American officials that he was back in this country. Roeder had fled Germany in 1978 to avoid prosecution on charges of "incitement to racial hatred and dishonoring the Jewish people."

Metzger said his followers in the Bay Area harbored Roeder and chauffered him around, but he said, "It was no big deal." Metzger said he admired Roeder because of his anti-communist leanings.

Asked about the similarities between the Klan and the neo-Nazis, Metzger said, "There is only one movement. Our goals are similar."

Roeder heads two American groups—the Teutonic Unity in Buffalo, and New Order Publications in Lincoln, Nebraska—that solicit money from American sympathizers to fund his group's activities in Germany.

A spokesman at the West German consulate in San Francisco said Roeder is a "fascist who romanticizes the Hitler era." He first gained public attention as an anti-pornography crusader and an opponent of sex-education in the public schools.

A source said that Roeder told Metzger's followers: "The first duty of every decent Christian is to do everything possible to destroy the power structure of the Jews."

Rhonda Abrams, head of the San Francisco Anti-Defamation League office of the B'nai B'rith said the meeting between Metzger and Roeder "shows we have to watch even local groups very carefully. Our experience shows that even small groups have international ties with extremist groups.

"This connection between Metzger and Roeder points out the truth of what the Klan is all about. The Klan's recent cleaned-up image should not distract us from the truth. Namely, that their feelings about Jews, blacks and other minorities have not changed."

Metzger won the Democratic Congressional nomination in the 43rd District, which includes parts of San Diego, Riverside and Imperial counties. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

In S.F.—A Socialist Candidate Who Fights for Labor, Blacks

Vote Diana Coleman!

SAN FRANCISCO—Socialist union militant and Spartacist supporter Diana Coleman is pressing a hard campaign in this final election week. She is running for Board of Supervisors in San Francisco, but she is also running against Reagan and Carter, the candidates of the twin parties of capitalist austerity, as they debate on TV over who can best prepare a war on the Soviet Union. She is running against strikebreaking local politicians like Mayor Dianne Feinstein, who is stumping the city for Carter and cable cars. She is running against the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis, who have run for office this year as both Democrats and Republicans. In this election year, when most workers, if they vote at all, will cast ballots for the candidate they hate and fear least, Diana Coleman's campaign is the only positive choice.

Everywhere Diana Coleman and her supporters in the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee have gone—phone company buildings and phone workers' bars, union meetings of longshoremen, MUNI bus drivers and letter carriers, soapbox rallies in the black working-class Ingleside neighborhood, the Latino Mission and gay Castro districts—they have been well received. They have found that the work of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN), which stopped a Nazi rally on Hitler's birthday and in which Diana Coleman played an active part, is well remembered in the streets of San Francisco.

Diana Coleman was recently interviewed by radio stations KNBR, KSAN and KDIA, where she denounced the upsurge of Klan/Nazi activity and warned of the danger they represent, as evidenced by the links between Klan/Democrat Tom Metzger and Manfred Roeder, a German neo-Nazi wanted in Europe for anti-Semitic bombings (see article below). She issued a press release supporting a strike by interns and resident doctors at SF General Hospital, urging that it "should have the support of every worker in this city."

San Francisco is a city of contradictions—a labor town ruled by labor-haters and strikebreakers. It's a town with radical traditions where most of the so-called radicals directly or indirectly support the capitalist Democratic Party. While the "rad-lib" Democrats on the Board of Supervisors campaign virtually on the single issue of whether they are to be elected citywide or by district, Diana Coleman alone is appealing with socialist answers to the

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Diana Coleman campaigns at Bethlehem shipyards. Workers in SF get a real choice.

WV Photo

German Nazi Advises Klan Democrat Metzger

The KKK's Khomeini Connection

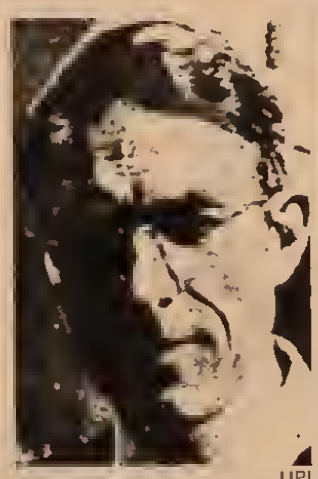
Last weekend California newspapers reported the sensational revelation that German fascist Manfred Roeder, wanted by West German authorities for his role in a series of bombings, spent three months in the United States with full knowledge of American authorities.

While here, Roeder reportedly instructed California fascists in the use of explosives. It was additionally revealed that previous to his stay in the U.S., Roeder was harbored in Tehcran by Islamic fundamentalist dictator Khomeini.

Unlike pseudo-socialists such as the Socialist Workers Party, who politely discuss with KKK night-riders and hail the ayatollah's "Islamic Revolution," we warned from the beginning that the mullah-led movement in Iran was reactionary and the KKK/Nazis are terrorist killers. Now the dramatic "Khomeini connection" underlines these warnings.

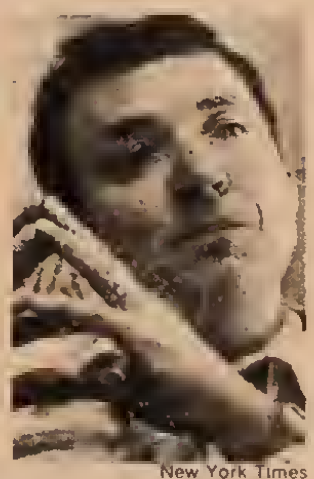
In a press release issued October 27, Diana Coleman, the socialist union militant and Spartacist supporter running for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, said:

> "Ku Klux Klansman Tom Metzger who is running for Congress on the Democratic Party ticket met in July with German fascist Manfred Roeder who has since been arrested in West Germany for masterminding the bombing of Jewish synagogues and camps housing foreign workers. The *San Diego Union* reports that this same Roeder traveled to the Bay Area in May instructing local Nazis and Klansmen in the use of explosives. This visit was right after the successful ANCAN demonstration of 1,200 unionists and minorities that prevented the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in the S.F. Civic Center.
>
> "Since Roeder's travels through California, the Los Angeles headquarters of both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have been bombed, and a black phone worker was shot off his utility pole by a KKKer in Fontana, CA....
>
> "This cooperation between fascist groups, the bombings and shootings, the setting up of paramilitary training camps, the authorities looking the other way, underscores the criminal idiocy of those who would portray the Nazis and Klan as lunatic fringe electoral candidates or someone to be debated with. It is an urgent necessity for the labor movement, blacks, Latinos, Asians, immigrant workers to continue to mobilize as we did on April 19th only on a greater scale to chase these fascists back in their holes."



UPI

Der Spiegel



New York Times

German Nazi Roeder (left), Iran's "Imam" Khomeini, California's Klan Democrat Metzger: They rode together.

We reprint below in full the article from the *San Diego Union* (24 October) reporting the Metzger/Roeder/Khomeini connection:

Metzger Met Neo-Nazi Fugitive

By Anthony Perry
(staffwriter of the *San Diego Union*)

Ku Klux Klan leader and Congressional candidate Tom Metzger met secretly in July with a neo-Nazi fugitive wanted by West Germany in connection with a rash of bombings, sources confirmed yesterday after the meeting was reported by a San Francisco newspaper.

Metzger was quoted by the *San Francisco Chronicle* as saying that he

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 268 14 November 1980

Carter Paved the Way

Reagan Reaction

Ronald Reagan is in the saddle. The Democrats have been stampeded. The Republican challenger ended the "great debate" by urging voters, if they felt they were better off in the last four years, to vote for Jimmy Carter. Otherwise, he said, they should vote for him. And that is more or less what happened. But after massive repudiation of the incumbent administration, American working people are nervous about what they got in its place. The decay and disaster of U.S. capitalism accelerates. Racist terror is still on the rise. The anti-Soviet Cold War drive escalates. The morning after, things don't look a bit better.

Across the country people are trying to figure out what it means. Frustration over the Iran hostage crisis? A "conservative tide"? One racist, anti-labor warmonger beats another at the polls. Then, after this contest between two undeniably "greater evils"—probably the most negative campaign in U.S. history—it is hailed as the beginning of the "Reagan Era," the long-prophesied thunder on the right. The questions are particularly urgent from those who know in their political bones that they are the targets in these elections: blacks, labor, the Soviet Union. If Reagan has a "mandate," what is it a mandate for?

There is no such thing as a negative "mandate." The vote was fundamentally *against* Carter and the liberal Democrats, against years of pounding inflation and massive layoffs. Millions didn't bother to vote at all, continuing a modern trend with the lowest turnout in 32 years. The Reagan "landslide" was created with about one voter out of four eligible. In this regard the so-called "exit polls" are instructive. According to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll, "Two-thirds of the voters yesterday cited economic problems such as unemployment, taxes and inflation as a key reason for their vote" (*New York Times*, 5 November).

This cannot be dismissed merely as a protest vote against Carter. Unlike Nixon's 1972 landslide victory over McGovern, this time the Democrats were beaten as a party, losing control of the Senate for the first time in decades. The bankruptcy of New Deal liberalism made easy targets of McGovern, Church, Bayh and the others on the hit list of the multi-million-dollar computer boys of the "New Right" and the electronic evangelists of the "Moral Majority." Elections '80 reflected a rightward shift that has been building since the end of the Vietnam War.

Aggressive Cold Warrior:

"[Russia's] satellite state is ninety miles off our coast. Suppose we put a blockade around that island and said, 'Now, buster, we'll lift it when you take your forces out of Afghanistan'?"

Open enemy of workers, poor:

"Unemployment insurance is a prepaid vacation plan for free-loaders."

Evans/Sygma

But the rightward shift to Reagan was prepared by Democratic Party Cold War liberals and by Jimmy Carter himself. At the time of the Republican convention last summer we did not delete the expletive when we expressed the feelings of millions with the headline: "Reagan, Carter? Oh Shit!" As we said at the time:

> "Carter's 'human rights' campaign, braintrusted by the sinister Brzezinski, sought to bury the 'Vietnam syndrome,' push public opinion toward a new Cold War and mobilize militarily against the Soviet Union. In this way Carter/Brzezinski made right-wing Republicanism respectable and gave it its present battle cries."
>
> —*Workers Vanguard* No. 261, 25 July

Carter and the Democrats whipped up an atmosphere of anti-Soviet fanaticism, then acted shocked when an anti-Soviet fanatic got elected. Reagan has good cause to speak of a "bipartisan" foreign policy because the war consensus runs deep in both bourgeois parties.

And there is bipartisan agreement on the austerity demanded by stagnating U.S. capitalism. Once again the Democratic liberals led the austerity drive, targeting particularly blacks and the poor. Cuts in social services and an anti-labor offensive had been the order of the day for Carter. Similarly, the "Moral Majority" assault on women's rights and integration was pushed hard by "born again" Jimmy and his "ethnic purity" politics. When Ronald Reagan says openly that he opposes busing, he merely seems to be more honest than the Democrats who talked about integration but offered up even the token gains of the '60s civil rights movement to the anti-busing racists in the streets.

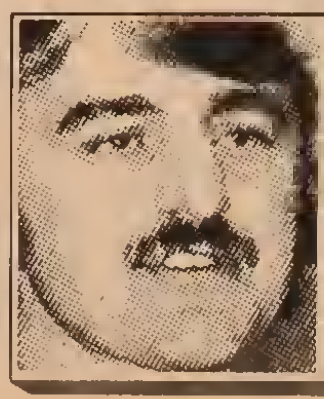
Most importantly, Reagan's vote included a large portion of working-class ballots. Many trade unionists voted for a certified symbol of anti-labor reaction, the preferred candidate of the KKK, a well-known ideological nuclear hip-shooter. The Republicans claimed a new constituency for conservative social issues like anti-abortion and classroom prayer among industrial workers (the workers Reagan's analysts snidely call the BCECs—blue-collar ethnic Catholics). But if the Republicans found some tolerance in the working class for their right-wing ideology, it is a passive tolerance. Many workers found unemployment and inflation so devastating they cast about for *any* alternative to Carter. Some identified American "weakness" with their lower standard of living. Most are just fed up with the failure of liberalism. But when Reagan tries to act on his "macho mandate," he will find that even many of the workers who voted for him are by no means part of his conservative, anti-labor camp.

Contrary to what U.S. schoolchildren are carefully taught in civics classes, the essence of politics is not found at the polls but in the class struggle. When there is little effective opposition in the factories and in the streets, it is not surprising that the backlash against the liberals works to the benefit of the political right.

Ironically it is the labor bureaucracy—which bears the responsibility for the relative quiescence of the unions—which cannot now hustle up the vote from the rank and file for the Democratic Party "friends of labor." Perhaps the most important fact of this election is that it confirms that the Democrats' New Deal coalition is in a complete shambles. Only black voters

continued on page 8

More Papal Bull...2



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Sex and the Single Pope

More Papal Bull

Peripatetic Pope Wojtyla is on the attack again. But the Western press has been more reticent this time; instead of marshaling the faithful against Communism, the "human rights" pope is bent on reinforcing the Catholic church's medieval proscriptions on sex. Of course, the Vatican's torturous and arcane attempts to convince humanity there can be no happiness this side of the grave, that salvation lies in self-denial and submissiveness to authority, are not new. But it took this Polish pope, product of the most reactionary bastion of Catholicism in Europe, to ram through a just-concluded Synod in Rome an aggressive assault on "sexual permissiveness."

According to the pope, a man can't even lust after his own wife any more: a man is guilty of "adultery in the heart" if he looks at his own wife in a lustful way. The bishops' Synod confirmed these hard-line social policies. Divorced Catholics can now remarry without being banned from the church doors—but they can only take communion (the church's most sacred rite) *if* they don't have sex with their new spouse. Then there's birth control (although why anyone would need it if they followed all the pope's proscriptions we can't imagine). But even though one U.S. bishop cautiously raised the fact that three-quarters of American Catholics practice some form of artificial birth control, Wojtyla is adamant on banning it.

The Italian press didn't take kindly to Wojtyla's hard stance; they didn't get it. A writer in *Corriere della Sera* figured the line on "adultery of the heart" was an attempt to strengthen the family by encouraging "infidelity at home." More seriously the Polish pope was endangering a delicate *modus vivendi* so carefully worked out between Italian secular politicos and the Vatican on such sensitive social questions in the past. Angry pro-abortion demonstrators carried signs attacking him: "Wojtyla—

AP

Lust in the mind, lust in the heart, lust, lust, lust.

In Poland there has been an abortion law for 15 years; why don't you 'interfere' in your own country?" Not since his unleashing of the Inquisition against "dissident" Catholic theologian Hans Küng last year (which caused one liberal Catholic to question whether the pope was not "a new Torquemada on the Tiber?") has Wojtyla made so clear the consistently reactionary thrust of his Papacy.

Wojtyla told his Latin American followers to shut up and suffer in silence under the bloody terror of their Catholic imperialist-puppet dictators, while in Poland he has aggressively encouraged political movements against the ruling regime, the better to prepare the ground for capitalist counterrevolution. It's useful that Wojtyla has shown the social program his Church Victorious would enforce—the most sexually repressive, totalitarian, rigid, guilt-inspiring, miserable kind of life. The more Wojtyla exposes this face of Catholic reaction, the better it is in terms of dispelling dangerous illusions that this vigorously anti-Communist pope is any sort of defender of "human rights and liberty."

And there's still poor old Galileo, dead lo these 300 years. We suppose that in instructing the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (guess who) to "reopen" the case, Pope Wojtyla thinks he's made a powerful statement for "human rights." Perhaps the Vatican will finally admit that the earth actually does move around the sun after all (but then, Copernicus was *a fellow Pole*). "Still, it moves," Galileo supposedly muttered under his breath when forced to recant his "heresy" under the threat of Inquisition torture. And the Vatican does too, but only three centuries late. Some "human rights": Stalinist "rehabilitations" occur with the speed of light in comparison. ■

Hunger Strikes Demand Political Rights

Free Long Kesh IRA Prisoners!

On October 27 seven Irish Republican prisoners in the notorious "H-Blocks" of North Ireland's Long Kesh prison launched a hunger strike against their British imperialist jailers. They are demanding no more than the status of political prisoners and the rights taken away from them by a Labour government in March 1976 under the slogan "Ulsterization, Criminalization, Normalization."

The bourgeois press claims their conditions are self-imposed. But the reality is they are "self-imposed" only by the fervent nationalism that will not be suppressed by degradation and terror. Refusing to wear prison uniforms, the nationalists had only their blankets to cover themselves.

A vicious prison administration in attempting to break the "blanket" protest forbade going to the toilet except in uniform, and "Loyalist" prison guards refused to empty chamber pots or emptied them in the cells. It was as if hundreds of years of British colonial humiliation must be condensed in these bare cages where the "blanketmen" are forced literally to live in their own shit. Female nationalist supporters are incarcerated in equally horrendous conditions at the women's prison in Armagh. Hamilton Fish, a conservative Republican representative from New York who visited Long Kesh as part of an American Congressional delegation, found the conditions in H-Blocks to be *worse* than the "Tiger Cages" of Saigon.

The Labour government and the subsequent Tory government contend that the Republican prisoners are simple "criminals" and "murderers." Sure, just like the German generals who tried to blow up Hitler were "common criminals" and ordinary "murderers." And of course the British rulers' aims were "humanitarian" in fire bombing Dresden.

The Irish nationalist prisoners at Long Kesh and Armagh are victims of draconian laws which have been condemned even by such bourgeois institutions as Amnesty International and the European Court on Human Rights. Embodied in the Emergency Powers Act and Prevention of Terrorism Act, these laws provide for the arrest and holding incommunicado for up to seven days of anyone suspected of membership in or "support" to the Irish Republican Army (IRA) or any other groups "concerned with terrorism." During that time a suspect may not be permitted to contact lawyers, relatives or doctors. The only regular "visitors" are the hated interrogators of the Royal Ulster Constabulary who extract "confessions" under torture that are often the sole basis for conviction by special, juryless courts. 97 percent of the cases that go before these courts result in conviction and 90 percent of these convictions are based on "confessions," often uncorroborated.

The "blanketmen" are an unwanted international embarrassment for a Tory government which wants to march in step with the U.S. anti-Soviet war drive and use the upcoming evaluation of the Helsinki accords at Madrid to denounce Russian "human rights" violations.

AP

Irish nationalists on hunger strike in the infamous H-Blocks of Long Kesh prison.

Prime Minister Thatcher attempted to head off the hunger strike by having her secretary of state for Northern Ireland, Humphrey Atkins, make the cosmetic concession of agreeing to issue "civilian-style" uniforms. When rebuffed by the H-Block prisoners, Atkin's response was: "If they die, so be it."

But the Thatcher government has also met with ruthless terror the substantial support the "blanket" protests have evoked outside the prison walls. In the past five months, four prominent leaders in the campaign on behalf of the H-Block prisoners have been assassinated either by Protestant extremists or the British counterinsurgency force, the SAS. Most recently, on October 15 two gunmen entered the home of Ronnie Bunting, a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party and a special target of Orange supremacy: he comes from a Protestant family of hard, Loyalist traditions. His father was none other than Major Ronald Bunting, Ian Paisley's "commander in the field." The gunmen killed Bunting, seriously wounded his wife and killed another activist in the H-Block prisoner defense staying at the house. This did not deter solidarity with the H-Block prisoners as the most massive demonstration in years turned out in Belfast on the eve of their hunger strike chanting "Smash H-Block!"

The international Spartacist tendency calls for abolishing the "Emergency Powers Act" and "Prevention of Terrorism Act"—which are terror measures aimed at intimidating the oppressed Catholic minority—and freeing all their victims. We shed no tears for British imperialists killed by the IRA, Airey Neave, Aiken's predecessor when the Tories were in opposition, or Lord Mountbatten. But we condemn indiscriminate terror like the 1974 Birmingham pub bombing which led to the passing of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and call for programmatically based anti-sectarian workers militias to combat Orange and Green terror. We reject the IRA "Provisionals" solution of a forcible unification of the northern six counties with the southern Republic of Ireland, complete with its own Long Kesh at Portlaoise and its own Emergency Powers Act called the "Offenses Against The State Act." British out of Northern Ireland! For an Irish Workers Republic within a Socialist Federation of the British Isles! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Behind Blackpool Row

Labour Party's Phony Left Face

EXCERPTED FROM SPARTACIST BRITAIN NO. 27, NOVEMBER 1980

LONDON—From the bourgeois right to the "far left," October's Labour Party conference [in Blackpool] drew sensational responses—shudders and even hysteria in the bosses' papers; raptures of ecstasy in much of the left press. Blackpool was a "watershed," "half a revolution," indeed a new "October Revolution" with Tony Benn as V.I. Lenin. The *Times* cringed: "As a portent it is terrifying." [Prime Minister] Margaret Thatcher held the spectre of a "downhill slide towards socialism" before her assembled bluebloods in Brighton two weeks later. And *Socialist Press*, paper of the Workers Socialist League (WSL), discerned a "germ of truth" in that.

Sorry, no. A storm *is* brewing in Britain, but Blackpool was a tempest in a teapot. A vote for withdrawal from the EEC [Common Market]—the key policy victory of the "left"—was only a return to Labour's policy when last in opposition. The constitutional triumphs, primarily broadening the leadership election franchise beyond MPs [Members of Parliament], are accepted norms in such staid reformist parties as the German SPD. And James Callaghan was not kicked out for his ignominious class treachery—he resigned, an ineffectual lame duck in any case, to smooth the path of his successor amid "constitutional crisis." Not one of the would-be replacements, Benn included, offers the workers who look to Labour any more than Callaghan did: contemptuous disregard for their basic class interests in order to preserve one of the most putrescent capitalist systems on earth.

The 5-to-2 Blackpool vote on the EEC, like an indicative vote against Cruise missiles in Britain, reflected not class opposition to the anti-Soviet NATO alliance and its Common Market economic adjunct, but narrow British parochialism. The anti-Cruise motion also demanded "urgent discussions for Soviet withdrawal of the SS-20," and a motion for withdrawal from NATO took a stinging 8-to-1 defeat. Labour's "left"—and right-wingers like AUEW's Terry Duffy—opposed the EEC only in the name of chauvinism and protectionism: shielding British capitalism from foreign competition through import controls and other trappings of national autarky.

The narrow vote for an "electoral college" of MPs, constituency parties and trade-union bureaucrats to choose the party leader was decried by the *Times* as "damaging to parliamentary government." Hardly. Of course the idea that Labour MPs should have a measure of accountability to their working-class electors and trade-union backers is distasteful to the capitalists. But the Blackpool decisions, the product of much backstairs dealing and horsetrading for trade-union bloc votes, don't even strike particularly hard at the cherished autonomy of Labour MPs. Revolutionaries favour the widest democracy in such workers' organisations (e.g., doing away with the anti-communist proscriptions) in order to facilitate the struggle to expose the treacherous pro-capitalist bureaucrats. But for the Labour politicians "democracy" is a convenient cover for a power struggle on the basis of bourgeois politics.

Whoever wins [as Labour Party leader], it means little to the working class. What unites all of Labour, "left" and right, is its commitment to bourgeois parliamentary rule. Even Benn's call to abolish the House of Lords involves the creation of a thousand new Labour Peers to pass the measure and get... royal assent. As Ralph Miliband commented in his book *Parliamentary Socialism*: "Of political parties claiming socialism to be their aim the Labour Party has always been one of the most dogmatic—not about socialism but about the parliamentary system." Britain needs a revolution but nothing that happened at Blackpool was even a small step in that direction. The road to socialist revolution lies through breaking the stranglehold of all wings of Labourism on the working class and winning it to a revolutionary programme.

Blackpool illuminated the nature of Labour as a bourgeois workers party. It acted as a loyal tool of the bosses in power. Now in opposition, as always, it must "regenerate" internally through some "left" talk and a little bloodletting—all a necessary step in regaining the ability to build up and refurbish workers' illusions in "their" party. And Benn is nothing new either. He comes from a line of "lefts" like Clement Attlee, Aneurin Bevan and Harold Wilson who, when faced with the exigencies of power, demonstrated in practice their loyalty to the capitalist class.

Yet for the fake-revolutionary left, the idea of destroying the senile Labour Party is utterly absent, the idea of building it embraced. For the International Marxist Group (IMG) the ultimate crime in Blackpool was: "Labour Right Threatens Party Unity." Short of a deep split in the trade-union bureaucracy Labour right-wingers have only the Tories, Liberals or a short-lived "centre party" to go to. But who cares? Revolutionaries want to see party unity threatened and shattered, with Labour's working-class base broken from the pro-capitalist misleaders, "left" or right. "Party unity" is precisely the rationale Benn used to justify remaining in Callaghan's strikebreaking cabinet—allegiance to Labour "on the grounds that the Tory government which would succeed it if it was defeated, would be much worse."

This is the pervasive rationale for Labour cretinism. Even the left-centrist Workers Power Group which makes no claims about the "gains" of Blackpool voted for Labour in 1979 as it stood openly on a strikebreaking, wage-slashing programme and was widely discredited among the workers. Sundry fake revolutionaries who seek to cuddle up to the "left" betrayers hope it will bring them closer to the workers. It only brings them closer to the workers' reformist illusions. Trotskyists don't underestimate the depth of such illusions, which require many flexible tactics to be destroyed, including when appropriate critical support and entry, but first there has to be the revolutionary programme and the will to destroy them.

Tony (ex-Sir Anthony Wedgewood) Benn flim-flams leftists at Anti-Nazi League rock concert.

Socialist Challenge

In contrast the IMG has become a virtual press agency for Benn. Benn of course knows the measure of the IMG et al. He openly welcomes "those socialists who have got isolated in sectarian loneliness" back to Labour's bosom. But for what? Even the IMG admits, "the last thing Benn wants is a revolution." Precisely: *the last thing Benn wants is a revolution.* And he is conscious of this, and has a programme (of sorts) to prevent it. He talks now of troop withdrawal from Ireland because "violence could spread to England" and thinks loss of British power to the EEC could light "the long fuse of revolution." His "Little England" social-patriotic schemes and illusions are explicitly designed to stop that fuse from being lit.

The WSL found it "conspicuous that it was amongst the constituency delegations—most closely linked to the rank and file of the labour movement—that this new militant political current found most support" (*Socialist Press*, 15 October). Conspicuous? It's the *norm*. Constituency parties have long been a sandpit for fake-left oppositions to play in. And today a significant component of the "left" consists of petty-bourgeois radicals *moving right* (the aging "children of '68") including a gaggle of self-styled Trotskyists who could only mislead any radicalising workers they might chance upon into footslogging and canvassing for left reformism. Of course genuine Trotskyists could do work in the constituency parties, but the core of the Labour Party's strength is the unions. A strategy to split Labour must involve challenging the hold of the union bureaucrats with a class-struggle program counterposed to craftism and class treason. But the fake-lefts are incapable of this. The WSL can only counterpose to the scabbing, Labourite policies of the bureaucracy ... its own scabbing, Labourite policies.

History is littered with the forgotten initials of "revolutionary" groups who first adapted to social democracy, then joined it. That's the fate before those who hail Blackpool, as it was for the Militant and Chartist groups before them. And while the right-centrist WSL is en route, the Workers Action (WA) actually seems to have arrived. WA leader John O'Mahoney claims in his analysis of Blackpool (*Socialist Organiser*, 11 October): "Direct channels are being opened for the control by the labour movement over our representatives in Parliament and therefore, if Labour has a majority, control over Parliament." After a previous revisionist redefinition of a workers government (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat) as a Labour government possibly "resting on a parliamentary majority," this all adds up to the reformist "peaceful road to socialism." O'Mahoney called Blackpool "half a revolution: the opening half" (presumably like the Russian Revolution—sans soviets and Bolsheviks—since *Socialist Organiser*'s headline "Five Days that Shook the Labour Party" alludes to the title of John Reed's account).

To such house "Trotskyists" of social democracy, it bears repeating: a workers government in Britain will be established only through a revolutionary onslaught against the bourgeois state, Westminster and all. The Labour Party has demonstrated the bankruptcy of its claims to lead the workers for decades. What is needed is a revolutionary party to tighten the noose around its neck and break the workers once and for all from this obstacle to their emancipation. ■

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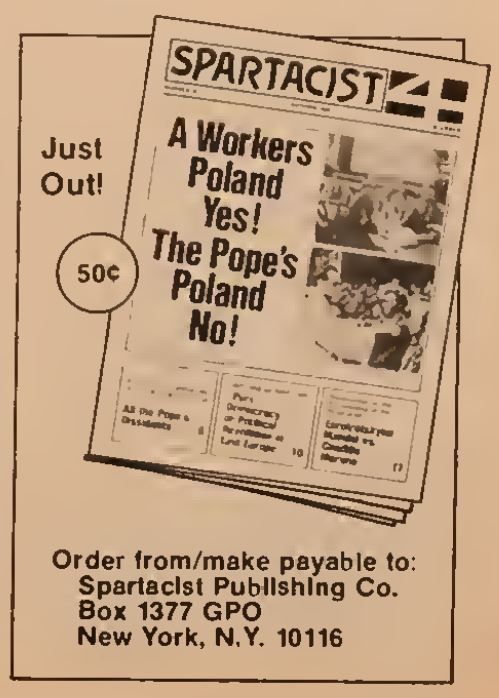

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The Heisler Case: Watersuit Backfires

FBI Informer in the SWP

A Harlem apartment building is ransacked in an early morning raid April 19. Doors are broken down, families terrorized at gunpoint, bedding and sheets ripped apart, furniture smashed. Is it the Klan? No, it's the "new" FBI searching for black radical Assata Shakur. The liberals who thought the Watergate exposures would provoke more than transient squeamishness about FBI "dirty tricks" are in for some rude shocks. Wiretaps, mail openings, burglaries, COINTELPRO "disruptions," forgeries, agent penetration all now require court warrants—except where they don't, as established by a "charter" of purposeful ambiguity. An important corollary of the bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet warmongering is a "strong state" with an "unleashed" secret police.

Meanwhile the "socialist Watersuit" of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) drags on. After seven years the suit has not been without limited victories. It has forced the government to make some damaging admissions—for instance its use of over 1,300 informers to spy on the SWP, including 300 SWP members. But the value of the suit is limited by the SWP's reformist refusal to go beyond "Freedom of Information" muckraking. The "socialist Watersuit" sows as many illusions in the capitalist state as it exposes.

Take the fight to obtain the files on 18 "representative" informers. The SWP chased Attorney-General Griffin Bell around the courtroom, even getting him held in contempt of court. The SWP agreed that their counsel would keep the information, including the informants' names, secret. As we wrote at the time:

> "By allowing its attorneys to be legally barred from conveying this 'privileged information' on the FBI even to the SWP itself, the SWP places its own lawyers in the peculiar position of covering up the government's continuing war on the left or facing charges of contempt of court."
>
> —"Bell Shields FBI Finks," *WV* No. 213, 11 August 1978

Who says these informers spied only on the SWP? The SWP had an obligation to use its suit not only to get publicity and monetary damages for itself, but to help the rest of the workers movement defend itself against FBI finks by disclosing publicly whatever information it managed to wring from the government. Keeping the FBI's dirty secrets vitiates a central purpose of such a suit against the government.

But the SWP's willingness to be complicit in the FBI cover-up did not pay off even in the narrowest sense. Bell's citation was overturned on appeal and a new doctrine of "informer privilege" established. (This "privilege" has now been used to free FBI agent Gary Rowe, who infiltrated the Klan in the 1960s and self-admittedly participated in the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo.)

Since the files would not be turned over to the SWP, the judge, Thomas Griesa, appointed former New York State judge Charles Breitel to study the 18 files and prepare a report. The report, released to the public in May, implicated the FBI in "bag jobs" and violent provocations against the SWP. It also said no FBI informer had penetrated the SWP National Committee higher than as alternate.

The exposure of one Ed Heisler, elected a full member of the SWP NC in 1977 and 1979, as a paid FBI informer revealed that the FBI had brought off yet another cover-up.

Heisler: "Bill of Rights Informer"?

According to the SWP internal bulletin (*Party Organizer* Vol. 4, No. 2, July 1980), on June 9 Heisler sent the SWP a letter admitting he had worked for the FBI between 1967 and 1971. As the SWP correctly notes (*Militant*, 12 September), Heisler probably "was an agent when he joined our movement in 1960 and...continued his disruptive activities right up until the day he acted, for reasons unknown to us, to reveal his cop role to the party."

Heisler was for many years the main trade-union spokesman of the SWP. He headed their railroad fraction, for many years virtually the only organized SWP fraction among industrial workers, and was a founder of the United Transportation Union's Right to Vote Committee. Heisler's work was held up as a model of how to adapt the "single issue strategy" of the class-collaborationist antiwar movement to the unions. Heisler was used as a club by the SWP majority against critics like the Proletarian Orientation Tendency who complained about the party's exclusive preoccupation with petty-bourgeois radical movements and called for a turn to the industrial proletariat. In 1974 he was SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois and in 1975 went to work on the staff of the SWP presidential campaign. He was first elected to the NC in 1975 as an alternate, making full at the next conference.

Why did Heisler turn himself in? In a report to last August's SWP educational conference at Oberlin, the fatuous claim is made that "Our turn to basic industry helped unmask Heisler" (*Party Organizer* Vol. 4, No. 3, September 1980). A more plausible hypothesis is suggested in Larry Seigle's report to the same conference:

> "If what Heisler told us is true, he was the perfect informer. That is, the informer who never did anything other than what the FBI admits and says its informer program is designed to do. He was simply a source of information—not a provocateur, not a disrupter. He would be the ideal 'Bill of Rights Informer'—if his story was true."

Seigle does not draw the conclusion. Heisler may even have been instructed to turn himself in. The "perfect informer," the human embodiment of the "new" FBI, could be a government exhibit in the SWP "Watersuit." Heisler's self-exposure is a gain for the workers movement, as is the exposure of any fink. But it might be a mixed blessing.

SWP: "Bill of Rights Socialists"

Whether or not Heisler was the "Bill of Rights informer," the organization he penetrated on the FBI's behalf is certainly a party of "Bill of Rights socialists." The SWP's 1976 presidential campaign promised:

> "We propose expanding the Bill of Rights in the Constitution to include protection from the new problems created by present-day capitalist society."

Their proposed amendments included "The right of workers to decide economic and social policy." The SWP would surely like to forget the words of its founding Declaration in 1938:

> "The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods is an illusion."

Militant

FBI informer Ed Heisler.

It is precisely such illusions that the SWP has propagated in its suit against the FBI. Faced with massive unexcitement over its "Working-Class Bill of Rights," the SWP now hopes to ride the court case which has made a somewhat bigger splash into the annals of constitutional history. Seigle at Oberlin described the SWP's goals:

> "First, we want them to affirm in court that what we advocate, what we say, the ideas that we stand for are legal and protected by the Bill of Rights. This includes our resolutions, our campaign platforms, the ideas we promulgate, the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Castro, and so on.
>
> "Second, they must agree in court that what we do is legal, that is putting the ideas into practice, here and abroad. Building revolutionary parties is an activity protected by the First Amendment...."

To make "building revolutionary parties" an activity protected by the First Amendment, that activity must be emptied of any real revolutionary content, or even pretense. Such a party, built exclusively "by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods" and certainly not in the class struggle (which is after all sometimes violent and sometimes is driven outside the bounds of bourgeois legality), is not a revolutionary party.

The SWP does not really believe that the American Constitution is going to legalize proletarian revolution. What it really wants is to establish that *it* is no longer the party formed in 1938 with the perspective of leading the proletariat to its class dictatorship. It wants to establish that despite its sometime (and decreasing) use of socialist rhetoric it is no threat to the established capitalist order.

In his Oberlin speech Seigle says of the secret police:

> "This undemocratic, repressive mechanism is part of the real content of capitalist democracy. That is why the workers movement must constantly fight for its rights against this mechanism, fight to uncover it and get out the truth about it."

The role of the working class is reduced to muckraking rather than the fight to abolish the capitalist state and its repressive institutions through proletarian revolution, a fight in which the SWP has no faith. These reformists see their role no differently than did the Watergate reformers like racist Democrat Sam Ervin. What they want from the court of Nixon appointee Griesa is to establish that the FBI chose the wrong target (like with Watergate) when it went after the legal, peaceful, "Bill of Rights socialist" SWP.

Cleaning Up SWP History

Sheppard's affidavit explicitly stated:

> "The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity....
>
> "The policies and facts outlined above are in no way altered or contravened by anything that may appear in the writings of such revolutionary figures as Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Frederick Douglass, Eugene V. Debs and others."

We hope the SWP has no members among New York transit workers, much less coal miners, who engaged in an "illegal activity" when they went on strike. (No wonder scab Andrew Pulley was the SWP presidential candidate.) Apparently the miners and transit workers would be subject not only to the Taylor Law or Taft-Hartley but also to disciplinary action from the SWP.

What Sheppard is worried about in the Marxist classics or colonial revolutionary Patrick Henry is the uncompromising defense of revolutionary violence. Take that out and you are left with "Marxism" à la Eduard Bernstein, Santiago Carrillo, Michael Harrington and Barry Sheppard. Leon Trotsky would certainly be expelled from today's SWP for his spirited defense of the 1905 armed uprising. Trotsky told the *tsarist* courts:

> "Did the Soviet recognize its right to employ violence, repressions, in certain instances, through one or another of its organs? My answer to a question posed in this general form is—Yes!"

In the 1941 trial of 18 SWP leaders and Minneapolis Teamsters under the Smith Act which bans advocacy of revolution, James Cannon was careful to avoid phrases which could be distorted by an eager prosecution. He nevertheless used the courtroom as a platform for socialist propaganda. He gave a powerful defense of the Trotskyist principle of defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialist powers and the need for workers defense guards to crush the fascists "before it is too late." (Contrast this with the present-day SWP's polite "debate" with Klan terrorists!) When pressed on the question of violence in the proletarian revolution, Cannon unambiguously replied: "It is the opinion of all Marxists that it will be accompanied by violence." He placed the blame for the violence, of course, upon the capitalist class which will not willingly give up its wealth and power.

The SWP did more than verbally repudiate revolutionary violence to woo the federal judges. In the early days of the suit, right-wing journalists mounted a "terrorist"-baiting witchhunt against the United Secretariat, the international group to which the SWP claims "fraternal relations." The SWP responded to this witchhunt by conducting one of its own. More than 100 supporters of the United Secretariat's majority tendency, organized in the SWP as the Internationalist Tendency (IT), were without a trial "removed from membership." Thus a Smith Act rendered toothless by judicial precedent since the McCarthy era is alive and well in the SWP when it comes to dealing with "comrades" who might tarnish its image. Unfortunately for the IT, the same could not be said for the Sixth Amendment. The internal bulletins of the IT expulsion soon showed up in court, including documents internal to the IT and a list of 32

pseudonyms. Judge Griesa showed his appreciation:

> "There was never anything in my view beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible implication of violence in the United States.... In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been basically eliminated."

When Seigle boasts that "The one thing we have not done is give them names of party members," it seems he excludes oppositions expelled and fingered as fair game for FBI persecution.

"Heisler Disruption Program"

But let us return to Heisler. The SWP makes a great hullaballoo over having finally uncovered the "Heisler disruption program." In what did that program consist? Was it dirty work in the union movement, where he had considerable authority? How many militants lost their jobs because of him? Was it his exploitation of various SWP campaigns to finger members and supporters of the party? Was it his access to the organization's highest bodies? Not according to Seigle:

> "The more we learn about Heisler's actions as an agent provocateur in our ranks, the more it becomes clear that promoting a breakdown in our policy against use by party members of illegal drugs was his major disruption angle."

Apparently Heisler was guilty of claiming that the party's ban on pot smoking was overcautious and not enforced on the party leadership. One can imagine that an organization which made its major recruitment from the "youth radicalization" generation of the late 1960s, on a program of "self-determination for everyone," might be having trouble turning its comrades into Jack Barnes' image of "socialist workers" who defend anti-gay "age of consent" laws, enforce drug laws with the vengeance of a nark and try to convince co-workers of the virtues of the Iranian mullahs.

Of course any socialist organization must take measures necessary to defend itself including conforming to necessary bourgeois legalities, even where particular laws are repressive. This is particularly the case with drug laws, given the large-scale use of "illegal" drugs and the corresponding selective enforcement of drug laws especially against radical and black organizations. But it is also the duty of every socialist to fight laws which are socially repressive and discriminatory.

The Spartacist League is well known for its uncompromising opposition to punitive state meddling in what are essentially private, consensual activities. In the days when the SWP was still quietly dropping from membership any homosexuals it uncovered in the party, the SL was known to be a militant defender of homosexuals' rights. We also firmly oppose government sanctions against innocuous pursuits like pot smoking. To us the operative difference between homosexuality and the various other activities which the state bans in the name of conventional moralism—pornography, drugs, gambling, etc.—is that the latter are essentially trivial activities while so-called "deviant" sex is a necessary part of life for homosexuals and others. Hence we expect our comrades, whose politics make them specially vulnerable, to eschew pleasurable luxuries to stay out of trouble, whereas we do not expect them to renounce their very sexuality. But that is all. It is not our business to approve or disapprove of any of these pursuits, and we oppose all attempts to legislate what are essentially private matters.

It goes without saying that the SWP does not approach the question in this spirit. In fact, far from calling for the abolition of laws against marijuana, they are going after their own membership with a spirit that recalls Carrie Nation. Seigle's report to the branches proclaims: "the next time someone in this party invites you to go smoke dope, you have to assume he or she is a cop. There will be no other assumption you can make."

The SWP vendetta against pot smokers seems to constitute the totality of SWP self-protection. Seigle told the Oberlin conference:

> "We did not know in 1973 that the FBI was routinely—just about on a weekly schedule—burglarizing the headquarters of the party and homes of SWP members.... We had never heard of the term 'mail cover,' nor had we any idea what it consisted of or how it worked. We had no indication that the FBI tape recorded all of our conversations...."

What did Seigle think he had for a ruling class, Christopher Robin? "We suspected," says Seigle of the burglaries, "but we didn't know." It's hard to believe anybody, let alone an ostensibly socialist organization, could be burglarized on "just about a weekly schedule" without taking steps at least to find out for sure.

Of course, the SWP is quick to point out that the Bolshevik party had a police agent, one Roman Malinovsky, on its Central Committee. With the vast resources at its disposal, the capitalist government can place and maintain agents in even the most vigilant organization. Seigle sagely observes that nothing is more corrosive to comradely trust than paranoid agent-hunting, and indeed agents freely engage in agent-baiting, both to disrupt the organization and to "prove" their own loyalty. Seigle refers to the obvious horrible example, the Healyite Workers League, which combines fealty to madman Islamic despot Colonel Qaddafi of Libya with psychotic FBI-baiting of the SWP.

But the SWP uses Malinovsky and the Healyites to claim that no measures can be taken to protect a socialist organization from cop penetration except strident and puritanical prostration before bourgeois legality. In their social-democratic hearts the SWP reformists seem to believe the government will leave them alone if only they say: Look, we're non-violent, we even threw out oppositionists who advocated guerrilla warfare in Latin America; look, we're legal, our members don't even smoke pot. How wrong this reformist faith in bourgeois legality is has been demonstrated by the revelations forced by their own court suit.

And now the SWP claims the FBI "disruption program" boils down to enticing SWP members to use marijuana! To claim that this was the main purpose for which the FBI used this highly placed informant in the SWP is tantamount to a cover-up by the SWP. The SWP owes the rest of the workers movement a thorough investigation and public accounting of all of Heisler's nefarious activities during the 20 years he was a member of their party. What about the persistent rumors that Heisler embezzled money from the antiwar movement? Can it be that cynical disinterest at the time in looking into charges of crimes against the movement prevented the exposure of Heisler over a decade ago? SWP: Open the Heisler File!

Witchhunt in Houston

While cautioning against an agent-baiting witchhunt, the SWP intends to use the Heisler affair as license for selective witchhunting. The internal bulletin on the Heisler exposure also contains a Control Commission report on a purge in Houston, ratified by the SWP NC on May 27. The Houston SWP branch has long been a hotbed of political oppositions, including the Proletarian Orientation and Internationalist Tendencies. One of the effects of this purge was to finally get rid of Debby Leonard, a well-known SWP oppositionist and USec majority supporter.

The purge centered on the expulsion of four members for squabbling over housing arrangements and trying to deal on their own with the psychological breakdown of a fifth member. While acknowledging that "none of the four comrades expelled by the Houston branch was accused of using drugs themselves," nevertheless the Control Commission upheld their expulsions for "disloyalty" in not informing the branch leadership that their comrade's breakdown may have involved the use of drugs. The bulletin creates a sinister amalgam between the Houston purge and the Heisler "disruption campaign."

Both the Control Commission report and the related document, "Loyalty and Party Membership," appeal to the 1965 resolution, "The Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party" as providing the criteria for party loyalty. This resolution was put forward to justify after the fact and codify as law the bureaucratic expulsion of the founding cadres of the Spartacist League, the then Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP. The RT was a disciplined left oppositional tendency which, in spite of many provocations by the SWP majority, conducted its fight against the SWP's deepening revisionism entirely within a democratic-centralist framework. Therefore the RT had to be expelled not for any breach of discipline but for its ideas. The 1965 resolution admits the expulsion took place without any proof of disloyal acts:

> "They seemed to believe the party would have to submit to their wrecking operation until and unless specific acts of disloyalty could be proved against them.... With or without proof of specific acts, the party has the right, and its leadership the duty, to stop the self-indicted factional raiders who were out to wreck our movement."

While the resolution claims that (1) "The right to organize tendencies and factions is safeguarded," the paragraphs following explain that (2) factions are by their very formation disloyal—and, of course, (3) disloyal comrades are expelled! A neat bureaucratic "syllogism"!

The ominous invocation of the 1965 resolution, the Houston purge and the treatment of the Heisler affair lay the basis for further witchhunts and the sinister injection of agent-baiting. Left over lifestyle radicals, disgruntled workerists, critics of any kind better beware.

Their Methods and Ours

The Seigle report made to SWP branches in the aftermath of Heisler's confession (*Party Organizer*, Vol. 4, No. 2, July 1980) ends with a veiled polemic against any who might have gotten bored with the interminable court case: "We are entering a new, exciting and crucial phase in this suit, in which things are going to move more rapidly than they have for the past few years...." The report concludes by criticizing anti-FBI suits which were settled out of court, a point made at much greater length in the subsequent Oberlin speech (*Militant*, 12 September) which attacks the ACLU, Jane Fonda and the Quakers for agreements that sanctify FBI spying—as if the SWP agreement on "privileged access" did not do essentially the same thing.

The SWP sees a big difference between in-court and out-of-court because they are "judiciary cretinists." They want the courts to modify the bourgeois state so it will work in favor of the working class. Revolutionaries understand that so long as the ruling class holds state power, they don't have to make too many concessions to "playing fair." Losing a suit for damages is a public humiliation and can help deter them from whatever are "excesses" at a particular moment. In any case what counts isn't in-court or out-of-court but who wins and who pays.

The SWP is probably particularly touchy about its suit because of the victory of Jane Margolis, a militant phone worker known for her opposition to her union's support to the racist, strikebreaking Democrats and a member of the Militant Action Caucus which is supported in the press of the Spartacist League. Elected to the 1979 CWA national convention, Margolis planned to protest the union's having brought in Jimmy Carter to give the keynote speech. Before she could take the floor, she was mugged by the Secret Service, handcuffed and dragged from the convention floor.

Margolis sued the Secret Service for damages. Her purpose and that of the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (the defense group centered among CWA members) was to hamper through exposure and protest the spy agencies' exercise of their job—persecuting labor, minorities and the left, in this instance, directly repressing socialist activism in the unions. More particularly, the Committee aimed to scandalize the Secret Service for mugging a union delegate to politically bodyguard the American monarch, and to beat back the government's contentions: that Jane Margolis constituted an unspecified "threat" to the president justifying illegal seizure; that Margolis and the political party she supports must be criminals and terrorists; that Jimmy Carter and his class belong at union conventions; that "reds" don't, even if elected by their co-workers to represent the union.

The broad support for Margolis among unionists and others soon forced the government to settle, with a public apology backed up by $3,500 cash. Given its attachment to court cases the SWP ought to attack Margolis for accepting any settlement short of a constitutional amendment, but can't very well do so since out of petty sectarianism the SWP never supported the Margolis suit in the first place.

The things that were done to the SWP—but remember, only a pale reflection of the monstrosities done to the pro-Moscow Communist Party and its members for many, many decades—are outrageous. We hope they can get the government to say it's sorry for the "excesses" of the past, thereby creating a less favorable climate for the witchhunts of the future. But looking at the present, and seeing a more complex reality than the endless series of "victories" inevitably discerned by the SWP, one has to wonder. ■

[illegible] ter the [illegible] as an FBI informer.]

• • •

I first want to read the letter sent by Edward Heisler to the party on June 9:

"This is to inform you that I was a paid informer for the Federal Bureau of Investigation until 1971. I provided the FBI with information and documents concerning the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, anti-Vietnam war organizations and other groups. On my initiative I ended all relations and contact with the FBI after functioning as an informer for about five years.

"I assume that the attorneys representing the Socialist Workers Party in your lawsuit will request copies of all FBI records concerning me as part of the discovery process before the case goes to trial. I have no objections to the release of all records and other information possessed by the FBI that pertains to me which your attorneys may request in: "Socialist Workers Party, et al. v. The Attorney General et al. (U.S.D.C., S.D. New York), Civil [illegible]

—SWP Party Organizer Vol. 4, No. 2, July 1980

Gorgoni/Contact

Religion & Reaction

By Joseph Seymour

Hundreds of thousands of people were burned at the stake, tortured to death, massacred in religious wars to achieve freedom of conscience in the Western world. The separation of church and state, won against the fanatical, violent resistance of pope, priest and pastor, was one of the great attainments of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That organized religion was an enemy of human freedom was central

PART ONE OF TWO

to the worldview of a Maximilien Robespierre, a Tom Paine, even a Thomas Jefferson.

But today the understanding that religion is reactionary is being challenged on the left, including by self-styled "Marxists." First in Iran, now in Poland, various fake-lefts have maintained that the traditional church (Islamic Shi'ite and Roman Catholic respectively) can play a progressive, even a revolutionary, role. In this sense the opportunistic left shows an ideological regression similar to the bourgeoisie in the imperialist epoch.

As the now-degenerate bourgeoisie feels itself threatened by the revolutionary masses, it desperately seeks to mobilize traditional religion on its behalf. Whereas once the monarchist Metternich made a holy alliance with the papacy against "Red Republicanism," so today the Metternichs of the White House and Pentagon have resurrected an alliance with the Vatican against "atheistic Communism." In Asia and Africa mullahs, lamas, even witch doctors find themselves on the CIA payroll as once they were endowed by kings, sheiks and tribal chiefs. In the 1950s the high priest of the Cold War, John Foster Dulles, exulted that:

> "...the religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious virtues. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find and develop it."
>
> —quoted in Paul A. Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (1957)

And where the imperialist bourgeoisie sets the pace, their kept "socialists" run along. For decades British Labour governments, for example, have supported this or that Islamic faction in an effort to maintain perfidious Albion's diminishing influence in the Near East.

Where the big-time reformists—the Sir Harold Wilsons and Helmut Schmidts—go, the little opportunists on the left are now following. In the past few years much of the left has become defenders of religious reaction, first in Iran, now in Poland. Practically the entire left enthused over the "Islamic Revolution" in Iran. When we demanded "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs!", warning that the Islamic opposition to the bloody tyrant aimed at imposing a clerical-reactionary dictatorship, Ayatollah Khomeini's cheerleaders in the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) howled that our warnings were "chauvinist." Not long after the SWP's *Militant* boldly proclaimed "Victory in Iran!", however, its Iranian comrades were sitting on death row in Khomeini's jails, accused of "satanic Communism."

That was bad enough. But now, reflecting a renewed anti-Soviet Cold War drive, much of the left is acting as lawyers for clerical-nationalist reaction in Poland. Leading West European pseudo-Trotskyist centrist Ernest Mandel last year came out for a Catholic party in Poland, a party inspired by Pope Wojtyla and Zbigniew Brzezinski. And Mandel's SWP co-religionists defend the demand for broadcasting Catholic mass over state radio, disingenuously claiming, "The separation of church and state is not at issue here." In fact the SWP's Fred Feldman says, "I'd like to see a daily Wyszynski Hour on television" (see "SWP: Lawyers for Clerical Reaction," *WV* No. 267, 31 October).

Thus while strike leaders in Gdansk parade around with a crucifix, celebrating mass in the Lenin Shipyards and holding private audiences with Archbishop Wyszynski, Mandel's international conglomerate, the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) stresses the importance of defending not only the right to strike,

> "...but also freedom of assembly, of the press, and *unrestricted freedom of religion*. Far from criticizing or opposing the access of the church to radio and television won by the Gdansk strikers, we welcome this...."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press* 27 October

The USec statement even backhandedly admits that this is supporting a privileged status for the Roman Catholic church, and they ardently defend the clergy and their "dissident" supporters: "...the accusations concerning the role of the church and of petty-bourgeois forces in the strikes and the anti-bureaucratic opposition are pure hypocrisy."

Since its inception two decades ago, the Spartacist tendency has fought for the principles of Leninism and Trotskyism against various revisionists, centrally on the need for proletarian communist leadership. But today as these same revisionists kneel before Imam Khomeini and Pope Wojtyla, we find ourselves having to defend the elementary bourgeois-democratic principle of the separation of church and state and to combat with renewed force "the opium of the masses."

Quadrangle

Paris communards topple statue of Napoleon, declare the end of the old governmental and clerical world.

Jacobinism as "Anti-Christ"

That from the onset of the Great French Revolution the Roman Catholic church was the most fanatical, most diehard enemy of democracy and social progress in Europe was almost a truism for nineteenth-century radicals or even moderate liberals like John Stuart Mill. This was not simply an ideological lag—a matter of enlightened versus traditionalist or superstitious elements. The alliance of religion and reaction was essentially a *class question* arising from the impact of ascendant capitalism on a largely agrarian society and its feudal-derived political order. As Engels wrote in his introduction to the English edition of "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" (1892),

> "...the great international centre of feudalism was the Roman Catholic Church. It united the whole of feudalised Western Europe, in spite of all internal wars, into one grand political system.... It surrounded feudal institutions with the halo of divine consecration. It had organised its own hierarchy on the feudal model, and, lastly, it was itself by far the most powerful feudal lord, holding, as it did, fully one-third of the soil of the Catholic world. Before profane feudalism could be successfully attacked in each country and in detail, this, its sacred central organisation, had to be destroyed."

The bourgeois-democratic revolution, promising the liberation of individual capacity and the rational reorganization of society, was produced through an alliance of liberal capitalists and the urban artisan-proletariat. Subsequently during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the working class in the major European cities (and also in North America) absorbed to some degree the scientific discoveries and rational materialist outlook which made possible the industrial revolution. By contrast, the peasantry remained mired in medieval squalor and ignorance, what Marx called "the idiocy of rural life." Paradoxically, where the bourgeois-democratic revolution succeeded in giving land to the tiller (as in France), this further conservatized the peasantry and so strengthened the social base for clerical-reactionary movements.

The conflict between radical, working-class Paris and the backward priest-ridden countryside was a dominant theme of French history from the

Jacobin dictatorship of 1793-94 through the Revolution of 1848, the Commune of 1871 and down to the Dreyfus affair at the turn of this century. The great nineteenth-century French revolutionary Louis Auguste Blanqui regarded as polar social types the atheistic, radical Paris worker and the brutalized, priest-dominated Breton peasant.

One of the most serious internal threats to the Great French Revolution was the 1793 peasant uprising in the Vendée, led by "refractory" priests, those who had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the revolutionary-democratic constitution. The nature of this uprising was summed up in a report by two local Jacobins who managed to escape:

> "All these fellows shouted, 'Long Live the King and our Good Priests! We want our King, our priests and the old regime!' And they wanted to kill off all the Patriots [revolutionary democrats]...."
>
> —quoted in Charles Tilly, *The Vendée* (1964)

Fortunately for us, Robespierre, Marat and their colleagues were made of stern stuff (unlike such pitiful self-styled "socialists" as Ernest Mandel and Jack Barnes). After the suppression of the clerical-monarchist uprising in the Vendée, revolutionary terror was applied to the maximum in the region. One of the agents of the Jacobin-dominated Convention could report back:

> "Another kind of event seems to have diminished the number of priests; ninety of those we call Refractories were closed up in a boat on the Loire. I have just learned, and the news is quite certain, that they have all perished in the river."
>
> —quoted in *op. cit.*

However, when the era of the French Revolution was ended in 1815 through an alliance of British capitalism and Russian tsarism, the Catholic church was able to avenge itself on the partisans of "liberty, equality and fraternity." There was no more extreme advocate of the restoration of monarchical absolutism than the papacy. Compared to Gregory XVI even Prince Metternich looked like a parlor pink.

The liberal French Revolution of 1830 and the Polish national uprising the following year produced a tremor of fear among the crowned heads of Europe. In 1832 Gregory XVI responded with the papal encyclical *Mirari vos*. A more extreme statement of black reaction would be hard to find, indeed hard to conceive of. It denounced "freedom of conscience" as a "delirium," condemned freedom of the press and categorically rejected any separation of church and state. This papal encyclical concludes with a hysterical attack on "red revolution" with vituperation that a Goebbels would have been hard put to outdo:

> "Thus when the sacred bonds of religion are once contemptuously cast aside, bonds which alone preserve kingdoms and maintain the power and vigor of authority, public order is seen to disappear, sovereignty perish, and all legitimate power is menaced by an ever-approaching revolution-abyss of bottomless miseries, which these conspiring societies have especially dug, in which heresy and sects have so to speak vomited as if into a sewer all that their bosom holds of license, sacrilege and blasphemy."
>
> —reproduced in Anne Fremantle, ed., *The Papal Encyclicals in Historical Context* (1956)

A contemporary British liberal Catholic historian observes critically that the papacy supported monarchical absolutism even when this meant the persecution of the Catholic faithful:

> "The Catholic Poles were told that they must remain quietly obedient to their autocratic and foreign sovereign, the Tsar, although he was denying the necessary liberties of their faith. The Catholic Belgians were told to obey the Calvinist King of Holland, although he was doing the same.... Everywhere the first principle was legitimacy, and this generally meant absolutism...."
>
> —E.E.Y. Hales, *Revolution and Papacy, 1769-1846* (1960)

When monarchical absolutism was dismantled in most of Europe in the wake of the revolutions of 1848, the papacy (along with Russian tsarism) remained the implacable enemy of any liberalization of society. Pius IX's 1864 *Syllabus of Errors* is a cry of defiance against the modern world. Chief among these "errors" was the idea that: "The Roman Pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself, and come to terms with progress, liberalism and modern civilization.' The enunciation of papal infallibility at the 1870 Vatican Council was a kind of ideological compensation for the loss of the papal states to the Italian *risorgimento*. Deprived by the bourgeois-democratic revolution of his absolute political power over the people of central Italy, Pius IX claimed absolute power over the minds of Catholics everywhere.

All nineteenth-century radicals saw in organized religion, especially the Catholic church, the most intransigent enemy of the liberating principles of the Great French Revolution. Blanqui maintained that there were only two real parties in France, Jesuits and Socialists. The national-democratic revolutionary Giuseppe Garibaldi called the papacy "the cancer of Italy" and plotted to kidnap Pius IX. And the young Marx could write in 1843 that "criticism of religion is the premise of all criticism."

The Commune and the Execution of the Archbishop of Paris

In this same period Marx also spoke of exchanging the arms of criticism for the criticism of arms. In this sense the most effective criticism of religion was undertaken by the most important of nineteenth-century revolutions, the Paris Commune of March-May 1871.

The defeat of France at the hands of the Prussian army in 1870 toppled the Third Empire of Louis Napoleon (who managed to get himself captured at the historic battle of Sedan). A popular uprising in Paris allowed a claque of right-wing bourgeois republicans to form a provisional government and organize a constituent assembly, which met in the southern city of Bordeaux, safe from both the Prussian army and Paris proletariat. Paris elected socialists and radical republicans, but the peasant masses returned a clerical-monarchist majority, which set up a government headed by the right-wing bourgeois Adolphe Thiers. One of Thiers' first acts was to order the disarming of the largely proletarian Paris National Guard. At this the Guard rebelled and drove Thiers and his men out of Paris. Thus was born the Paris Commune.

The founding declaration of the Commune stated that the revolution "marks the end of the old governmental and clerical world." What this meant was explained by Marx in his classic homage to the Commune, *The Civil War in France:*

> "Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the 'parson-power,' by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the apostles."

When the Thiers government, now based in the suburb of Versailles, began to advance troops against revolutionary Paris, the Communards took 50 or so bourgeois hostages, most prominent among them Archbishop Darboy. Initially they offered to exchange all these hostages for the imprisoned Auguste Blanqui, but Thiers categorically refused. When the end came as the counterrevolutionary army broke through the defenders and butchered the workers and their families, the hostages were executed as threatened.

Parenthetically, we should note that Darboy was personally far less of a reactionary and criminal than, say, Hungary's Cardinal Mindszenty, late hero of "the free world." Darboy was a liberal Catholic (a Gallican) and may well have been to the left of the present

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KARL MARX ON CHRISTIANITY

The social principles of Christianity justified the slavery of antiquity, glorified the serfdom of the Middle Ages and are capable, in case of need, of defending the oppression of the proletariat, even if with somewhat doleful grimaces.

The social principles of Christianity preach the necessity of a ruling and an oppressed class, and for the latter all they have to offer is the pious wish that the former may be charitable....

The social principles of Christianity declare all the vile acts of the oppressors against the oppressed to be either a just punishment for original sin and other sins, or trials which the Lord, in his infinite wisdom, ordains for the redeemed.

The social principles of Christianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, submissiveness and humbleness, in short, all the qualities of the rabble, and the proletariat, which will not permit itself to be treated as rabble, needs its courage, its self-confidence, its pride and its sense of independence even more than its bread.

The social principles of Christianity are sneaking and hypocritical, and the proletariat is revolutionary.

So much for the social principles of Christianity.

—Karl Marx,
"The Communism of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*"
(September 1847)

Bolshevik poster, "Comrade Lenin sweeps the earth of filth."

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

could be persuaded to vote as a bloc for the "lesser evil" against the choice of the KKK. As for the new Jewish Republican Zionists, they are likely to be in for a surprise from the party of John Connally and the "sun belt" oil interests.

Life After Reagan

With the collapse of the Democratic Party/labor coalition, the Republicans have become sneakier than they used to be. For generations they campaigned rather openly as the party of big business while the Democrats falsely claimed to be the party of working people and minorities. Now, however, even the Republicans can temper their Chamber of Commerce line with some small-town nostalgic populist rhetoric. "We used to be the party of big business," Reagan said, "but now we are the party of Main Street." But nothing. The Republicans are still the enemies of blacks and labor—as is the other main capitalist party, the Democrats.

Will the Reagan government simply be a repeat of the abysmal Carter years? No. The crisis of the U.S. economy will continue to deepen. Life under the dogmatic reactionary Reagan will be worse. More ideological. More Hobbesian. Closer to the natural state of capitalist decay—poorer, shorter, nastier and more brutish. We now face a government with Reagan as the chairman of the board and patriotic schmaltz salesman for TV-side chats. Former NATO commander Alexander Haig gets to stroke the nuclear trigger again and some of the old Nixonomics boys are back, with a few fringy "supply side" cranks for window dressing. Workers at U.S. Steel's Gary Works looked at the roster of Reagan's "transition team" and easily picked out the "Secretary of Higher Prices" and "Secretary of No T.R.A." [Trade Readjustment Act layoff compensation] and so forth.

All the Reagan talk about unleashing the great American capitalist productive machine is nonsense. What has shackled this "great machine" from the point of view of these reactionary ideologues? Welfare? Laze-about bureaucrats in Washington? All of the federal government's non-military expenditures don't add up to even 55 percent of the war budget. Even if they try to fiddle around with the economy, there is not a whole lot anybody in the White House or Congress can do. Bill Buckley and Paul Laxalt may not believe it, but the U.S. hasn't fallen victim to welfare-state "creeping socialism." The U.S. is not England, where Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher can at least try to cut away at the nationalized industries propped up by Labour. Nor is it Chile, where the political costs of a brutal austerity program can be borne by a military junta that doesn't have to worry about the next election.

The Republican Party's myth of the reindustrialization of America now meets reality. When Reagan says he's going to "put America to work again," he means repeal the minimum wage, an attack on the entire labor movement designed to keep the ghettos safe for McDonald's high profit margin. When he says he's going to get the housing industry "on its feet," he means repeal the 1937 Davis-Bacon Act guaranteeing union wages and work rules on federally financed construction sites. He talks, like George Wallace, about "getting government off our backs." And what he means is cutting social services for the ghettos, cutting taxes for the corporations, getting union-won safety requirements off the backs of the bosses and getting the state on the backs of women who want abortions.

On Wall Street, Reagan's Chamber of Commerce "free enterprise" sermons and "supply side" nostrums are dismissed as the rhetorical cover for lower business taxes. They know the problems of the economy are not just going to go away. Liberal economist John Kenneth Galbraith (doubtless a bit miffed that the Democrats are being blamed for economic problems over which they had little control) quipped that if Reagan can cure the country's economic ills it will only confirm what is already suspected—that god is a Republican.

Wall Street prices soared when Reagan won, but more significant was the fact that interest rates were being raised at the same time in the anticipation of more, not less, inflation. Although 60 percent of the electorate who said they regarded inflation as the No. 1 economic problem voted for Reagan, one thing that's certain about Reagan's stated economic programs is that they are inflationary. In fact, if he gets both his maximum military spending proposals and his maximum tax cuts through Congress (though this is highly doubtful), we could end up with a 30 percent annual rate of inflation within his first year in office. No competent bourgeois economist or financier takes seriously the harebrained "supply side" notion that a cut in the tax rate will produce an equivalent increase in revenue by stimulating greater work effort. The latest *Business Week* (17 November) spoke for the capitalist class when it warned that a 30 percent tax cut in three years (the Kemp-Roth bill) "would be violently inflationary unless tax cuts are matched by dollar-for-dollar spending cuts." And given Reagan's commitment to military superiority over the Russians *über alles*, that is out of the question. The ultimate "solution" to the bourgeoisie's economic dilemma is, of course, imperialist war.

"When Did the Cold War Ever End?"

Which brings us to Reagan's (and Carter's) other main target, the Soviet Union. It is axiomatic that U.S. presidential candidates, whether liberal or conservative, move toward the political center after being elected. But in banking on this conventional wisdom it appears that Soviet leaders are pushing the astounding idea that Reagan's election was...a victory for "détente"! According to a TASS dispatch:

> "...the voters rejected the provocative stand [of the Carter administration] in respect to detente, demonstrating their understanding of the irrefutable fact that not a single question can now be resolved along the lines of the arms race."
>
> —quoted in *Washington Post*, 6 November

It's hardly the first time we have heard such dangerously wishful thinking from Moscow. In 1977 the Soviet press agency hailed the return of the Democrats to the White House as a big step toward "the removal of all nuclear weapons from the earth." So Jimmy Carter was the "peace-loving statesman"—but in the next four years he brought the world closer to nuclear holocaust than at any time since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. And he paved the way for Ronald Reagan.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin suffer from chronic détente illusions—the utopian-pacifistic misconception that they can work out a live-and-let-live deal with imperialism, whose constant goal is to overthrow the revolutionary conquests of the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. But the idea of Ronald Reagan as a "dove" takes the cake. This is Mr. "Peace-Through-Strength," who campaigned on a platform calling for U.S. "military superiority" over the Soviet Union and wants to abolish the word "détente" from the English vocabulary. In an interview with the *Wall Street Journal* (3 June) Reagan asked rhetorically, "When did the cold war ever end?" For such types it has been going on since 1917, and they are preparing to heat it up.

Evidently, the Russian leadership thinks that Ronald Reagan may be another Richard Nixon, recalling that it was under his Republican administration that the first SALT agreement was negotiated. Brezhnev & Co. have also added up several of Reagan's positions: he was against the Soviet grain embargo, opposed Carter's boycott of the Moscow Olympics, was not for the draft and backs Taiwan. Perhaps Moscow was convinced by Brzezinski's arguments that Reagan was a "phony hard" against the Soviet Union. But the Republicans criticized Carter's measures as largely *symbolic*, whereas they advocated "the real thing"—a genuine anti-Soviet war drive. No SALT II, and an empty "SALT III" where any disarmament is "linked" to Soviet concessions, such as on Afghanistan. (But if, as the Republican right-wingers claim, Russia really is militarily superior, why do they want to put conditions on their disarming?)

A brief look at Reagan's advisers shows that this gang means business. Number 1 is Richard Allen, a member of the war-hawk Committee on the Present Danger, Nixon's main foreign policy man in 1968, who joined the National Security Council staff but soon quit, accusing his boss, Henry Kissinger, of being "soft on Communism." One of the leading candidates for a Reagan "defense" secretary is Democrat Henry Jackson, the senator from Boeing, a member of Joe McCarthy's witchhunting "internal security" committee in the '50s, mouthpiece for Kennedy on the phony "missile gap" in the '60 elections, author of the Jackson amendment linking Soviet trade to escalating Jewish emigration from the USSR. And then there is the sinister General Alexander Haig, who went into Kissinger's White House basement a colonel and emerged a four-star general, "chief-of-staff" of Nixon's bunker in the shell-shocked Watergate days, then NATO commander-in-chief, top candidate for "general most likely to lead a coup in Washington."

To be sure, Reagan has been careful to include "détente"-symbol Kissinger in his "transition team." But even Kissinger isn't for détente any more: this was, as we pointed out, a temporary ceasefire which the United States took advantage of to recover from its post-Vietnam stalemate (see "That Was the Détente That Was," *WV* Nos. 253 and 254, 4 and 18 April 1980). Carter's "symbolic" attacks on the Soviets reflected the transitional nature of his regime, beginning on the theme of moral rearmament of U.S. imperialism (the "Human Rights" crusade) and soon passing over to military rearmament. There were ever more aggressive provocations, the flap over Soviet troops in Cuba, deployment of Poseidon and Cruise missiles in West Europe, the drastic increase in the U.S. arms

Reagan with war council: Bush, Haig and Kissinger. Below: Wall Street and MX missile rev up; unemployment lines grow longer, more desperate.

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George Bush: The CIA's Candidate

With Ronald Reagan pushing 70, everyone is saying that, statistically speaking, he'll only be a one-term president...and maybe not even that. So naturally enough, they're looking out for Number Two: George Bush, 55, runs 3.8 miles a day. Bush was nominated to "balance the ticket"—he's for the ERA, a "voice of moderation," so those worried about Reagan's trigger finger can sleep easier. But if you're still having nightmares, here's why: the vice president of "these United States" was/is the CIA's candidate for president.

Who is George Bush? Dad was an investment banker and a senator from New England. Mom inherited one of the largest fortunes in New England. School was Phillips Academy in Andover. Leaving the patrician stone mansions in the land of the Cabots and Lodges, Bush did a World War II tour in the Navy, and then on to Yale. Later in the Nixon era, when GOP pols ranged from used car salesmen to crooked lawyers, Bush could have been the Eastern Republican establishment's answer to the Kennedy boys. Instead, after this careful grooming he went to Texas.

Evans/Sygma

Watch out for No. 2.

There Bush struck it big in offshore oil and became an unabashed spokesman for the interests of Big Oil. In 1964 he ran for Senate, backing Goldwater 1,000 percent, coming out against the Civil Rights Act, opposing the test ban treaty, calling for restoration of prayer in the schools, advocating the U.S. government recognize the Cuban government in exile (!), and supporting the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. In '66 he won a term in Congress, later abandoning his seat for a losing race for Senate. Eventually Bush was picked up by the Nixon team to give a touch of class to some of their more respectable operations—first a stint as American ambassador to the UN, then head of the U.S. mission in Peking. When they needed a "Mr. Clean" in the dying days of the Nixon administration, Bush was put in as head of the Republican Party.

Most importantly, though, Bush is the CIA's man—a member of "the Company," now and forever. A big red, white and blue poster, "George Bush for President" was tacked up over the CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia. The past director of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, Jack Coakly, put it this way: "It's sure as hell not a CIA coup or anything like that, but I can tell you there is a very high level of support for George Bush among current and former CIA employees." So there was. No less than 25 former intelligence officers came out to join the Reagan/Bush campaign. Among the volunteers at campaign headquarters were Lt. Gen. Wilson, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency; Lt. Gen. Harold Aaron, former deputy director of the DIA; and Robert Gambino, former CIA director of security.

With a Reagan victory, the CIA wants to come in from the cold. A few years ago when exposés of the CIA dirty tricks and misdeeds were in the headlines daily, no candidate would have dared accept such blatant support. But the Reagan/Bush team trumpeted this backing and made the call for a "stronger CIA" an up-front issue in the campaign. While Bush's tenure as director was relatively short-lived, he came in at a crucial time. In the aftermath of Watergate, where the CIA was involved from break-in to cover-up, he took over the reins from Colby and Helms, cleaned up the CIA's image and bolstered sagging morale.

Bush is no pipe-smoking, bumbling Allan Dulles "gentleman"-agent. He is a Vietnam vintage spook, up to the elbows of his Brooks Brothers suit in the dirtiest, most murderous operations of this imperialist spy agency. *For example*, George Bush was chief of the CIA in September 1976 when former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier was blown to pieces on the streets of Washington by agents of Pinochet's bloody DINA. As we reported earlier in the campaign (see "George Bush and the Letelier Assassination," *WV* No. 261, 25 July), Bush, as head of the agency, received a cablegram that two Chilean army officers on a DINA mission were preparing to enter the U.S. on false passports. When they arrived a month later, the CIA was again informed, but nothing was done to stop them. During the Justice Department investigation following Letelier's murder, Bush was interviewed but did not say a word about the CIA's foreknowledge. Now this sinister figure is the vice-president-to-be, first in the line of succession.

It's been remarked that in Moscow, with Brezhnev ailing and Kosygin already out, Yuri Andropov may be next in line. Andropov is chief of the KGB. It's not hard to imagine what kind of hysteries the Thatchers, Goldwaters and Reagans would go into if the head of the KGB were to take over in Moscow. But ex-CIA chief Bush gets in line to follow Reagan and no one utters a peep. Class criteria, anyone?■

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budget—all *before* Afghanistan. Then came the economic blows at the USSR (wheat and computers), the Olympic boycott, the nuclear first-strike Presidential Directives 58 and 59.

And now come the aggressive Cold War II politics of Reagan. One place where they will soon be felt is Central America and the Caribbean: this Hopalong "Rough Rider" is a fervent believer in the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny. And when Reagan says he opposes "human rights" campaigns against "our friends," military dictators throughout the region sharpen their bayonets: with the assured backing of the Yankee president, leftist blood will flow. (According to UPI, only three days after the U.S. elections, right-wing killers in El Salvador left signs over the bodies of two of their victims bearing the message, "With Ronald Reagan, it's the end of spoiled children and guerrillas in Central America....") In Nicaragua the Carter administration wanted to avoid "another Cuba" by adopting a softer policy than the hard line taken by Eisenhower toward Castro in 1959-60. But Reagan's men are dead set against aid to the Sandinista regime and want to return to Big Stick diplomacy—with potentially explosive consequences.

Most dangerous of all could be Reagan's policy toward East Europe, particularly Poland. While opportunist leftists try to claim that relations between leaders of the Baltic coast strikes and the Catholic church are irrelevant, the incoming U.S. administration may try to exacerbate the dangers of counterrevolution there. (Reagan launched the Republican campaign by embracing Polish strike leader Walesa's father against the backdrop of the Statue of Liberty.) Remember, these are the same people who yelled "betrayal!" when after all Dulles' talk of "rolling back" Communism he refused to intervene in Hungary in 1956. And while Hungary '56 was actually a nascent workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy—not the social counterrevolution which the Reaganites would have wished—in Poland there may be more opportunities for their "destabilization" schemes. Down that road lies World War III in a hurry.

Hardliners and the Class Line

With the Democrats' New Deal coalition on the rocks, the traditional American form of popular frontism has less hold over the working class than at any time since FDR. And right-wing Reaganism is no basis on which to reforge a version of that class-collaborationist bloc. Revolutionaries seek to organize working-class anger against the Democratic liberals in new opportunities for class struggle and the fight to build a workers party. On the other hand, the reformists are already trying to repair the battered bandwagon of class collaboration. The Communist Party's *Daily World* has been quick to cheer every labor faker who, in the wake of Reagan's victory, now calls for all "progressive forces" to unite under the slogan, "fight the right."

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) seems as benighted as the Kremlin bureaucrats who hail Reagan's win as a victory for détente. The front-page editorial in the 14 November issue of the SWP's *Militant* dismisses the notion of a "conservative tide" as just "wrong." Anybody who thinks so is presumably the victim of a gigantic media hoax (just like the people who thought that the SWP-supported mullah revolution in Iran veiled women, stoned adulterers and repressed the left). The *Militant* insists that "the 'Vietnam syndrome' has broadened into a healthy suspicion of U.S. foreign policy aims anywhere in the world." Besides, they say, elections don't really decide anything anyway—and this from one of the most electoralist outfits on the U.S. left, a group that began its 1980 election campaign in 1976.

Recent readers of the *Militant* may with some justification surmise that the SWP's compulsive denial of obvious reality is some sort of political pathology. But it is method not madness. The reformists who told us yesterday that every day, every way things are getting better and better have to continue lying to keep their story straight. So the U.S. working class just goes from victory to victory—once a week in the *Militant*.

The rightward drift in the U.S. is neither deep nor irreversible. Unlike the 1950s, there is no general anti-Communist hysteria, nor an active wave of right-wing sentiment in the working class. Ronald Reagan will have his "Decision '80" with the working class—and it won't be at the polling booth. But lying about what is happening won't help.

Our class faces some hardliners in the White House. And we had better know it, tell it straight and draw the class line hard ourselves. The last thing the working class needs now is more of the same class-collaborationist lesser-evilism that brought us Jimmy Carter. The same Mine Workers bureaucrats who sabotaged the great 1978 coal strike delivered the miners' votes to "Mr. Taft-Hartley" two years later. The same black misleaders who rushed to Miami to cool things down and earlier called for relying on the courts and Congress to defend busing, once again called on the minority poor to vote for "Mr. Ethnic Purity" in 1980. The slogan of the Spartacist-backed socialist candidate in San Francisco, Diana Coleman, answers this excruciating contradiction: "Enough! It's Time for a Workers Party!" Not the kind of parliamentary-reformist device the SWP or CP might propose, but one which provides revolutionary leadership in every arena of the class struggle—the mines, the mills, the ghetto streets and even in the bourgeois elections.

Not in recent memory have blacks been so leaderless, ghettoized, disorganized and threatened with growing racist terror. For the first time in decades, workers have abandoned the Democrats in large numbers. The real "fight against the right" must be a fight against both parties of the ruling class. It must be a political fight to mobilize the workers as a class and the ghetto/minority poor behind their leadership, the fight for a workers government.■

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Kremlin Backs Bolivia Cocaine Junta

When General Luis Garcia Meza seized power in La Paz last July 17 it was not just another Bolivian-style *pronunciamiento* but a bloody police coup. The ferocity of the repression he unleashed has led to comparisons with Pinochet's 1973 takeover in Chile and the Argentine military putsch in 1976. Already in the early hours, social security ambulances were dispatched from army headquarters carrying squads of plainclothes gunmen sent out to track down labor leaders, leftists, bourgeois political figures, journalists and priests named on a prepared-in-advance hit list. More than 2,000 have been reported killed and many more arrested, some 1,600 of them taken to a concentration camp at Viacha south of the capital.

Gradually details of the white terror in Bolivia have leaked out. The first prominent victim was Socialist Party leader Marcelo Quiroga; army torturers pulled out his tongue before finally assassinating him. The tin-mining towns where resistance to the junta centered have been subjected to repeated aerial bombardment. On August 4 government troops carried out a bloody massacre in Caracoles, the last mining center to fall. According to Amnesty International, more than 900 village residents were killed or "disappeared" in an orgy of machine-gunning, rape and pillage by the Max Toledo Regiment. Soldiers stuffed gunpowder in the mouth of one miner accused of resisting, then blew him up in the town square.

Yet in one of the more cynical betrayals by Stalinist diplomacy, the Kremlin recently granted diplomatic recognition to the murderous Bolivian gangster regime, which even U.S. imperialism has considered "too hot to handle." But this has not saved supporters of the Moscow-loyal Bolivian Communist Party from the junta's bloody repression. Simón Reyes, CP general secretary of the powerful miners union, was arrested immediately after the coup and reportedly lost most of his eyesight as a result of torture at the hands of the Bolivian secret police. But since the Soviet bureaucracy is now eager to prove its friendly intentions toward Bolivia's new military rulers, Reyes' comrades are now pulling out of popular-front resistance coalitions organized to oppose the coup (*Guardian* [New York], 22 October).

So far the Garcia Meza regime had remained isolated internationally, recognized by only a handful of reactionary governments: Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Israel, Taiwan, Paraguay, Uruguay and South Africa. Even the U.S. State Department sought to hypocritically dissociate itself from the junta, condemning "savage and widespread" repression. Washington was particularly embarrassed at the well-known links between the military and big-time cocaine smugglers. (The *Los Angeles Times* of 11 September reported that payments totaling $1.8 million were made to high military officials several days before the coup. The money was known to come from the cocaine trade, currently believed to be Bolivia's most profitable export commodity. Hence the common designation of García Meza's rising as the "*cocagolpe*," or cocaine coup.)

Besides the cocaine dealers, the other main backer of the coup was Argentine strongman General Videla, who provided economic aid, military supplies and "anti-subversive" torture/murder experts to assist the Bolivian plotters. Videla blithely commented:

> "The formally correct thing would have been for a government resulting from elections to have taken power, but this represented for us a high degree of risk because of the possibility that it would spread ideas contrary to our way of life and the permanence here of a military government."
>
> —*New York Times*, 7 August

It is in Argentina's sponsorship of the Bolivian coup that an explanation can be found for the Kremlin's despicable support for this viciously anti-communist regime. Having backed successive reactionary Argentine governments in exchange for continued wheat shipments, the Stalinist rulers in Moscow were willing to overlook the jailing and murder of their supporters in Buenos Aires. In 1978 the Soviet delegate in a UN subcommission on human rights blocked consideration of numerous complaints against Argentina (*Le Monde*, 27 August 1979).

This is a criminal betrayal directly comparable to the Peking Stalinists' early backing for Pinochet in Chile. At the height of the post-coup bloodbath in Santiago, in October 1973, the Maoist bureaucrats closed their embassy doors to leftists (Maoists among them) fleeing the junta's terror. Joining the U.S. as one of the first to recognize the military usurpers, China immediately granted preferential loan treatment to the Chilean butchers. Later they concluded a deal for Chinese-made small arms to aid internal repression in Chile. This vile treachery has been regularly denounced by the Soviet Union and its followers throughout the world. But now?

Such is the counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinist foreign policy. Not, as some left-talking social democrats may claim, because it serves the interests of the Soviet Union—far from it—but because it reflects the narrow, myopic vision of a parasitic bureaucracy that seeks to strike a deal with imperialism. Forced to the wall, they fight reaction in Afghanistan, only to turn around and court it in Argentina and Bolivia. Would that J. Edgar Hoover was right and the USSR actually *did* promote Communist revolution instead of dangerous pacifist illusions in "détente." For the only real defense of the October Revolution lies in the victory of proletarian revolution internationally. ■

Religion & Reaction...

(continued from page 7)

Polish prelates Wojtyla and Wyszynski.

The counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie exacted a vengeance for the hostages executed by the Communards at a ratio of over 400 to one! In the first week after the Commune fell 20,000-30,000 men, women and children were murdered. Thousands more were thrown into crowded prison cells, where many were starved to death or died of disease. Many of the survivors were then sent to rot for years in colonial prison camps.

In the aftermath of the Commune a vast international witchhunt was directed against the left, especially against the First International, contributing to its disintegration. The execution of the archbishop of Paris was held up above all as the example of "red terror" used to justify the mass slaughter of the Communards and the persecution of their comrades and class brothers everywhere.

The Bolsheviks Against the Russian Orthodox Church

The effort of the Paris Commune, the first proletarian dictatorship, to end "the old governmental and clerical world" was drowned in blood by the bourgeoisie. In part learning from the experience of the Commune, Bolshevik Russia succeeded in putting an end to that world. Where the SWP today says that "separation of church and state is not at issue" in Poland, the first (1903) program of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, written by Lenin and Plekhanov, included as a key point of its "minimum program" for a democratic republic, "separation of the church from the state and of the school from the church." The Bolsheviks accomplished this necessary revolutionary-democratic task in 1917, by establishing the second proletarian dictatorship in history.

It was inevitable that the Russian Orthodox church would be one of the principal mass institutions struggling to overturn the proletarian socialist revolution of October 1917. In January 1918, even before the new revolutionary regime got around to confiscating church lands or formally secularizing the state, Patriarch Tikhon declared the Soviet government anathema and incited the faithful against it:

> "...you, Brethren Hierarchs and Clergy, without delay for an hour in your ecclesiastical action, but with a fiery zeal, call your children to defend the Orthodox Church.... And we firmly believe that the enemies of the Church will be put to shame, and will be scattered by the power of the Cross...."
>
> —reproduced in Boleslaw Szczesniak, ed., *The Russian Revolution and Religion* (1959)

The Bolsheviks responded a few days later with the famous "separation decree," an elementary democratic statute in part modeled on a similar French law of 1905 (passed as a result of the Dreyfus affair). The key passage simply states:

> "Within the confines of the Republic it shall be prohibited to issue any local by-laws or regulations restricting or limiting freedom of conscience, or establishing privileges or preferential rights of any kind based on the religious creed of citizens."
>
> —*Ibid.*

Apart from confiscating much of the church's inordinate wealth, the Bolsheviks sought to combat religion through pedagogical, not governmental administrative means. Thus, the new program adopted at the party's eighth congress in 1919 states:

> "The aim of the party is the complete destruction of the ties between the exploiting classes and the organization of religious propaganda, at the same time helping the toiling masses actually to liberate their minds from religious prejudices and organizing on a wide scale scientific-educational and anti-religious propaganda."
>
> —reproduced in Robert H. McNeal, *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Vol. 2 (1974)

It further cautioned that it is "necessary carefully to avoid offending the religious susceptibilities of believers, which leads only to the hardening of religious fanaticism."

Despite the Bolsheviks' desire to counter clerical influence through careful propaganda, not state terror, the Civil War forced them to resort to the criticism of arms. Several Orthodox priests and a number of hierarchs were executed for actively collaborating with the White armies. The experience of the Civil War caused Trotsky to reaffirm that religion was the "principal moral arm of the bourgeoisie" (quoted in E. H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924-1926*, Vol. 1 [1958]).

The decisive clash between the Bolshevik regime and the Orthodox church occurred immediately after the Civil War period, when famine and pestilence stalked the land. In order to import food, the Soviet government decided to confiscate and export some of the gold and silver ornaments still owned by the church. (The architect and main executor of this plan was Trotsky.) Tikhon ordered the faithful to resist; they did. In the ensuing riots many were injured and a few killed. Numbers of priests were put on trial for inciting anti-government violence, several sentenced to death. Tikhon himself was imprisoned for a year and only released after pledging he would accept the authority of the Soviet government.

The events of 1921-23 broke the power of the Orthodox church, and not simply because of the regime's punitive measures. The hierarchy's violent determination to hoard its golden artifacts while millions of poor starved to death repelled and antagonized large sections of the population, including many believers, giving rise to pro-government schisms within the church.

In this same critical period the Soviet government also tried a group of Roman Catholic clergy, headed by an Archbishop Cieplak, for counterrevolutionary activities, including spying for foreign powers. One of them, Msgr. Budkiewicz, was sentenced to death and duly executed. There was naturally more concern in Western ruling circles over the Bolsheviks' actions against the Roman Catholic than Russian Orthodox church. The 1923 Cieplak trials (as they were called) became an anti-Soviet *cause célèbre* in the imperialist West, much as did the prosecution of Mindszenty and execution of Cardinal Stepinac in Yugoslavia with the onset of the Cold War.

The U.S. and several European governments protested the Soviet prosecution of these Catholic clerics and called for clemency. The most energetic protests came from Britain, then the most aggressive anti-Soviet imperialist power. The execution of Msgr. Budkiewicz was one of the factors which led directly to the so-called Curzon ultimatum of May 1923, in which London threatened economic sanctions unless the Soviet Union adopted a more conciliatory attitude toward the capitalist world. Behind the Curzon ultimatum lay the further threat of renewed wars of intervention. Imperialist support for the Roman Catholic church in the Soviet sphere has a long history indeed.

State action against actively counterrevolutionary clerics was combined in the early 1920s with a vigorous campaign of anti-religious propaganda. And this was no routinist activity left to third-level functionaries. In his autobiography, *My Life* (1929), Trotsky recounts:

> "Among the some odd-dozen jobs that I was directing as part of the party work—that is, privately and unofficially—was the anti-religious propaganda, in which Lenin was very much interested. He asked me insistently not to let this work out of my sight."

It is obscene that the SWP, self-proclaimed followers of the inspirer of the League of Militant Atheists, is today demanding state privileges for the Catholic church in Poland!

Of course, far more important and effective in breaking the masses from religious obscurantism than enlightening propaganda were the actual economic changes which gave them control over nature. The Bolsheviks rightly regarded as key to overcoming religious prejudices drawing the peasantry into large-scale, mechanized, collectivized agriculture and expanding the modern industrial proletariat. While the means by which the Bolsheviks fought religious reaction varied greatly, from the execution of counterrevolutionary priests to scientific propaganda to agricultural collectivization, there is no question that the Russian Revolution put an end to "the old clerical world." Probably the most famous Bolshevik poster shows Lenin on a globe sweeping the world of a monarch in his crown, a capitalist in his top hat and a priest in his cassock.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

S.F. Phone: Vote for Kathy Ikegami!

We reprint below a recent leaflet by the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) in San Francisco.

Local 9410 members have the chance to vote for a real fighter for our union in the Plant Executive Board elections. Militant Action Caucus (MAC) member and union steward Kathy Ikegami is running against the policies of defeat of misleaders like [CWA International president Glenn] Watts, [CWA Local 9410 president Jim] Imerzel, and the phony opposition of Contreras/Carreras and CAR [Committee Against Racism, which is politically supported by Progressive Labor]. Kathy stands on MAC's 10-year history and program of class-struggle union action. The power of the union must be used to defend our membership from the company on the job, from racist cops and fascist thugs in our communities, and from the anti-labor maneuvers of the bosses' government at home and abroad.

MAC warned that CWA support for the strike-breaking "ethnic purity" Carter could only lead to a contract disaster. Watts made sure that the Democrats' convention was not "spoiled" by a national phone strike. While the local and Carreras made an elaborate show of organizing picket lines that couldn't stop anyone, MAC proposed mass pickets, concentrated at the central offices to stop all scabs and shut the company's nerve centers down tight. The refusal of the Imerzel "leadership" to organize for real strike action is nothing new. Since taking office, it has offered only business-as-usual, "grieve it and forget it" responses to PT&T attacks on local stewards and members. From the firing of Allen Kelly to the recent pre-contract wave of suspensions and dismissals of numerous stewards and members, it was MAC which fought for the local strike action which could have stopped Ma Bell. The Imerzel-dominated Executive Board refused to even consider the petitions of over 300 members calling for a strike vote meeting in March. From the national union to our own local, they have instead counselled reliance on phony "friends-of-labor" Democrats who have kicked working people in the teeth. As an Executive Board member Kathy will work to build the kind of class-struggle workers party exemplified by the MAC-supported campaign of labor/socialist Diana Coleman for San Francisco supervisor.

Kathy Ikegami helped organize a contingent of more than 70 phone workers for the April 19th demonstration that stopped the local Nazi creeps from celebrating Hitler's birthday at Civic Center. This powerful mobilization of labor, minorities and socialists, 1,200 strong, showed how to stop the rising tide of Klan/Nazi terror, from Greensboro to Fontana. While CAR members like candidate Barry Reingold had time to put out nutty leaflets equating the Nazis with the bureaucrats in CWA, they did nothing to mobilize local members on April 19 to stop the real fascists. Kathy will continue to fight to rally the power of the labor movement for the defense of minorities and all of the oppressed, just as when MAC initiated a Local 9415 demonstration against the cops' South Africa-style search and seizure of black San Franciscans during Alioto's Operation Zebra.

WV Photo

Kathy Ikegami (right).

Local 9410 members—there is an alternative to "leaders" who can only organize defeats like the 30-hour strike fiasco of August. The course of the Imerzel leadership and its candidate Ernie King is one of continued defeats. Bob Carreras may be "for the People", but who isn't? Good intentions alone will not make CWA the fighting union the members need.

Kathy has been one of the most militant, effective, hard working stewards in Local 9410. From defending operators' rights at Sloat to protecting other militant stewards from company harassment, Kathy has fought to make this union strong.

Kathy Ikegami stands for a workers government, and a rational, planned economy to put an end to the capitalist cycle of inflation, depression and war. For a fighting voice on the Exec Board, vote Kathy Ikegami! For a fighting union, join the Militant Action Caucus!

MAC Program

1. Stop Company harassment. Strike action to defend the membership; for the right to strike over grievances. For militant mass picket lines that no one crosses.

2. Stop Union collaboration with the Company! For a militant fighting union—Dump the sellouts. Build a class-struggle leadership. For labor solidarity. Finks out of the union. For union democracy—lower the quorum, for elected stewards. No officer on the "Ready Now" list.

3. No layoffs, forced transfers, or downgrades. For a shorter work week with no cut in pay. For a big wage increase and full COLA. For full paid sick leave. No productinn quotas. No forced overtime. Narrow the wage gap between Traffic-Clerical-Plant.

4. Union action to smash discrimination. For labor/Latino/black mobilizations to smash Klan/Nazi terror. Support busing, ERA. No to seniority-busting "affirmative action" programs. For Company paid 24-hour child care and full paid maternity leave.

5. For international working-class solidarity! Break all CWA ties with the CIA labor front, the AIFLD. Down with Carter's anti-Soviet war drive.

6. Not a dime, not a vote for the strike-breaking, wage-freezing Democrats and Republicans. Vote Diana Coleman, Socialist Union Militant for S.F. Supervisor. Build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without compensation to the capitalist bosses. Establish a planned economy run to serve the needs of working people, not profit. ■

Coleman...

(continued from page 12)

This campaigning began to show results long before the polls opened. A black woman taxi driver pulled up outside a supermarket in a predominantly black neighborhood where Coleman was speaking, rolled down her window and yelled, "Right on, Diana, you've got my vote." At City College, two black women secretaries approached the Coleman supporter distributing literature. One pulled a brochure out of her purse and pointing to the "Stop the Nazis" sign, declared, "She's *our* candidate."

The Spartacus Youth League also played an important role in taking the Coleman campaign onto SF campuses. The SYL at San Francisco State University formed a Students for Coleman committee and sponsored a noontime rally. A videotape showing of the April 19 anti-Nazi rally and a Coleman appearance at City College drew 25 mostly black students, nearly half of whom stayed for over two hours to discuss revolutionary politics. Based on this success, the SYL has begun a new chapter at CCSF. When gay students at the University of San Francisco demonstrated against the refusal of the Catholic administration to charter their club or list them in the handbook of student organizations, Coleman and Spartacist supporters were in the picket line with signs demanding democratic rights for gays.

Gays and Democrats

With San Francisco's substantial homosexual population, the gay vote is openly courted by even the most respectable bourgeois politicians and is normally corralled by the local Democratic machine. The Alice B. Toklas and Harvey Milk Democratic clubs are among the largest in the city and campaigned hard for gay incumbent Harry Britt as well as a gaggle of other Democrats, including Jimmy Carter.

Diana Coleman did very well in Britt's own supervisorial district, winning about 1,200 votes. But this was not done by catering to the widely held illusion that the Castro district is a gay fortress against right-wing Anita Bryant-style reaction. At a pre-election supervisors' hearing on the rise of anti-gay violence (called by Britt as a vote-hustling maneuver), Coleman lashed out at Britt's call for more police patrols—to thunderous applause of the gay audience, most of whom had some experience with the "even hand of justice." At nearly weekly rallies in the Castro district, Coleman and other Spartacists denounced Britt for his ties to the party of Klansman Tom Metzger, born-again Jimmy Carter and widely detested Mayor Feinstein.

It was at these street rallies in the Castro that the most conflict of the campaign occurred. Driven to a frenzy by Coleman's exposés, Britt's flunkies repeatedly called the police to try to break up our rallies, threatening citizen's arrest for "disturbing the peace." (One burly unionist replied, "If you think you can get me down to the station, why don't you go ahead and try?") The real sentiments of these life-style Democrats were revealed when one snarled, "I'd vote for Tom Metzger before I'd vote for Coleman."

They Also Ran

Had disgruntled San Francisco voters simply wanted to record a protest vote against the incumbents, there were plenty of choices: 65 candidates for 11 seats. Yet Coleman ran ahead of 24 other candidates. Or compare Coleman's vote to that of "third party" candidates on the ballot. To Coleman's 7,183 votes, the Peace and Freedom Party presidential candidates received 939 votes in SF; Barry Commoner—5,163; Libertarian Ed Clark—4,080. But the most important point is that Coleman ran on a Bolshevik program. Her revolutionary policies were well publicized, not only by our own efforts, but in a hard-hitting statement included in a Voter Information Pamphlet mailed to over 400,000 registered SF voters.

Let us give our reformist opponents on the left their due. Two of the three candidates of the "Grass Roots Alliance" did better than Coleman, with 10,700 and 8,700 votes. But they did not run against the Democratic Party—their only program was a non-binding ballot proposition to ask the board of supervisors to consider increasing the rate of corporate taxation by an unspecified amount. On the other hand, SWP candidate Louise Goodman, in her 100-word statement for the Voter Information Pamphlet, did not identify herself as a socialist, never mentioned the SWP and only proclaimed as her maximum program a labor party and "public ownership" of the energy industry. With this social-democratic program, Goodman got 6,500 votes. Out of 126 precincts where either Coleman or Goodman got more than 15 votes, Coleman scored higher in 102 precincts.

Goodman was very much the non-candidate—curious behavior on the part of the consummate electoralists of the SWP. Their silence was probably due to the evident disarray in the SWP over whether to endorse supervisorial candidate Stan Smith, head of the SF Building Trades Council. Early on in the campaign, SWP spokesmen explained the absence of Goodman literature on the grounds that they were "still considering endorsing Smith." Shortly afterwards, another SWP spokesman told us they were indeed giving critical support to Smith. After *Workers Vanguard* reported that Smith was a registered Democrat, had gone to the 1980 Democratic convention as a Kennedy delegate and was running as a candidate who could "get along with big business," however, there was some quick reconsideration.

SWP spokesmen said they were rethinking their position on Smith, based on huge contributions he was receiving from the construction industry and his poor record on affirmative action in the construction trades. Finally, Goodman (having learned the art of stonewalling) told Diana Coleman at a public meeting at SF State that the SWP had *never discussed* endorsing Smith! (Would she like to have the tapes played of SWP spokesmen saying just the opposite?) When confronted on the earlier statements by SWP members, Goodman lamely replied, "There's nothing in writing." Finally, the SWP felt constrained to run a full-page article in the 14 November *Militant* explaining why you shouldn't vote for Stan Smith (not bothering to say anything whatsoever about the other 63 candidates on the ballot).

Diana Coleman ran in this election to make effective communist propaganda and to bring the program of class struggle against capitalism to SF workers and minorities. She ran against the electoralist illusions spread by the SWP and Communist Party, insisting that only a revolutionary workers party, fighting on the picket lines, in the ghettos and barrios, can change this society by creating a workers government. We are proud that Spartacist supporter Coleman received more than 7,000 votes. Another equally important indicator of our success is the nearly 20 non-members of the SL/SYL who actively worked on this campaign, many of whom have moved closer to joining us as a result. We run in elections not to hold down a desk in City Hall, the state legislature or Congress, but to use this platform as a vehicle for the Trotskyist program and for building the revolutionary party. By these standards, the Coleman campaign was a very satisfying success. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

7,000 Vote Diana Coleman in S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO—On the evening of election day, November 4, over 80 supporters of Diana Coleman's Spartacist campaign for San Francisco Board of Supervisors wound up the intensive eight-week race with a celebration party. Cheers rose each time campaign workers stationed at City Hall called in the mounting vote total. And with good reason. Running on a hard, clear communist program, Diana Coleman received the support of 7,183 SF voters!

At a time of a significant shift rightward in American politics, this is an impressive showing for a Bolshevik candidate. With Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan trying to outbid each other in the arms race against "Red Russia," Coleman went to the voters of San Francisco as a staunch defender of the USSR against imperialist war threats. With all the bourgeois politicians (and their trade-union flunkies) yearning for Catholic church-led capitalist restoration in Poland, Coleman stood for the strict separation of church and state, and for a workers political revolution in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc—to strengthen socialist property forms, not undermine them. And on a local level, with California's exotic brands of eco-freaks and "less is better" culture faddists opposing smoking in public, pornography, guns and "growth," Coleman slashed through this mimicry of capitalist austerity policies. She demanded massive public works, the right to bear arms and defended individual liberties against feminist anti-pornography censors and liberal moralists in league with the "Moral Majority."

Unlike other left candidates for supervisor, such as the local-community-activist "Grass Roots Alliance" (known to the select few as the Democratic Workers Party) or the Socialist Workers Party's Louise Goodman (who refused to identify herself on the ballot as a socialist), Coleman did not duck the hard issues to get votes. "The capitalist state can't be reformed to serve the interests of workers and poor people," Coleman's election brochure proclaimed. "It must be replaced by a workers state and it will take a socialist revolution to get one."

A post-election precinct-by-precinct review of the vote results revealed that the response to our communist campaign was neither random nor scattered. Even more than campaign supporters initially expected, votes for Coleman were most concentrated in several SF neighborhoods: the heavily-black inner city areas (such as the lower Western Addition and Hayes Valley), the young and integrated Haight/Ashbury, the heavily gay Castro district and the predominantly Latino Mission district. While Coleman's citywide average was 2.7 percent of the vote, in her top 20 precincts, she received 8.47 percent of the vote.

Running Against Carter/Reagan, the Nazis and Klan

Growing out of last April's successful mass labor rally against the Nazis, Diana Coleman's socialist campaign drew wide recognition among blacks, unionists and the left in San Francisco. And it was the message of ANCAN (the April 19 Committee Against Nazis, initiated by the Spartacist League, which stopped the fascists from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in SF) which Coleman hammered home: not electoralism, but mass labor/black mobilizations in the streets will be necessary to stop the fascists. Recalling her background in the civil rights movement, Diana noted, "I've seen more Klan activity in California in the last year than I did in Mississippi in 1965." Coleman pointed to right-wing policies of both the Democratic and Republican parties which have fueled the growth of fascist terror groups. This, she stressed, makes even more urgent the main demand of her campaign, "ENOUGH! IT'S TIME FOR A WORKERS PARTY!"

Coleman's campaign took its socialist program directly to the working class, addressing union meetings, visiting work locations and reviving the socialist tradition of street-corner soap-boxing. The receptivity to an openly "red" candidate was evidence of the difficulties which labor officialdom and black misleaders had in stumping for Jimmy Carter's Democrats. The union-busting rampage of Democratic mayor Diane Feinstein and the Board of Supervisors also created openings for our campaign. Coleman was the only one of 65 supervisorial candidates invited to address the SF local of the Communications Workers of America (her home local when she was a phone worker and member of the union's class-struggle opposition, the Militant Action Caucus).

WV Photo

Diana Coleman: soapboxing at SF State

Diana addressed the executive board of the transit drivers union, TWU Local 250, leading to a discussion of the reasons behind the defeat of the '76 city workers strike. The TWU leadership, which had talked about general strike action in '76 before backing down, wanted to know Coleman's position on crossing picket lines. "Did you have any friends that worked behind the picket lines then?" "No," she replied, "people who cross picket lines aren't my friends." Coleman was also the only candidate invited to meet the membership of one of the local postal unions. When Democratic candidates showed up, they were pointedly barred entrance to the meeting. Another local postal union president, who had worked with ANCAN, took campaign brochures to place on every union bulletin board in the city.

The real worker backbone of the campaign staff came from unionists of the ILWU and CWA. Members of the ILWU's Militant Caucus and CWA's Militant Action Caucus, both politically supported by the SL, mobilized fellow union members to support and work for Coleman. It was in these industries that the campaign probably had its most direct impact on workers. On the one hand, militant unionists used Coleman's campaign to make concrete their program for the formation of a workers party. And Coleman pointed to the struggles of these militants to turn their unions to the path of class struggle as key to forging a fighting labor movement. Campaigns of both militant caucuses to elect members to executive positions in their unions overlapped the Coleman campaign and underscored this point.

Coleman's repeated visits to the ILWU hiring halls and weekly 5:30 a.m. trips to the longshore pay lines led one longshoreman to comment that he thought she was the union's official candidate. When Longshore Local 10 executive board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, both 20-year veterans of the industry, accompanied Coleman around the hall introducing her, one campaign worker noted, "the guys would be on their feet to shake hands and talk as soon as they saw us coming." One worker at a downtown street corner on election day told campaign workers: "My sister works for the phone company and our whole family voted for Coleman." The response to the Coleman campaign indicates what could have been done on a much larger scale if even a couple unions broke with the Democrats and rallied labor to run its own candidates, on a class-struggle program, against the capitalist parties.

In the course of the campaign, mostly in the last ten days, Coleman supporters passed out 20,000 brochures, 50,000 special *WV* election supplements and 16,000 Spanish-language supplements. Three thousand posters were put up throughout the city. Certain heavily working-class neighborhoods were selected for door-to-door distributions. When it was all over, the campaign committee had distributed about 98,000 pieces of literature.

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San Francisco Examiner Wed., Oct. 29, 1980

Diana Coleman

A self-described socialist union militant, 34-year-old Coleman was born in San Francisco, has been active in the civil rights movement, the anti-war and the women's movements. Most recently she was an organizer of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis.

Class-biased and racist gerrymandering is as easily accomplished by district as by at-large elections. Capitalist parties have no solutions to real issues: unemployment, inflation, threat of war against the USSR, attacks on democratic rights, growing fascist terror.

Diana Coleman's responses to questionnaire for candidates to SF Board of Supervisors.

Extending present rent limits to vacant apartments is supportable as a limited reform. But the only way to stop rent gouging once and for all is by the expropriation of the real estate corporations by a workers' government.

Social gains will be made on the picket lines, not at the voting booth. The Spartacist-initiated "April 19 Committee Against Nazis" mobilized 1,200 unionists, minorities and socialists — stopping the Nazis "celebrating" Hitler's birthday. I oppose gun control legislation

Finish BART — around the Bay and airport to airport — Make BART and Muni free! Finish the freeways! Cancel the city debt! Expropriate the banks, utilities and major industry! Break with the Democrats and Republicans — it's time for a workers' party!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 269

28 November 1980

Greensboro Was Racist Murder!

Greensboro Daily News

Court Turns Fascists Loose

Davis/Greensboro Daily News

Claude MacBride | Jack Wilson Fowler (Nazi) | Roland Wayne Wood (Nazi) | Lawrence Gene Morgan (KKK) | Jerry Paul Smith (KKK)

Jail the KKK/ Nazi Killers!

They staged the massacre on TV. A Nazi/KKK motorcade of death drove up to the black housing project in Greensboro, N.C. that sunny morning last November. Millions watched in living color as the fascists calmly opened the trunks of their cars, pulled out pistols and rifles and opened fire on the small gathering of left-wing and black demonstrators. Then they packed their weapons back into the trunks and drove off.

It was cold-blooded murder for all to see. But last week an all-white jury in Greensboro let the KKK killers go free—acquitted on five counts of first-degree murder, felonious rioting and all other charges. Now the courts can get down to their real aim—persecuting the fascists' victims in the Communist Workers Party (CWP). Some commented the verdict was a license to kill. It was more—it was an invitation to racist murder.

It was an open and shut case. *No one* doubts that the fascist terrorists deliberately planned and carried out a premeditated execution. The videotapes have been replayed so many times on national television that the scene—the crackling shots, the image of fascist guns aiming to kill, the dead bodies of leftists, blacks, union organizers lying in a pool of blood—is fixed in the memory. The killers got off scot-free and the *victims* now face trial on conspiracy charges that could land them in jail for years.

It was all done under the stars and stripes. The Klan murderers claimed they were just doing their patriotic duty in the war against communism. The racist courts set them free in the name of "evenhanded" American (capitalist) "justice." Harold Covington, head of the National Socialist (Nazi) party crowed, "It's a victory for white America. We've taken on the government now on their home ground, right in their own courtroom and we beat them." But the Nazis didn't have to beat the government. They were on the same side.

They were all there together in the motorcade. A "former" FBI informer rode in the first car, a Greensboro cop brought up the rear. Even the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms division of the "Justice" Department got into the act: their agent told the fascist killers how to legally transport the guns. At the trial, everyone agreed it was the FBI testimony that clinched it for the defense.

From the outset, the American ruling class has maintained a remarkably disciplined line on the Greensboro massacre. For over a year they unanimously labeled the fascist murder attack a "shootout" between two "hate groups," equating the murderers and their victims. Now they greet the verdict with sighs of "who can ever know what really happened?" Not a peep of liberal protest but studied agnosticism, again serving to victimize the left and embolden the ultra-right terrorists. For the bourgeoisie understands that it is now necessary to stand with fascists against communists.

Public reaction to the Greensboro verdict was varied. Liberal reporters expressed shock and dismay, but Southern blacks long accustomed to Jim

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Cops Out of the Unions!

Chicago, Illinois
To the Editor:

As a follow-up on the article in *WV* [No. 265, 3 October] regarding the Teamsters support for the three cops who murdered a black man for the "crime" of smoking on the subway: despite the fact that the Teamster bureaucracy has been boot-licking these three racist cop scum, the Teamsters lost the election on October 16. These thugs for the ruling class don't want a union—they think their masters treat them just fine and dandy. Indeed they do!

I work in Melrose Park, Ill., an industrial suburb of Chicago, and it's a well-known fact that the cops regularly receive big donations to their police associations from the local capitalists for the fine job they do busting heads, harassing blacks and herding scabs across picket lines. In the eight years that I have been working for International Harvester in Melrose Park, the cops have compiled a record that their masters can be proud of:

1) Beat my co-worker and union brother Bennie Lenard to within an inch of his life and blinded him in one eye for the simple reason that he is black.

2) During a strike at Capitol Packaging Company, they set police dogs upon defenseless women and children ano fined a scab truck driver $15 after he deliberately ran over and killed the union vice president.

3) Cleared the entranceways of pickets so scabs could freely move in and out of the gates during the 172-day International Harvester strike.

The list could go on but I think *WV* readers get the point—the cops are doing a valuable service for the capitalist class and I'm sure the bosses will always have enough crumbs on their table to feed their armed thugs. Furthermore, I'm certain the cops realize this fact, by and large.

Cops are the enemy of working people. Workers must learn to rely on themselves and no one else! My local union succeeded in setting up a workers defense guard around the home of C.B. Dennis, a member of Local 6. C.B. Dennis is a black man who moved into an all-white neighborhood and had arsonists attempt to burn him out on two occasions. Of course the cops were unable to do anything about the arson but the Labor Struggle Caucus was. The Labor Struggle Caucus was based on the principles of the Transitional Program of Leon Trotsky and had the support of the Spartacist League.... The Labor Struggle Caucus put forward a motion at the subsequent union meeting telling the membership to come forward in defense of their union brother. The motion passed and around-the-clock defense was set up around the home of C.B. Dennis. I'm proud to say that C.B. and his family are still living in that home and that I spoke at a Local 6 membership meeting for the motion that initiated the defense.

WV Photo

Chicago, October 1980: Teamsters protest bureaucracy's hiring of three racist killer cops.

Some events happened at my last union meeting and I think readers of *WV* will find them interesting. The sell-out Teamster bureaucracy is not alone in its support for cops in the union movement. The cops have a lot of friends on the left. I presented a two-part motion which goes as follows:

1) That UAW Local 6 goes on record condemning the Teamsters for their support of the three cops responsible for the murder of a black man for the "crime" of smoking on the subway.

2) That UAW Local 6 goes on record as opposing cops in the union movement on the basis that cops are nothing but scab-herders and the hired guns of the capitalist class.

Point one of the motion passed without opposition; however, point two was defeated after long-time Communist Party supporter and ex-president of Local 6 Norm Roth spoke against it. Norm Roth's arguments were not unique but quite entertaining coming from a man who claims to be a Marxist. Here is a quote from this "Marxist": "Who are we to tell the cops they can't join a union? We want the union movement to grow. We can't tell anyone not to join a union." I imagined the CP and hacks like Roth will be organizing the KKK and Nazis into unions, given their incredible logic! In a personal conversation with Roth after the meeting, he informed me that all cops were not bad, in fact he even had some friends who joined the force. After getting nowhere in my attempts to explain the role of cops in capitalist society, I informed him that he should go back to Lenin and read "The State and Revolution."

A Maoist in the local who supports the politics of the *Call* newspaper abstained on the second half of the motion. He was not sure if we have the right to tell cops what to do or not. However, he was sure of one thing and that is that I had no right to tell Norm Roth what to do!! You see, according to this Maoist, Norm Roth has been fighting the cops for thirty years and who am I to tell this old warrior what to do?! I have not been a member of Local 6 for thirty years but I've been around long enough to know that Norm Roth did not want to take on the cops during our 172-day strike. The fact is, Norm Roth and other union bureaucrats tried to stop me from speaking at a strike rally when I was putting forward the need for mass picketing to stop the scabbing. Maybe Roth was worried mass picketing might bloody the noses of some of his friends on the police force?!

Sincerely,
Chuck Marino
member, UAW Local 6

Stop the Deportation—Defend Marian Bustin!

Reviving 1950s-style witchhunt tactics, the U.S. government is trying to deport 26-year-old Marian Bustin, an active member of United Mine Workers Local 2095 and a member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

About a year and a half ago Bustin was called into the New York office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and warned that her permanent residence status was in jeopardy because she attended SWP meetings in 1974. Now it has been revealed that the INS "warning" was only part of a six-year effort against Bustin by the government's various spies, snitches, stoolies, finks and public officials. Born in Scotland, Bustin moved to this country in 1977 after marrying an American citizen, and currently works at Republic Steel Kitt No. 1 Mine in Philippi, West Virginia. The latest information came out when lawyers for the SWP received copies of INS and FBI files as part of the ongoing party court suit against government harassment.

The U.S. government has always displayed a conscious *class* standard on immigration: while any blood-soaked dictator from Nicaragua or Vietnam can get instant American "asylum," a poor Haitian black or a socialist or union militant often can't even gain entry into the U.S., or faces the constant threat of deportation. Stalinist fellow traveler Harry Bridges fought for decades to stay in the U.S., and it was the power of his union which protected him; Trotskyist Carl Skoglund lived under the threat of deportation until his death in 1961.

Of course, the SWP long ago abandoned the Trotskyist revolutionary heritage for civil-libertarian social democracy, but the witchhunters are not attuned to such fine distinctions. The entire workers movement must put a stop to this latest government attempt to witchhunt the labor movement by selective deportation.

Stop the deportation—Down with the anti-communist McCarran-Walter immigration act—Defend Marian Bustin! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 269 28 November 1980

WV Photo

Smash Northern Ireland H-Block Hellhole!

"Smash H-Block! Smash Long Kesh!" chanted 800 protesters at the British consulate in New York City, November 22. The demonstration was one of many around the country, organized by the Irish Northern Aid/Irish Prisoners of War Committee, in support of seven Irish nationalist prisoners on hunger strike in Britain's Northern Ireland concentration camp of Long Kesh. A flatbed truck drawn up before the consulate carried a Long Kesh-style cell holding a "blanketman." Skits depicting British torture of political prisoners dramatized the plight of the hunger strikers, several reportedly near death, as they continue into their fourth week of defiance of their arrogant imperialist jailers.

As communists and internationalists we join with the protesters in supporting the hunger strikers' demand to be treated as political prisoners instead of as common criminals. However, the Northern Aid Committee made a purely nationalist appeal, demonstrated by the huge American and Irish flags decorating the staging area. In contrast Spartacist League supporters participated in the picket with signs demanding "Smash H-Block! Free Long Kesh/Armagh Republican Prisoners!" "British Army Out of North Ireland Now!" "For an Irish Section of the Reborn Fourth International!" and "For a Socialist Federation of the British Isles!"

CWP Supporters Set Up In San Diego

Defend NASSCO Frame-Up Victims!

LOS ANGELES—Three San Diego left-wing union activists face serious frame-up charges for allegedly plotting to blow up the main power transformer at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO), the largest shipyard on the West Coast. The NASSCO 3, as they are called—Mark Loo and Rodney Johnson of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), and David Boyd, another union militant—were arrested September 16 by a San Diego police SWAT team and the FBI. Union officials and others have linked the crude frame-up attempt with NASSCO's attempt to bust the union in the shipyards. According to newspaper accounts, the three militants were among 28 unionists fired by NASSCO for their participation in union protests last August over safety conditions in the yard, culminating in a three-day wildcat strike.

Los Angeles attorney Leonard Weinglass said the three arrests grew out of "entrapment" by FBI and local police intelligence agents in collaboration with NASSCO (*San Diego Evening Tribune*, 19 September). Boyd and Johnson were arrested in a van allegedly containing a pipe bomb and two vials of acid. The van belonged to an FBI informer who drove the two union activists to a pre-

San Diego Union

Ramon Barton, FBI provocateur.

arranged pick-up spot where the cops were waiting. Loo, an IAM shop steward, was arrested a half hour later at his home. The three are now out on bail; if convicted of the charge of "conspiracy to bomb affecting interstate commerce," they face prison terms of five years and $10,000 fines. Additionally, Boyd is accused of planning to assault a labor relations manager (who was never assaulted) and threatening the life of a security guard (who was never identified). All FBI evidence against the three is based on the testimony of one Ramon Barton, an agent provocateur who says his goal was to "penetrate the CWP, expose them, and stop people from getting hurt" (*San Diego Evening Tribune*, 26 September).

The arrests were the latest in a series of union-busting moves by NASSCO, where unsafe working conditions culminating in the on-the-job death of two machinists in September had sparked an angry protest movement by workers at the plant. In June, Loo and Boyd led a work stoppage over noxious fumes in the hull of the Navy destroyer tender, *Cape Cod*. On August 2 Iron Workers Local 627 at NASSCO demonstrated at the launching ceremony of the *Cape Cod* to protest health and safety conditions. On August 4 the company retaliated by firing 17 trade unionists. On August 5 the workers responded with a three-day wildcat strike whose picket lines were respected by all the unions at NASSCO. Seven more workers were fired during the strike. A month later, on September 2, machinists Michael Beebe and Kenneth King were asphyxiated by leaking argon gas from an open unmarked tank on the *Cape Cod*—the sixth and seventh deaths due to gross company negligence in the last five years at NASSCO. Beebe and King's funeral was attended by over 900 workers. Two weeks later the NASSCO 3 were arrested.

FBI informer Barton was one of the 28 NASSCO workers originally fired in August. During this period, Barton now testifies, he had been constantly wired with recording and transmitting devices. This provocateur spoke with and attended meetings of fired union activists, taping conversations while he tried to involve workers in plans to blow up the homes of NASSCO officials, tape propane tanks to mufflers of cars, kidnap Labor Relations officials, throw gasoline bottles through company windows and so forth. As former Local 627 Assistant Business Agent Miguel Salas commented,

> "The company is desperate. They've tried to divide the union by offering to hire back some of the 28 fired workers. They've tried red-baiting, and now an informer is used in what appears to be entrapment of three of our members."
> —*San Diego Evening Tribune*, 17 September

While shop stewards and many rank and file unionists in the shipyard have come to the defense of the NASSCO 3, several of the local union tops have supported NASSCO in its frame-up and McCarthyite red purge. With contract expiration less than a year away and union elections due to be held this January, the company had been using the union safety protests as an excuse to fire many union leaders. Assistant BA Salas, one of the original 28 fired workers, was removed from his union posts after coming to the defense of the arrested three and expressed the fear that the arrests will be used to put the militant local into international trusteeship.

On September 16 Salas had distributed a leaflet calling on the union ranks to defend the arrested union brothers from the NASSCO/government attack. The next day Salas was removed from all his union positions by Lou Goodwin, head of the Shopmen's Division of the International Ironworkers. Goodman says there was a "deplorable" situation at NASSCO, "which I think we all know now was created by the CWP." Working hand-in-glove with the company, Goodman continued his red-baiting smear. "The criminals will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law, and I think the CWP will find itself on the decline..." (*San Diego Union*, 18 September).

The NASSCO frame-up comes in the context of a national media attack against the CWP ever since KKK/Nazi murderers shot down five CWPers in cold blood in Greensboro last November. One ominous sign was an NBC-TV special on the CWP November 10, which skipped over the fascist killers then on trial, instead stirring up fears of the "party [which] vowed to avenge the deaths" of Greensboro. Police officials were quoted that the CWP "are for violent overthrow of the government."

San Diego Union

IAM shop steward and CWP supporter Mark Loo victimized in union-busting at NASSCO shipyard, San Diego.

The NASSCO bomb-plot charges were linked to CWP antics during the presidential campaign, throwing eggs at Anderson and Kennedy, and their clash with NYC cops outside the Democratic convention in August. And the commentator made a pitch for beefing up federal secret police powers to persecute left-wing groups:

> "So far police in 20 states have sought information on the organization [CWP], but because of new restrictions, the FBI cannot provide it. As a result the Greensboro police department has become a national clearing house for information about the party."

Now it's Reagan country, and should the bourgeoisie step up repression against the left as part of its renewed Cold War anti-communist drive, the frenzied CWP may well be first in line for attack. It is the duty of all left and labor militants and defenders of democratic rights to defend the NASSCO 3 against these blatant frame-up charges. But the CWP certainly makes itself an easy target. According to a fact sheet put out by supporters of the NASSCO 3 defense, there were no less than 12 specific incidents during the two-month period of August-September that Ramon Barton behaved as an agent provocateur—trying to suck workers into his plans, bringing semi-automatic rifles and shotguns in his van to the picket lines, approaching workers for various bomb-making plots, suggesting the buying of expensive surveillance equipment and so forth. So why did Boyd and Johnson stupidly enter Barton's van on September 16 and let themselves be taken for a ride?!

The closely coordinated government/company conspiracy to frame the NASSCO 3 is an attack on the entire labor movement. If left-wingers are picked off in San Diego, it makes it that much easier to go after militant unionists around the country. And what are they accused of? Alleged plans to sabotage the operations of a bloodsucking company engaged in a vicious union-busting drive. Even if anyone besides the feds and their paid provocateur had dreamed up such fantastical plans it would be no crime, merely a stupid diversion from the class struggle. Such alleged plots are the product of a raving cop mentality—the demented idea that communist revolution is a conspiracy to bomb, loot and maim.

This vicious lie must be denounced and the charges dropped against the victimized San Diego union militants! Let's talk about the real criminals: NASSCO gets seven workers killed and scores seriously injured, while the FBI is called in to frame up labor activists. Socialists and class-conscious unionists must respond to this anti-red witchhunt by mobilizing labor and minorities against the capitalists and their secret police. Defend the NASSCO 3! ■

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RWG: A Cult for Scabbing

This fall a new journal suddenly appeared on the shelves of some Ann Arbor and Detroit bookstores. Misnamed the *Fighting Worker* (*FW*), this journal is the publication of the Ann Arbor-based cult/sect of Peter Sollenberger which now calls itself the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG). This most bizarre of tiny "anti-Spartacist Leagues" has never before, in its admitted four years of existence, felt obliged to issue any kind of newspaper. Private letters, henhouse gossip and "court documents"—all directed against the SL—have been the defining features of the Sollenberger group. In fact, the main real document of the group was for years a privately circulated "27-point outline for a critique/analysis" of the SL (see "What Is the 'Revolutionary Workers Group'," *Young Spartacus*, March 1980).

It is not even that the RWG is finally responding to our challenges to put its confused positions down on paper where the words stay on the page. But that, after having organized a series of stunning defeats, even Peter Sollenberger apparently realized that "socialism" in one college town was a dead end. This "theorist" had managed to get a union decertified, left an alphabet soup of collapsed front groups, flopped in an attempt at an anti-Klan rally (after slandering as dupes the black workers who attended the successful anti-Klan demonstration initiated by the SL in Detroit last November), justified scabbing on an AFSCME strike and generally muddied the name of Marxism in his tight little corner of Ann Arbor with posturing, patronizing and punishing of his own members. And some of his better members were escaping.

Of course, the way the RWG puts it, its public silence thus far was appropriate to its location, but now the "RWG needs a publication to move forward." In fact, Ann Arbor was chosen precisely to maintain the private methods of a study circle, and most of all to avoid the SL. And that didn't work. The SL came to town and the para-political anti-Spartacists had to face reality, even as they denied it. In 1977, to accompany some new set of initials, they announced (to the astonishment of people they'd been working with for years!) that they'd always been "Leninists," even "Trotskyists."

In the U.S. there are two substantial organizations claiming to be Trotskyist. There is the Socialist Workers Party, a pretty consistently reformist organization, and the revolutionary Spartacist League. And a big gulf in between. At various points, all sorts of petty centrist honchos have seen that if they could just plant themselves between the SWP and the SL, they ought to find a fertile field on the U.S. political landscape. If only they could appeal as a less hard-nosed SL, as a group that doesn't swim quite so hard against the stream of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Easier said than done. The problem for such soft-core centrists is that the revolutionaries won't allow them to fudge the hard choices of political life. There is room for "soft Trotskyists" only where the authentic Trotskyists are not around to expose the class collaboration behind the incoherence and confusionism.

But it is different in Europe. There, large centrist currents have historic roots and the continuity of revolutionary Trotskyism is represented by the relatively recently established, small propaganda groups of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The iSt's recent successes have helped create a market of frightened centrists for the RWG's only product: anti-Spartacism. In particular, the Workers Socialist League (WSL) in England has shown the most interest as a potential customer. Indeed, the *FW* informs us that they met representatives from "the largely European Trotskyist International League (TILC) and the largely Latin American Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) at a TILC summer camp in Britain." It is a gross exaggeration to describe the TILC as "largely European." Its dominant section has become an organization restricted increasingly to Oxford thanks to the iSt's successful regroupments out of the WSL in Britain.

If the RWG has any fears that the WSL might meddle with its internal cult world, Steve Bryant's Socialist League (Democratic Centralist)—the WSL's present American mini-affiliate—can reassure them otherwise. At the very most the RWG would be committing itself to an international non-aggression pact; in return it would get false international credentials. This would probably require the unnatural coupling of Bryant's immediate family with Sollenberger's cult/sect. These are unlikely partners, despite their common addiction to fake mass work. But they do appear undeterred by the prospect and have even been issuing joint leaflets.

WV Photo

GOOD UNION MEMBERS RESPECT PICKET LINES

A good union member is extremely careful when confronted with a picket line situation. WHEN A PICKET LINE IS ESTABLISHED on a job where he is working.

1. He LEAVES. He DOES NOT TALK - JUST LEAVES.
2. He READS the PICKET SIGN as he leaves
3. He DOES NOT hang around near the job.
4. He knows that ONCE A PICKET LINE IS ESTABLISHED, his Business Agents and other union officials are legally gagged and handcuffed from giving advice pertaining to THAT JOB. They can only tell him if the Picket Line is AUTHORIZED by the Building Trades
5. He does NOT ALLOW HIMSELF to be drawn into conversations with ANYONE at the job site.

A GOOD UNION MEMBER KNOWS HIS RIGHTS

A. He has the right NOT to work behind ANY Picket Line
B. He has the right to decide for himself whether to walk off a job being picketed.
C. He understands that his trade may be under attack next.
D. He knows that a two gate system means a PICKET LINE and he has the RIGHT NOT TO WORK, no matter how many gates the employer sets up.

According to RWG, "A scab is one who tries to break a labor action by doing the work of a striking worker." So supposedly it's okay to cross picket lines. Even craft unions consider this scabbing (see IAM card, above right). There's a purpose to RWG word games, of course: they were caught scabbing on 1977 AFSCME clerical strike (above) in Ann Arbor.

How the Fighting Worker Fights the SL

With *FW* the Sollenberger clique still does not have a publication that takes programmatic positions on central issues, because the *FW* is fundamentally a *maneuver*. If Marxists begin, as Trotsky insisted in *The Third International After Lenin*, from an international political program, the RWG begins from petty opportunist appetite and the need for "theoretical" cover for hostility to the SL. To be sure, they baptize their miserable ragsheet "a contribution toward the rebuilding of the Fourth International." But true to form, *FW* devotes six of its eight pages to the iSt, ignoring ostensibly Trotskyist formations like the United Secretariat, about whom the RWG has never written a single word.

FW is a mix of patronizing Marxist primer, material rehashed and blunted from *WV* and an avalanche of "theory" to cover the failures and misadventures of Sollenberger in his obsession with the SL. Nearly half the first issue is devoted to an article justifying crossing picket lines (the SL having caught them in the act). *FW* is thus the literary expression of the RWG's bid to become America's "soft Trotskyists"—the Spartacist League without the SL's hard programmatic line and angular clarity. But the SL's "hardness" isn't a matter of style; the class line *is* a hard line.

The RWG wants to claim orthodoxy on defense of the Soviet Union but it also wants to drift a little with anti-Soviet reaction. So does *FW* say "Military Victory for the Soviet Union in Afghanistan"? "Defend the gains of October"? Sure. But its real line is presented as a long attack on the SL's angular slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and as a capitulation to the Polish Catholic church. And in the refusal to draw political blood between the RWG and the various third-camp/state-capitalist groupings with whom they share a common platform on Poland.

Here is a journal that appears to be directed at the SL. And it ought to be, if one believes what the RWG says about the SL. After all, the RWG is a group of a handful which claims the much larger SL has been for most of its history the embodiment of revolutionary Trotskyism. But sometime in the mid-1970s it went bad (about the time Sollenberger began his low-level front-group work among clericals at the University of Michigan).

In a letter to "J" dated 22 September 1980, it is claimed that the RWG has a one- to five-year recruitment perspective directed at "winning away from degenerating Spartacism the best elements from its periphery and membership." If this were true, the RWG would be anxious to get the SL into a debate. But all the polemical huffing and puffing is directed not at the "best elements" of the SL but at the "best elements" of the RWG! Eleven years of parasitic Spartacist-fixation has brought Sollenberger fewer ex-SLers than the SL has won from the infinitely smaller pool of Sollenberger supporters.

Sollenberger's main problem is to keep his membership away from direct political combat with the SL. The leadership has imposed a gag rule on its members and front-group supporters barring them from talking to SL members. One leading member of the RWG's main union caucus who later joined the SL had argued within the Sollenberger group to take up the SL's debate challenges. But she was admonished that such a debate would only "confuse" her.

The "sparkling theorists" who run the RWG have concocted every sort of excuse to avoid an open debate: they said the SL "was mean to [WSL leader] Thornett" and that "trade unionists can't debate reds." Or they placed privatizing conditions to block the way, like the suggestion for a closet debate in which there would be allowed no more than "five BLG [former acronym of RWG] comrades...five SL comrades ...five BLG contacts, five SL contacts" and of course the "unaligned" who must be "willing to state openly they are not supporters or sympathizers" of either group. Apparently Sollenberger has only five members he feels he can trust.

An open debate would threaten the cult character of the RWG. They have good reason to have no confidence in their incoherent and contradictory political line, because it is not politics which really holds the group together. Face to face with the SL, they would be forced to defend their history and actual practice. Real debate goes on in political life as hard choices, not cushioned readings from texts.

The Making of a Cult

In the many attempts of Ann Arbor's poseur Sollenberger to look more serious than the SL, he has taken to attacking us for having a sense of humor. No jokes, demands Peter Pompous. But humor, besides other salutary effects, can contain insight. Take this one about the RWG, for instance. An RWG member is charged with being a member of a cult. A week later the member makes his retort: "The RWG is not a cult. Peter said so."

The weakness of the U.S. left makes possible all sorts of cults with political and quasi-political missions. The more petty-bourgeois the environment, the more removed from the great class forces that shape history, the more habitable for cultists.

It began in 1969 when Sollenberger and fellow ex-Harvard student Leland Sanderson briefly flirted with some

SLers in Boston. What they said was they rejected our regroupment perspective, in particular our orientation to the mass radical SDS. But it was our democratic-centralist Leninist organization that scared the boys away. So they packed their bags and moved to Michigan, presumably to conquer the proletarian masses—in Ann Arbor. That Sollenberger/Sanderson found reasons to avoid Leninist discipline is not unusual, particularly among the failed academics who hang around the left. What makes these two special was their deluded self-image as unappreciated Marxist thinkers. Yet even today they admit the SL was a revolutionary organization in that period, and have never attempted to justify independent existence. These Marxist "thinkers" produced no documents, no position papers, no explanations—just took it on the political lam. What did they think of Chile? Of Portugal? Who knows?

They effectively dropped out of sight but kept themselves busy assiduously reading *Workers Vanguard*. Later they appeared at SL forums, armed with tape recorders, masquerading as interested labor historians. And so it might have remained, had they not stumbled across a group of women clericals in Ann Arbor. Now for the first time Sollenberger was presented with an opportunity to create the pond in which he could be the big minnow. He latched onto Clericals for a Democratic Union (CDU) on a low-level, economist basis. It was an organization that emanated straight from Sollenberger's ego and was organized accordingly, with no officials or regulations for years. It was simultaneously a "union" without an elected leadership, a "party" without party democracy or real internal political life and a front group. Sollenberger should have stuck to "theory."

When the CDU took over leadership of hapless UAW Local 2001, Sollenberger bragged that he had created the first really red union in American history. But he didn't brag red to the clericals who had elected the CDU on the most minimal, sub-reformist program. In fact, the majority of the CDU membership, up until the latter part of the CDU's term in office, did not know that a secret group presumptuously called the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency and headed by Sollenberger was calling the shots. The clericals were thus completely unprepared for and taken aback by the barrage of redbaiting attacks from the UAW bureaucracy. So after only seven months of CDU leadership, during which hardly a grievance was processed, the clericals decided no union was better than the one they had, and voted to decertify.

Now this short-lived and sorry history of UAW Local 2001 is being hailed as one of the best pieces of union work ever accomplished in America! An RWG supporter of the decertified union recently declared with hilarious pomposity that the CDU has "a record which no other left organization has ever paralleled in this country in the past three decades." That is of course a good thing, as the union movement doesn't need more decertifications.

But defeats must be glorified in the making of a cult. This is necessary not only to preserve the infallibility of the great leader but to pose a *test* for cult initiation. It is in this sense that even the bloodless academic cultism of the RWG shares something of the method of that mad suicide cult of Jim Jones in Guyana.

According to his followers, never ever has Sollenberger made a mistake or been wrong. Someone else is always responsible. When decertification occurred, it was the fault of the clericals' backwardness and any "flaws" in the CDU's work were due to the "initial lack of political consciousness of even the most advanced workers in the CDU" (Open Letter to Comrade H., 30 January 1977). The political lead and advice provided by Sollenberger in this disastrous episode were never brought into question.

Brooks/Detroit News

UAW militants don't accept RWG's definition of "non-striking worker" as he tries to cross Ford River Rouge picket line in 1941.

Thus the welter of front groups and study circles set up and folded at the whim of Sollenberger serve to provide a protective covering behind which the guru can hide from the political responsibility for his errors. And this kind of anti-Leninist organization makes it easier to seal the members from political reality. Any attempt to even suggest that the BLT or BLG or RWG or whatever was the current alias of the Sollenberger cult supported any of these front groups brought forth howls of paranoia that they were being "fingered." Yet any approach to these supposedly "independent" groups to get a signature on a petition, or even an opinion, was met with the standard response: "You know who to ask." Or more honestly and simply, "Go ask Peter."

While Sollenberger has attempted to seal off his people from reality, Sollenbergertown is not on the agenda. Reality has a way of asserting itself, mainly by hurting the members of cults, sometimes tragically. So this organization, which was developed during the "me-decade" of touchy-feely self-improvement groups, held out the promise of "supportive" internal life. The SL is "so hard," went the Sollenberger recruiting approach. But the problem was that this personality-centered approach, without democratic Leninist *political* norms, hurt more. The primacy of personality over politics sent RWGers reeling, as their supposed mistakes were treated psychologically rather than politically by the "supportive" RWG leaders. Members took all the heat for Sollenberger's inability to provide a coherent program and political leadership.

As one leading CDU member who joined the SL put it, "Everyone knows that the SL has a 'closet rule'—what you do in your personal life is your own business as long as it doesn't affect your organizational work. The trouble with the CDU study circle mentality was that everybody was busy trying to get into everybody else's closet!" And as this ex-CDUer pointed out, the members sometimes paid a terrible personal cost. One member, Carolyn Weeks, was given the Sollenberger version of the Mennonite custom of "shunning," and she cracked. "Caucus leaders with intimate ties to 'the leader' ended up being dumped in the local Roman Catholic insane asylum" (see "An Interview with the Notorious Comrade H." *Young Spartacus* No. 80, March 1980). Even now, the mention of the name Carolyn Weeks sends RWGers close to "the leader" into tearful hysterical fits. Just as the Sollenberger "soft" version of "Trotskyism" turns out to be a species of class collaboration, his "soft" organization turns out to be a distasteful nest of anti-political personal abuse.

We wish for more serious, more political opponents; but we have to take what we can get. We take small groups seriously. We take even some left-talking sects and cults seriously, precisely because given the weakness of the U.S. left they can attract some activists who might otherwise be attracted to Trotskyism. Our pages have included polemics against such groups as the RSL and the TOC; more to the point, in the days when Lynn Marcus' cult group was still part of the left we wrote sharp attacks on his economic claptrap. But we always pointed out what was the real glue which held the NCLC together—the cult of Lynn Marcus.

It is nothing new for groups like the RWG to proclaim themselves the revolutionaries, born whole and pristine out of someone's thigh, with no past, no "sin." The reality is that they have no future. We would like to save at least some of the members of such groups for the revolution. We have too often seen decent young people ground up in the self-justifying circle of some guru, spit out unfit for revolutionary politics and more often than not fed up with politics altogether. Such members crawl out of the cult/sects on their psychic hands and knees with just enough energy to escape, like slipping through the underbrush at Jonestown, relieved at last to be out and vowing never ever to return. In this regard, it is interesting to note that in the last year or so the SL has re-recruited a dozen of its own ex-members. This is unthinkable for the RWG, NCLC or any other cult.

WV Photo

Detroit, November 1979: RWG calls these black workers dupes.

Cult Cries Fraud

There is a limit to how long such a subterranean cult-cocoon can perpetuate itself in the groves of academe, especially after the RWG/BLG/BLT's fairly disastrous experience organizing (or disorganizing) U of M clerical workers. But when they leave Ann Arbor, even for occasional forays into Detroit, they risk running into the class struggle—or it running into them. In the center of the American auto industry you can't avoid the *class line*: you're on one side or the other, "there are no neutrals here." And in this majority-black metropolis there's no escaping the *black question*, the strategic key to the American proletarian revolution. Thus repeatedly over the past year, the U.S. left has been confronted by racist attacks by the KKK and other fascist terror groups. What has been the response of the RWG?

When the Ku Klux Klan threatened last November to stage a march through downtown Detroit to celebrate the fascists' bloody Greensboro massacre, the Spartacist League joined militant auto workers from Ford's River Rouge plant to mobilize the largest labor/black protest against fascist terror the city had seen in a long, long time. Backing down

continued on page 11

For Workers Revolution!

Down with Turkish Junta!

ADAPTED FROM SPARTACIST BRITAIN NOS. 24 AND 26 AUGUST/SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER 1980

Military coup results in savage repression against workers, Kurds, leftists.

Sygma

On September 12, after months of spiraling political instability, the Turkish military under chief of staff General Kenen Evren seized power from the government of Suleyman Demirel's rightist Justice Party. As army limousines whisked politicians off to "protective custody," the new National Security Council of five top-ranking generals warned on television that any resistance would be "broken in the severest manner instantaneously." Parliament and all political parties were declared dissolved. Ordering strikers back to work, the military illegalized some 750 labor organizations and arrested more than 1,000 unionists, including all leaders and officials of the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions (DISK), the principal Turkish union federation.

Army patrols have rounded up "suspected terrorists" by the thousands, arresting more than 3,000 in a dragnet at one Ankara university alone. The National Security Council has reported that nearly 7,000 have been arrested since the coup, another 4,000 detained but not yet charged and 750 sentenced for "terrorist activity." The repression has been particularly savage in regions inhabited by the oppressed Kurdish minority, especially in northeastern Turkey. Tanks and troops occupied the Kurdish community of Baglar on September 22 in retaliation against a protest there demanding an end to martial law. More than 500 were reported arrested. Meanwhile the generals have launched a big mopping-up operation in the southeast. Military dictatorships are never bloodless—and this one promises to exact its share from the Kurds, workers and leftists.

Just about everyone knew the coup was coming—it was a question of when. Five times in the past year the generals issued stern warnings to the bourgeois politicians to stop feuding and halt the country's slide into chaos. And when the Turkish military makes such threats, they mean business. When the army took power in 1960 it executed right-wing prime minister Menderes. In the March 1971 "coup by communiqué," a simple threat to intervene forced Demirel to resign and brought about three years of martial rule. But this time the two main capitalist parties—Demirel's conservative Justice Party and the "liberal" Republican People's Party (RPP) of former prime minister Bulent Ecevit—remained deadlocked in parliament, unable to appoint a president after five months of wrangling and more than 150 votes.

Also blocked were the repressive laws being demanded by the generals. In the big-city slums, on the campuses and even in remote provincial towns, fighting between savage fascist bands and a myriad of "far left" commando groups had led to a state of near civil war, claiming 20 to 30 lives daily. Military calls for an "anti-terrorist" crackdown were certainly not without popular support, as the political fighting often had the character of gang vendettas and indiscriminate terror. Coffeehouses known as hangouts of leftists or rightists were attacked without regard to bystanders, and slums or villages identified with one side were routinely attacked by the other.

Meanwhile, the Turkish economy was beset by inflation running at 130 percent last year, and about the only export the country had was its workers—more and more of whom were being booted out of West Germany due to recession in Europe. Demirel was having trouble carrying out the drastic austerity measures that his IMF patrons in Bonn and Washington had dictated as conditions for further bailouts. And the combative Turkish proletariat had responded with a wave of militant strikes and factory occupations, which threatened the crippled economy even though they were led into reformist deadends by the Stalinist and pro-RPP labor tops. Faced with the paralysis of parliamentary government, the Turkish bourgeoisie was virtually unanimous in greeting the military takeover, the only means, in their view, of imposing "stability"—by straitjacketing the rebellious working class.

Legacy of Atatürk

When the Turkish generals sent their tanks into the streets, they justified the coup as a necessary measure "to steer the country back to the path of Atatürk." And on the morning after the takeover, General Evren ostentatiously placed wreaths at the mausoleum of Mustapha Kemal (Atatürk), the modernizing general who in 1923 gave the coup de grâce to the decrepit Ottoman Empire and founded the Turkish republic. To this day the mainstream of the army considers itself to be the inheritor and guarantor of the Kemalist tradition: bonapartist bourgeois nationalism, combining anti-Communism and pro-Western secularism. But where Atatürk saw himself as a modernizer, dragging a medieval country into the 20th century by fighting religious obscurantism, he could not lay the economic basis for continued social progress. Half a century later, "Kemalist" generals are acting as the agents of Western imperialism and a domestic bourgeoisie which has increasingly appealed to clerical-reactionary and fascist forces to shore up its shaky rule.

Much has been made of the so-called "evenhandedness" of the new regime. In a radio-television broadcast to the nation, General Evren attacked those who refuse to sing the national anthem, whether "they are acting as religious fanatics or as partisans of foreign ideologies, who instead sing the Internationale" (*Le Monde*, 14-15 September). Not only were leaders of the Justice Party and RPP arrested—and thousands of leftists and unionists—but also the two leading rightist politicians: Nemcettin Erbakan, leader of the Islamic-fundamentalist National Salvation Party (NSP), and Alparslan Türkes, *Führer* of the fascist National Action Party (NAP) and its paramilitary gangs, the notorious Grey Wolves. While Demirel, Ecevit and Erbakan have been released, Türkes, whose growing support within the armed forces has worried the old guard generals, remains in "protective custody."

It has been reported that the expansion of Erbakan's NSP figured prominently in the generals' decision to take power. A month before the coup the NSP led a march of 50,000 through Konya (Turkey's equivalent of Khomeini's Qom) demanding a return to Islamic law, the "Sheriat," proscribed by Mustapha Kemal. Banners and slogans were in Arabic script, declared illegal in 1928 when the Latin alphabet was introduced; much of the crowd refused to stand for the national anthem (hence Evren's complaint), and many male marchers wore the fez, the traditional Ottoman headdress abolished by Atatürk for all but the clergy. The military top brass is keenly aware of the danger that the far right presents. They look next door at Iran and worry that the victory of Islamic obscurantist forces would mean disruption of the army.

As for the organized working class, the military clearly wants to crack down without cracking a lot of bones Pinochet-style. One of the first acts of the new junta was to announce a 70 percent "advance pay" increase to get striking workers back to work. Of course, with inflation almost double that rate, this amounts to a whopping

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Junta chief Evren on day of the coup visits mausoleum of Kemal Atatürk (right).

cut in real wages. As an incentive to "moderate" unionism, they have left intact the conservative Türk-Is labor federation. But everyone knows that the generals are first and foremost sworn enemies of the left and labor. The "path of Atatürk" is strewn with corpses of Kurds and Communists; the TKP has been officially outlawed since 1926. On the economy, the new junta announced it would carry out "Demirel's program without Demirel"—meaning ruthless austerity measures, implemented at bayonet's point if necessary.

NATO Coup

The imperialist response to the Turkish coup was summed up in the *Economist*'s "Welcome Back, Generals." Of course, General Evren at first tried to claim that the United States "did not know even beforehand" about the planned coup. But whether the U.S. embassy had only an hour and fifteen minutes' advance warning when the move came (as was subsequently admitted), it's clear that Washington, Brussels and Bonn were among the instigators. *This was a coup for NATO.* Turkey is a strategic bulwark in the anti-Soviet imperialist military alliance, sharing a common border with the USSR and having an army of nearly 500,000 (the largest in NATO except for the U.S.). It's hardly coincidental that the generals made their move at precisely the moment when there were NATO maneuvers underway in Turkey—nor that they went on uninterrupted. (When the Greek colonels seized power in 1967 it was also under the cover of NATO operations.)

Imperialist approval of the coup was hardly disguised. In Washington, a State Department spokesman refused to criticize the takeover, while in Bonn the SPD economics minister is quoted as hoping that the putsch would be "a salutory shock" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 13 September). This backing is all the more important because of West Germany's special relationship with Turkey within the NATO framework. Since 1964 the Social Democratic/liberal coalition has provided the Turkish government with almost a billion dollars (DM 1.6 billion) in arms aid, surplus army equipment and "emergency" credits following Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Another $300 million in economic aid was provided by West Germany since the start of 1980 alone, and federal chancellor Schmidt has reassured the new martial rulers in Ankara that this backing will continue.

After Greece withdrew from NATO in 1974 in protest over the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, and Portugal was embroiled in leftist agitation following the "captains' revolt" that April, the U.S. began to worry aloud about the "soft underbelly" of the Atlantic Alliance in the Mediterranean. And when Uncle Sam's southern sentinel against the USSR, the shah, was swept away by the mullahs' "Islamic Revolution," the Pentagon became alarmed by Turkey's slide toward civil war. With the loss of key electronic listening posts in Iran, similar American installations in Turkey henceforth accounted for a quarter of all NATO intelligence on Soviet missile and satellite launchings. And for more than a year Washington has been requesting to use Turkish airspace so its U-2 spy planes could fly reconnaissance missions over the Soviet Union.

Bojesen/Now!

Junta has arrested leaders of Turkey's principal trade-union federation DISK. Here the DISK protests government economic policies in Izmir earlier this year.

Moreover, the U.S. was keen to bring Greece back into NATO, but the Turkish government vetoed this four times as both Demirel and Ecevit courted the smaller Islamic chauvinist parties which held the balance of power in parliament. The coup suddenly resolved this question: one day after the Greeks formally announced their decision to re-enter NATO, the Turkish foreign ministry hailed it. This reversed Turkey's previous adamant position that Greece was out unless it gave up exclusive military jurisdiction over the Aegean. In turn, Athens hailed the Turkish coup. Behind this sudden show of brotherhood between historic rivals (Atatürk first became a military hero by defeating the Greek army in 1921) is clearly the hand of the Pentagon and NATO's HQ. After the coup the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, General Bernard Rogers, visited Ankara four times, reportedly to discuss the Greece issue.

The bonapartist role of the military in Turkish society has historically been strong—from the "Young Turk" constitutionalist revolution of 1908-9 to Mustapha Kemal's struggle for a Turkish republic in 1919-23. The president of the republic has always been a former high-ranking officer. And now for the third time in two decades the Turkish masses are again under the yoke of direct military rule. But between the Kemalism of the '20s and the political outlook of Atatürk's heirs today there is a considerable distance: instead of development through state-owned industry, "free enterprise" austerity; instead of hostility to English imperialism, integration in the NATO anti-Soviet alliance. While the RPP has long had considerable influence among the army high command, today the officer caste is deeply penetrated by former colonel Türkes' NAP.

Workers, Kurds Under the Gun

Even before the September coup, the Turkish working class was clearly on the defensive, beset by ultra-rightist terror and military repression. The latest incident was the assassination on July 22 of Kemal Türkler, head of the militant metal workers union Maden-Is, outside his home in Istanbul. Türkler was a founder and former president of the left-wing DISK union federation and a known supporter of the Communist Party. His murder was evidently a reprisal for the killing of NAP deputy chairman Gun Sazak, blown away by leftist guerrillas last May. Many Maden-Is militants walked out in spontaneous strikes in response to the fascist provocation. But faced with threats by martial law authorities to fire every striker, the DISK leaders capitulated, channeling the workers' outrage into a one-day general strike.

Repeatedly the Turkish working class showed a determined will to struggle, but went down to defeat due to their Stalinist-reformist and RPP left-wing misleaders. Last January, when the Demirel government ordered a search for arms in the Taris nationalized agricultural cooperative, workers in the complex defended themselves. In rapid succession several hundred were fired, 10,000 workers responded with a strike, and government threats of closure were met with an occupation. Barricades were thrown up in the surrounding Izmir workers districts. For three weeks Taris was in the hands of the workers, but the DISK did little more than send a protest telegram to the president and call a token two-day strike which it ended prematurely, causing a general strike in Izmir to collapse. Finally Demirel sent in 10,000 troops, backed by tanks and helicopters, to crush the workers. Following a brutal house-to-house search, when the military was done the fascists were given free rein to rampage and terrorize.

The fascists derive bourgeois support from their function as shock troops to crush the labor movement. But as always their mass base comes in large measure from exploiting national and religious antagonisms. The Alevis (Shi'ite Muslims), primarily Kurds, have been a frequent target of ultra-rightist mass terror mobilizing the majority Sunnis. In July fascist mobs and clerical reactionaries converged on the town of Corum for an anti-Alevi pogrom which left 50 dead in three days. Alevi-owned shops were attacked by crowds chanting "Allah-u-Ekbar [god is great], Corum will be a grave for Communists." When the army moved in it tore down the defensive barricades erected by the townspeople and stood by while the murderous Grey Wolves continued to loot and burn.

Now the junta's leading figure, Chief of Staff General Evren, has declared war on "separatists" (i.e., Kurdish nationalists). In this situation defense of the right of self-determination of the Kurdish nationality is key to successfully combatting the reactionaries. The fight against the fascist scum demanded a struggle within the trade unions for the formation of armed workers militias to defend workers districts and Kurdish and other minority communities. Despite the ultra-rightists' increasingly murderous ascendancy, a successful defense would have laid the basis for a pre-revolutionary situation, posing the prospect of the only real solution to the plight of Turkey's workers and oppressed, proletarian revolution. What was lacking was above all the authentic communist (Trotskyist) leadership capable of waging such a fight, in the first instance against the reformists whose defeatist program paved the road to the coup.

Stalinism: Organizer of Defeats

The 1971 military coup, also directed against Demirel, was initially greeted by part of the left, but resulted in a ferocious repression against the working class. The resulting demoralization within the proletariat was exacerbated by the futile "armed struggle" strategy taken up by many of the most subjectively revolutionary elements on the Turkish left—like the Guevarist Devrimci Genclik, since split into the Dev Yol, Dev Sol and Dev Sav groups—killed in isolated shootouts with the police or tortured and murdered in

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The ex-Premiers, Demirel (left) and Ecevit

Religion & Reaction

by Joseph Seymour

The basic Marxist understanding that religion is reactionary is today being challenged on the left. First in Iran, now in Poland, various fake-left groups have maintained that the traditional church (Islamic Shi'ite and Roman Catholic respectively) can play a progressive, even a revolutionary, role. It is therefore important to recount the historically counterrevolutionary role of organized religion, especially the Catholic church, in the modern world. Part I of "Religion and Reaction" (WV No. 268, 14 November) covered the Catholic church in the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Paris Commune, and the conflict between the Bolshevik Revolution and the Russian Orthodox church.

PART TWO OF TWO

Bundesarchiv

Papal nuncio di Torregrossa negotiated Concordat with Hitler's Germany.

During this century the Roman Catholic church was a major factor in establishing and consolidating fascist and other right-wing dictatorships throughout Europe in the inter-war period. Horthy's white terror in Hungary, the Pilsudskiite dictatorship in Poland, Mussolini's fascism were all blessed by the pope and his local agents. In two of the greatest defeats for the proletariat in this period the Vatican acquiesced to the victory of Nazism in Germany and enthusiastically supported the Francoist armies in Spain. The support of the Catholic hierarchy the world over for the Francoist cause was so open and aggressive that to this day Catholic propagandists don't even try to deny it.

It is now also notorious that, despite numerous appeals from liberal Catholics, Pope Pius XII refused to protest the Nazi genocide against the Jews. The Vatican was scandalized when in the mid-1960s a young West German liberal recounted these facts in his play, *The Deputy*. Less well known is the fact that Nazi Germany's two most loyal and bloody satellite states were both clerical-fascist regimes—Msgr. Tiso's Slovakia and Ante Pavelić's Croatia. What follows is an account of the alliance of the Vatican with fascism, and also a consideration of the Trotskyist attitude toward the Stalinist repression of the Catholic church in East Europe.

With the political astuteness sometimes possessed by extreme reactionaries, the Vatican realized that the outbreak of World War I marked the end of the old social order and could open up an era of revolution. Thus, the beginning of the first imperialist world slaughter brought forth from the Holy See an encyclical, *Ad Beatissimi*, attacking socialism! When capitalist governments were sending millions of youths to kill one another for the sake of profitability, Pope Benedict XV decried "disregard for authority" and "unjust quarrels between the various classes."

The "disregard for authority" and "quarrels between classes" so feared by the papacy culminated in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Whereas once Jacobinism had turned the papacy into the vanguard of monarchist reaction, so now the spectre of Communism drove the Catholic church into the arms of counterrevolutionary fascism. Unable to crush "atheistic Communism" in its Russian base, the Catholic hierarchy took its bloody toll on the socialist working class from Spain to Poland.

Horthy, Mussolini, Pilsudski: "Men of Providence"

Clerical fascism was prefigured in the white terror which followed the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. Admiral Horthy's fascistic bands, such as the Blood Pact of the Double Cross, killed and tortured any Communist or socialist worker they got their hands on, the counterrevolutionary terror against "reds" naturally extending into a general anti-Semitic pogrom. The savagery of the Horthyite white terror is described—and not even fully—by the former Hungarian liberal prime minister, Count Michael Karolyi:

> "Workers and peasants were hurled alive into burning furnaces, a proceeding jokingly called 'using them as fuel.' Innocent Jews were dragged out of a train and hung on trees in the forest of Orgovany. Wives of Communists were raped by officers and then turned over to the ranks."
>
> —*Memoirs of Michael Karolyi* (1956)

The Horthy regime christened itself a Christian and National Agrarian Democracy, thereby encapsulating the three main ideological bases of the counterrevolutionary terror: religious hostility to materialism, chauvinist reaction to internationalism, and the appeal to the backward peasantry against the urban socialist proletariat. While bearing certain fascistic features, Horthy's regime was essentially a military dictatorship based on the old officer corps and landed magnates. Fascism proper—the mobilization of the petty-bourgeois masses against the working class—was born in the Italian revolutionary crisis of 1920-22.

Despite Mussolini's sometime belligerent atheism and occasional flirtations with Roman paganism, the Catholic church supported the fascist movement from the very beginning. In fact, Mussolini enjoyed good personal relations with Pius XI from the time the latter was still Cardinal Ratti of Milan. In 1921 the future pope proclaimed to an Italian writer:

> "Mussolini is making rapid headway and, with elemental strength, will conquer all in his path. Mussolini is a wonderful man.... He is a new convert, since he comes from the ranks of the extreme left, he has the zeal of the novice to spur him on."
>
> —quoted in Edmund Paris, *The Vatican Against Europe* (1961)

Needless to say, when Ratti became Pius XI the following year he did all he could to aid "the wonderful man." The Vatican systematically *undermined* the Catholic Popular party, which had impeded the consolidation of fascist bonapartism. In 1926 the pope proclaimed to the world: "Mussolini is the man sent by Providence" (quoted in Avro Manhattan, *The Vatican in World Politics* [1949]).

The close alliance between Italian fascism and the Holy See was codified in 1929 with the Concordat and Lateran Treaty. The former made Roman Catholicism the official state religion; the latter recognized the Vatican as an independent state, thereby reversing one of the major attainments of the Italian bourgeois-democratic revolution of the 1860s. On this historic occasion Il Duce proclaimed, no doubt entirely sincerely:

> "We recognize the pre-eminent place the Catholic Church holds in the religious life of the Italian people—which is perfectly natural in a Catholic country such as ours, and under a régime such as is the Fascist."
>
> —quoted in *ibid.*

A few years later Pius XI returned the compliment. His 1931 encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*, endorsed the fascist corporate state as a model of good government:

> "Now this is the primary purpose of the state and of all good citizens: to abolish conflicts between classes with divergent interests, and thus foster and promote harmony between the various ranks of society."

After outlining the main features of the

corporate state, it concludes:

> "Little reflection is required to perceive the advantage of the institution thus summarily described: peaceful collaboration of the classes, repression of socialist organizations."
>
> —reproduced in Anne Fremantle, ed., *The Papal Encyclicals in Historical Context* (1956)

In one of those historically significant coincidences Ratti-Pius XI was also involved in the early career of another of Europe's leading right-wing dictators. Ratti was papal nuncio to Poland in 1919-20, when he became friendly with the chief of state, Josef Pilsudski. What especially impressed the future pope with the future fascistic Polish dictator was the latter's victory over the Soviet Red Army in the historic battle of the Vistula in 1920.

Thus, when Pilsudski staged his coup against the parliamentary government in 1926, the Vatican fully supported him although a number of Polish prelates didn't:

> "The Pope's readiness, in 1926, to adopt a more favorable view than many Polish Catholic ecclesiastics of Pilsudski's new—even though usurpatory—regime may also have been conditioned by the prevailing European expectation that Pilsudski's foreign policy would be fundamentally anti-Soviet.
>
> "The Pope took a series of discreet yet unmistakable steps to signal his positive attitude toward Pilsudski."
>
> —Joseph Rothschild, *Pilsudski's Coup D'Etat* (1966)

That some Polish prelates did not share the pope's positive attitude toward Pilsudski was not due to any democratic scruples on their part. Far from it! The Polish Catholic hierarchy was if anything more narrowly bigoted, more fanatically reactionary, more anti-Semitic than Pilsudski, who fancied himself a sophisticated man of the world. The Polish church was the main force behind the massacre and forcible conversion of hundreds of thousands of traditionally Eastern Orthodox Ukrainians in the late 1920s.

The character of the Polish Catholic hierarchy in this period was accurately described by a present-day Polish liberal Catholic, Jerzy Zawieyski:

> "I must admit with pain that for us Catholics, the greatest obstacle to faith was the Church itself, as personified in its official representatives. It was synonymous with anti-Semitism, fascism, obscurantism, fanaticism, and with all unprogressive and anti-cultural phenomena."
>
> —quoted in Abraham Brumberg, "The Open Political Struggle in Poland," *New York Review of Books*, 8 February 1979

The only false note in this statement is the implication that things have now changed.

AP

True face of Catholic reaction: Francoist army conquers revolutionary Barcelona, 1939.

Nazism in Germany, Francoism in Spain

"Nazism is a Christian reaction against the spirit of 1789." So hoped Franz von Papen, the German Catholic politician who in 1933 maneuvered to make Hitler chancellor of Germany. And von Papen was far from being a lone or isolated figure within German Catholic ruling circles. A few months after *der Führer*'s accession to power, Msgr. Ludwig Kaas, head of the mass Catholic Centre Party, offered the following testimonial:

> "Hitler knows well how to guide the ship. Even before he became Chancellor I met him frequently and was greatly impressed by his clear thinking, by his way of facing realities while upholding his ideals, which are noble."
>
> —quoted in Manhattan, *op cit.*

Despite totalitarian restrictions on their activities, the German Catholic hierarchy faced with the alternative supported the Nazi regime and constantly offered it friendly collaboration against the mutual enemy: Bolshevism. (The bitter resentment of the Catholic church to Nazi Germany's takeover of Austria in 1938 flowed from the elimination of the clerical-fascist state there.)

The overthrow of parliamentary democracy and destruction of working-class organization in Germany had a traumatic impact on the consciousness of the European proletariat. Thus, when in July 1936 the Spanish generals issued their *pronunciamiento* against the Popular Front government, an almost unarmed working class rose up and with extraordinary courage insurrected against the military coup. The Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 marked the greatest proletarian revolutionary struggle of the inter-war period. It also marked the open, full-scale alliance between the Catholic church and the fascist powers.

In July 1937 a "Collective Letter from the Spanish Bishops" declared that the Republican government's policies were "contrary to the nature and requirements of the national spirit" and that the issue had now become one of "perishing under the assault of Communism or attempting to resist it" (quoted in Pierre Broué and Emile Témime, *The Spanish Revolution and Civil War* [1970]). It was at the height of the Spanish Civil War in early 1937 that Pius XI issued his infamous encyclical denouncing "bolshevistic and atheistic communism" as "a barbarism worse than that which oppressed the greater part of the world at the coming of the Redeemer."

The German Catholic hierarchy couldn't contain its enthusiasm for the Nazis' aid to Franco. In early 1937 the German bishops issued a laudatory letter:

> "The Leader and Chancellor of the Reich, Adolf Hitler, has foreseen in time the advance of Bolshevism, and he has concentrated his thoughts and strength in the defence of the German people and of all the Western world against this frightful danger.
>
> "The German Bishops think it their duty to support the Reich-chancellor in this war of defence, with all the means that the Church puts at their disposal."
>
> —quoted in Manhattan, *op cit.*

When Franco crushed the revolutionary Spanish proletariat in 1939, Pius XII sent him a message of congratulations. If one picture is worth a thousand

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RWG on Religion and Poland

On the Road to the "Third Camp"

That Ann Arbor dilettante-cult, the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG), has just published in the second issue of its journal a polemic titled, "Lenin vs. *Workers Vanguard* on Religion." Like all the other fake-Trotskyist groups, the RWG is very upset by our assertion that the present crisis in Poland "could bring either proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy or capitalist counterrevolution led by Pope Wojtyla's church." Of the charge that the Polish Catholic church is capable of leading a counterrevolution, these "Marxist" sages enter the plea of Not Guilty: "...the explosion did not and could not bring either workers political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution" (*Fighting Worker*, October).

In other words, the Stalinist status quo is inviolable for now and the foreseeable future. Brezhnev and Kania should take great comfort from the views of Peter Sollenberger and his RWG. Actually the RWG has little to say about the concrete situation in Poland other than that nothing significant is happening or could happen. They apparently think Poland is Ann Arbor, so the bulk of their "polemic" against us consists of a 1908 quotation from Lenin that has no relevance whatsoever to the present crisis in Poland.

Here is the hypothetical situation Lenin is addressing. The workers in a particular industry are divided "into an advanced section of fairly class-conscious Social-Democrats [Marxists], who are of course atheists, and rather backward workers who are still connected with the countryside and with the peasantry, and who believe in God, go to church, or are even under the direct influence of the local priest...." Lenin further posits "that the economic struggle in this locality has resulted in a strike." He then wisely counsels that in such a situation Marxists shouldn't antagonize their fellow striking workers by engaging in aggressive atheist propaganda.

Lenin is here considering *a localized economic strike in a capitalist country*. Just like the present situation in Poland? Wrong! And Lenin was talking about propaganda against religion, not warnings about the present political danger represented by Polish nationalism and Catholic clericalism. The RWG membership should be downright embarrassed as we point out a couple of "small" differences.

First, we remind them that Poland is *not* a capitalist country; it is a bureaucratically deformed workers state. To take this Lenin quote as applicable to Poland is to obliterate the question of the class nature of the state. And in fact, the RWG *is* closer to "Third Campism" than to Trotskyism. It is, as they say, no accident that Sollenberger *first* presented his views on Poland at a forum solidarizing with the Baltic coast strike *jointly sponsored* with three anti-Soviet "state-cap" groups (see "Bloc for Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Detroit," *WV* No. 264, 19 September).

Second, the August Baltic coast strike was *not* primarily for higher wages; it was essentially a political general strike against the Stalinist regime. Therefore, the political character and allegiances of the strike leadership are decisive questions for Marxists. Certainly many of the workers taking part in the strike were socialists and not clerical-nationalists. But the leadership of the strike did *not* consist even in part of Marxists and atheists. It fell into the hands of committed Catholic activists, under the influence not of the local priest, but of the counterrevolutionary

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Olympia

Pope Wojtyla on pilgrimage for anti-Communism in Poland, 1979.

Religion & Reaction...

(continued from page 9)

words, then the true face of the Catholic Church Victorious is captured in a photograph of the Francoist army kneeling in prayer after conquering revolutionary Barcelona in 1939. More than 100,000 proletarians were murdered in Spain's concentration camps in the next few years as a result of the victory of Franco's *cruzada*.

Clerical-Fascism Par Excellence: Tiso's Slovakia, Pavelić's Croatia

When Nazi Germany conquered East Europe it set up clerical-fascist satellite states, notably Msgr. Tiso's Slovakia and Ustasha Croatia. These states were marked by a savage terror against leftists, Jews and other minorities even greater than in Nazi Germany itself. A prominent Slovak liberal describes life in the Christian state of Slovakia:

> "The advent of Slovak independence [in 1939] led to a wave of uncontrolled terror, persecution, and looting. The Guardists and the Ordners assaulted people of democratic and anti-Separatist views, as well as Czechs and Jews; by day and by night, they picked them up in the streets and in their homes, threw them into jail, and beat and robbed them.... People, beaten up and bleeding from their wounds, were thrown into dirty, stifling underground coal-cellars."
>
> —Josef Lettrich, *History of Modern Slovakia* (1955)

The Tiso regime boasted that its laws against the Jews were even more extreme than the Nazi Nuremberg laws: "...rigid decrees, such as not even Germany has applied, have been introduced by us to prevent all sorts of machinations between Jews" (quoted in *ibid.*).

Tiso was as good as his word. The first Jews sent to Auschwitz were from the Christian state of Slovakia. And anyone who maintains that the Vatican dissociated itself from Tiso's regime is ignorant or lying. For example, in 1940 the Vatican radio announced: "The declaration of Msgr. Tiso, Chief of the Slovak State, asserting his intention to set up Slovakia according to a Christian Plan, is greatly appreciated by the Holy See" (quoted in Edmund Paris, *op cit.*).

Probably the purest expression of clerical-fascism was Ustasha Croatia. It was also the most genocidal regime, given the size of the country, in modern European history. Pavelić's Ustashi killed approximately 750,000 Serbs, 60,000 Jews and 26,000 gypsies.

> The spirit of the Catholic church in Spain was well captured in the following catechism taught in the public schools during the 1920s:
>
> "What does Liberalism teach?
> "That the State is independent of the Church.
> "What kind of a sin is Liberalism?
> "It is a most grievous sin against Faith....
> "Is it a sin for a Catholic to read a Liberal newspaper?
> "He may read the Stock Exchange News."
>
> —quoted in Avro Manhattan, *The Vatican in World Politics* (1949)

When the German army conquered and dismembered Yugoslavia in 1941, they set up a Croatian satellite state, bringing Ante Pavelić and his Ustashi bands over from Italy to run it. Just before he left for Zagreb Pavelić had a private audience with Pius XII, who duly blessed the new head of a Catholic state.

And what a Catholic state! The Croatian Ustasha mainly killed but also drove out or forcibly converted the traditionally Eastern Orthodox Serbian population. Nor did the Ustashi just kill their victims outright—that was too easy. They buried them alive, gouged out their eyes, slowly hacked off their limbs. "A good Ustashi is he who can use his knife to cut a child from the womb of its mother," Pavelić told his henchmen. The atrocities of the Ustasha sadists were such that they turned the stomachs of German and Italian officers, who made some efforts to restrain them.

Not so the Catholic church! "The Ustashi movement is based on religion. Therefore our acts stem from our devotion to religion and to the Catholic Church," declared the regime's minister of education (quoted in Edmund Paris, *Genocide in Satellite Croatia, 1941-1945* [1962]). And in a sense he was absolutely right. Since the dissolution of the Italian papal states in 1870, nowhere did the Catholic clergy play a more active role in any government than in Ustasha Croatia:

> "Bishops sat in the Ustasha parliament, priests functioned as police chiefs and as officers in Pavelić's bodyguard, Franciscans commanded in the concentration camps, members of Catholic Action and its affiliated organizations were frequently also Ustashi, and even the nuns, their bosoms partially bedecked with Ustasha medals, saluted in the fascist manner and participated in the parades, marching directly behind the soldiers."
>
> —Karlheinz Deschner, *Mit Gott und den Faschisten* (1965)

The Catholic primate of Croatia, Archbishop Stepinac, was intimately involved in the Pavelić regime. In 1942 Pius XII appointed him military vicar to the Ustasha armed forces. Most of the top German Nazis claimed ignorance of the concentration camps and "final solution." By contrast, Stepinac admitted the Ustashi's atrocities (they were quite common knowledge), dismissing them as unavoidable excesses in a good cause: "We cannot be considered responsible for many of the hot-headed fanatics in the ranks of the church."

The atrocities of the Croatian Ustashi were discussed at length in Vatican circles, but, needless to say, no public protests were raised. Likewise, the papacy's notorious refusal to protest the Nazi extermination of the Jews was not a matter of diplomatic reserve. In their own way Hitler and his henchmen like Pavelić were making East Europe safe for the Roman Catholic church. Unfortunately for the Vatican, Soviet Russia defeated Nazi Germany. At that point the Catholic hierarchy redirected its alliance to U.S. imperialism.

Clerical-fascist Croatia in World War II: Nuns march behind Ustashi sadists.

The Vatican, Cold War and Once-Revolutionary SWP

> "I reminded her that the policies of the Catholic Church are not determined by the parishioners nor by the parish priests, but by the Catholic hierarchy, which is first of all a political power, the most reactionary and obscurantist force in the entire world."
>
> —James P. Cannon, "How We Won Grace Carlson and How We Lost Her" (1952) in *Notebooks of an Agitator* (1958)

So the founding leader of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) wrote at the height of the Cold War when a prominent party figure became demoralized and returned to the bosom of the church. What a far cry from the reformist SWP of today, which favors Catholic masses being broadcast over Polish state radio and retrospectively condemns the Stalinists' imprisonment of Cardinal Wyszynski in the late 1940s-early '50s because it made him "a symbol for many Poles of the sweeping violations of national and human rights by the Soviet and Polish bureaucrats" (see "SWP: Lawyers for Catholic Reaction," *WV* No. 267, 31 October). The SWP certainly did *not* come forward as lawyers for the Catholic hierarchy at the time when the Stalinists were imprisoning them. Quite the contrary. But at that time it was a revolutionary party.

As early as 1946 the SWP pointed to the increasing role of the Vatican as an important Cold War ally of U.S. imperialism:

> "After the June elections in Italy and France, the *Economist* noted 'the emergence of a loose Catholic Western *bloc* with a liberal pole—the [French] Popular Republicans—and an authoritarian pole—the Franco regime in Spain.' The character of this *bloc*, and its purpose, are manifest: to rally and unify all the forces of capitalist reaction to combat the revolutionary tide and to act as the ideological spearhead of the campaign for war against the Soviet Union."
>
> —Li Fu-Jen, "The Vatican in World Affairs," *Fourth International*, October 1946

The following year Art Preis wrote a special series in the *Militant* exposing the reactionary activities of the Catholic church the world over. This series was doubtless precipitated by the function of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in providing the shock troops to drive reds out of the American labor movement. Remember it was at this very time that the Stalinists' show trials and imprisonment of East European Catholic prelates—Stepinac in Yugoslavia, Mindszenty in Hungary, Wyszynski in Poland—were turned into a major ideological justification for the Cold War, the "human rights" crusade of its day.

The question of defending the East European bourgeois leaders, including the princes of the church, against the Stalinist regimes was posed for the SWP in the sharpest possible way over Poland, where the mass Peasant Party of Stanislaw Mickolajczyk appeared to represent the strongest opposition to the Stalinist regime in any East European country. In a 1946 article, "The Kremlin in East Europe," E.R. Frank (Bert Cochran) summarily described the conflict in Poland:

> "Soon Mikolaczyk became the rallying point for all the variegated groups which constitute the capitalist opposition to the [Stalinist] government: The fascist military formations; *the Catholic Church hierarchy*, which is headed in Poland by the Pilsudskist politician, Cardinal Hlond; the dispossessed landlord and factory owners; elements of the middle class and peasantry, who are suffering grave hardships and are outraged by the seizures of the Red Army and the brutalities of the police regime which governs over them.... he [Mickolajczyk] is leading this capitalist-reactionary opposition to the government." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Fourth International*, November 1946

The SWP was challenged head-on over Poland by its principal opponent on the left, Max Shachtman's "Third Campist" Workers Party. Claiming the basic issue in Poland was defending "democracy against the Stalinist dictatorship," the Shachtmanites declared:

> "These are the rights for which the vast majority of the Polish population yearns today and which finds distorted expression in the Mickolajczyk opposition. It is here that revolutionary Marxists will find decisive elements for the Third Camp, i.e., a revolutionary, proletarian, socialist opposition to the Stalinist dictatorship. The political line of the Marxists must, therefore, be one of critical support to the Mickolajczyk camp."
>
> —*New International*, September 1946

This editorial statement concluded with a challenge demanding that the SWP and Fourth International defend Mickolajczyk and his collaborators against the Stalinist repression.

The Trotskyist answer was given in a polemic by Ernest Germain (Mandel) entitled "The Conflict in Poland—From Abstentionism to Active Intervention In the Camp of the Class Enemy." While this polemic is marred by Mandel's belief that the Stalinists were incapable of overturning capitalism in East Europe and establishing deformed workers states, he rightly denounces the Shachtmanites for defending the "democratic rights" of the Polish bourgeoisie:

> "WE COUNTERPOSE TO THE POLICE TERROR AND PROVOCATIONS OF THE STALINISTS *THE REVOLUTIONARY TERROR OF THE MASSES* as a thousand times more effective method of fighting fascism.... Not for a moment, however, do we undertake the defense of our *main enemy*, the Polish bourgeoisie and all its political lackeys." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Fourth International*, February 1947

While rightly condemning the Stalinists for employing police methods to suppress the bourgeoisie instead of mobilizing the working masses against them, at no point in this period did the SWP or Fourth International demand that the Wyszynskis, Mindszentys, Hungarian Smallholders Party leaders, etc., be freed and allowed to resume their old political activities.

The Stalinists certainly committed great crimes against socialism in East Europe—the suppression of any independent working-class organization, the murder, torture and imprisonment of Communist militants and honest socialist workers, the totalitarian regimentation of cultural life. But the repression against the counterrevolutionaries in priests' cassocks was no crime against socialism. On the contrary, the Stalinists are to be condemned for creating a situation, especially in Poland, where the Catholic church is the only organized, mass-based opposition to the despised bureaucratic regime. Thus, it will be the proletarian political revolution in East Europe which will, in the words of the Paris Communards, destroy "the old governmental and clerical world." ■

RWG/Cult...

(continued from page 5)

Mayor Young and despite the sabotage of the UAW bureaucracy and black Democratic liberals, on November 10 some 500 demonstrators, overwhelmingly (two-thirds) black, a hundred or more from Detroit-area factories, proclaimed, "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City." Yet two months later the RWG came out with a scurrilous leaflet titled, "SL FRAUD IN DETROIT! Read the Truth About the SL's Phony 'Labor/Black Rally' in Detroit."

In addition to denouncing the only demonstration by unionists and blacks to stop the Klan in the wake of the Greensboro murders, RWG supporters at River Rouge urged fellow workers not to attend. And they slandered those who joined the protest despite the mayor's threats and a danger of fascist violence: "Most were accidental passers-by downtown to shop or just hang out.". "Given that the rally was in downtown Detroit on a Saturday afternoon," claimed the RWG leaflet, it just couldn't be helped that "many" of the "passers-by" were workers and "most" were black. A 4 December 1979 letter by RWG supporter Dallas Kenney stooped even lower, claiming, "Black onlookers were repeatedly told to hold SL signs and then photographed by *WV* photographers... whereupon the sign-holding shopper would turn the sign around, read it and quickly give it back to a demonstrator." Given Sollenberger's consummate cynicism, he evidently assumes that everyone is engaged in the same business of manipulating people.

This anti-communist diatribe is also the vilest racism, claiming that the black workers who took part were just *dupes*. Can't blacks have damn good reason for wanting to smash the Klan killers? The RWG simply dismisses the aspirations of the most potentially revolutionary layer of the oppressed and exploited in America. This was revealed in its response to one of the events leading up to the November 10 Kennedy Square demonstration: a fight at River Rouge to get rid of two foremen who had paraded along the line with cone hats bearing the letters "KKK." Although UAW Local 600 militants successfully drove the provocateurs from the plant through a petition drive which amassed 1,000 signatures of Rouge workers, the RWG dismissed this and its supporters in the plant refused to even sign the petition!

Having initially denied the impact of this campaign, the RWG's "SL Fraud" leaflet claimed that UAW officials only did "what they had already promised to do before the petition was started..." (what faith). But then comes the clincher: "Neither foreman was actually a Klan member, contrary to the impression the SL leadership has tried to create." It's staggering—how could any black person or opponent of racist oppression support the RWG after this disgusting Klan apology? Two company bosses symbolically call for lynchings and cross-burnings, in a heavily black plant moreover, and Peter Sollenberger goes to bat...*for the foremen!*

After so much talk of fraud, however, the RWG finally got a chance to show what it could do last summer. When a band of Hitler-lovers threatened to march on August 23, Rouge Militant Caucus spokesman Frank Hicks, speaking at a city hall hearing, supported calls for a mass counterdemonstration to stop the Nazis, adding a suggestion to "send the Detroit police force out of town" to make it easier to take care of business. The opportunist left, however, called on Mayor Young to declare August 23 "anti-racist day." This pitiful appeal was issued by a loose coalition which held a conference August 9 hoping to attract Democratic Party notables such as Representative John Conyers for an old-fashioned "anti-racist" popular front. Despite this explicit kowtowing to the class enemy, relying on the racist capitalist state that has protected the KKK killers, the RWG went along with the coalition, begging for the creation of a steering committee for them to be on.

But when the bourgeois politicos failed to show, the coalition collapsed. The RWG finally held a demo August 23 anyway, issuing a leaflet which they prominently reprint on page 1 of the first issue of their *FW*. So here is their answer to the "SL fraud" in November: only leftists showed up, less than 100 all told. And it was another Saturday afternoon in downtown Detroit. What happened to all those "passers-by" and "shoppers," we wonder, did they somehow lose their class-consciousness between November and August?

Scabs International

When Hugo Oehler split from the Trotskyist movement in the mid-1930s he also named his paper the *Fighting Worker*. But Oehlerite ultra-leftists the RWGers surely aren't. In fact, if wags dubbed Oehler's paper "The Revolting Worker," a more accurate handle for the RWG's rag would be *"The Flinching Scab."* For who else would devote the central article of the first issue of their publication to justifying crossing picket lines?! No kidding. In "Picket Lines and Spartacists" we stand accused of waking up one day four years ago and inventing the picket line question. Or as they put it in a letter dated 22 January 1980, "In early 1976 the SL invented the commandment: 'Thou shalt not cross a picket line'." (Actually, the SL has *always* followed this commandment.) The RWG particularly goes after the case of Keith Anwar, a steel worker from USWA Local 1010 (Chicago) who was fired for respecting the picket lines of another Steelworkers local at Inland. The RWG contemptuously dismisses this stand for basic unionism as "an adventurist moral gesture," "a senseless moral sacrifice" and "sectarian self promotion."

We refer our readers to the October issue of *Young Spartacus* for a letter from Anwar demolishing the RWG's pitiful attempt to smear his courageous defense of the picket line—which has inspired and received the backing of hundreds of co-workers in his and other steel locals. But the fact that the Sollenberger cult would spend three pages *defending scabbing* only proves it is light years removed from the labor movement and not just politically. Did the Spartacist League really invent the picket line question? Ye gods, this is an elementary principle of trade unionism. All you have to do is go to the Appalachian coal fields to find out that "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross," and always have. Those who think differently aren't around to say so, through a process of natural selection, or else they're in wheelchairs. It's a simple matter of "which side are you on," just like the old song says. We are merely upholding working-class principles against a sellout labor bureaucracy which betrays them with its phony "informational picket lines."

But the labor fakers who sabotage one strike after another try to do it quietly. Not the Sollenbergerites: they brag about it, theorize about it, even form international ties on the basis of... scabbing. According to the RWG, it's just a question of definition: only "outsiders" brought in by the bosses are really scabs, you see. The "sectarian" Spartacist League "bungles" this: "From 1976 on, however, the SL threw all distinction to the wind and openly accused *non-striking workers* themselves of being 'scabs'.... RWG's position, of course, is that picket lines are not some abstract, *moral principle*, but rather one tactic in the workers' arsenal in their fight against the employers" [emphasis in original]. And so it is all right to cross them?! This incredible article—Peter Sollenberger's unique achievement—may earn a footnote in communist history as one of the most cynical arguments for betrayal of all time. Snotty punks who write such garbage will earn their living as company labor lawyers and should stop masquerading as part of the left. And any decent union militant would spit on the paper it is written on.

Even the dictionary is against the RWG. According to Webster's Third New International: "Scab—a member of a union who refuses to strike or returns to work before a strike has ended...[see also] rat." Or take a look at a recent Sunday *Times* crossword puzzle, which had "SCAB" as 91 Down. The definition was nice and succinct: "Picket-line crosser" (*New York Times Magazine*, 16 November). But it really isn't a question of academic definitions. Strikes aim at *shutting down* plants or work sites, and picket lines are there to *prevent* anyone—imported or indigenous—from going in. It shouldn't be so hard for the RWG to figure this one out. They could simply contemplate the famous photo of the 1941 Ford strike and the fate of the "non-striking worker" shown there being greeted by a union education committee. Obviously the UAW boys didn't buy Sollenberger's meaningless destinction either, and were intent on demonstrating their view that "a scab is a scab is a scab."

Now you may wonder why the RWG spends so much effort trying to exonerate scabs. The answer is easy to figure out. As this little anti-Spartacist cult holed up in Ann Arbor for the last eight years, nursing bruised egos and trying to find programmatic differences with the SL, their only claim to real existence was their work with Ann Arbor campus workers. And there we caught them scabbing. During the February 1977 AFSCME clerical workers strike at the University of Michigan, four members of the RWG's predecessor group, the BLT, crossed the picket line daily on Sollenberger's instructions. Mind you, retorts the *"Flinching Scab,"* they "came close to organizing non-striking workers" to participate in a work stoppage! And it was this "well-intentioned" scabbing (rather than building and respecting picket lines), we are told, that made the BLT/RWG into what it is today, "*the* class-struggle opposition in the Ann Arbor labor movement...." What a feather in their cap!

The Sollenberger cult is, after all, sensitive to a careful examination of its wretched record. When an RWG member spoke to the Spartacist-initiated April 19 Stop the Nazis labor/socialist rally in San Francisco, probably the largest meeting a member of his tendency ever addressed, his main point was, "We're not scabs." But they are. And the RWG is certainly "internationalist" in its approach to the question. Protesting what it calls SL "scab-baiting," it reveals a remarkable basis for its international ties. "RWG in the U.S. and the Workers Socialist League (WSL) in Britain have been SL's main targets." Scabs of the world unite? Lenin metaphorically labeled the social-democratic trade-union grouping the Yellow International because its leaders supported their bosses in World War I rather than forging proletarian solidarity. Yet this must be the first time ever someone has actually thought to build an International of strikebreakers!

The Sollenbergerites' attempt to stake out the political terrain to the right of the SL is subordinated to a hatred of the Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) that could lead them to almost anything, from racism to scabbing. Their new-found positions are not the product of a coherent international program, but attempts to soften the sharp cutting edge of the iSt's revolutionary Trotskyism. The massive contradictions in their political world-view and bizarre internal life are already more than enough to blow a politically based organization apart. Finally, the rejection of Leninist organization and the making of Sollenberger's cult are fatally connected. We Leninists are organized for power, with a program for power—power for our class, not personal power within some sick little circle. ■

RWG/Religion...

(continued from page 9)

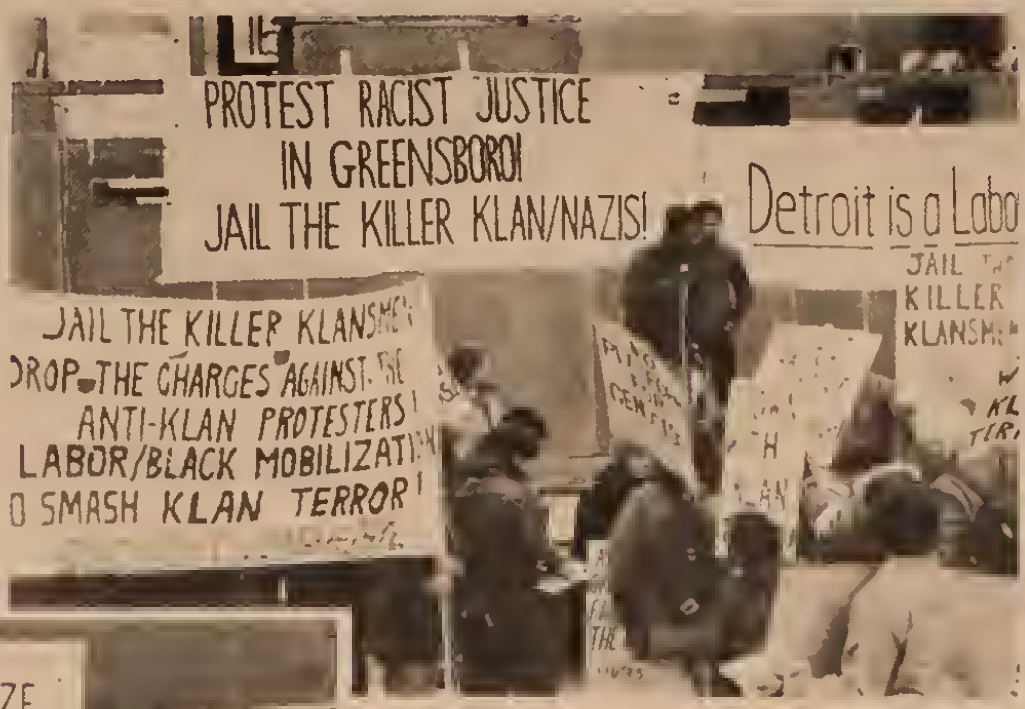
Vatican and top Polish church hierarchy. Thus, right after the regime conceded that Solidarity did not have to stipulate the "leading role" of the Communist party in its statutes, Lech Walesa went to confer with Cardinal Wyszynski, who in turn had just returned from conferring with Pope Wojtyla in Rome. The ideological appeal of the Catholic church for Polish workers is not primarily religious, it is above all *nationalistic*. The unofficial anthem of Solidarity is the national hymn, "Oh God, Who Has Defended Poland."

If the RWG's Lenin quote is irrelevant to the Polish situation, its own non-views are simply false. We are assured that "Without a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, successful political revolution was impossible." But what about another Hungary, which certainly demonstrated that the political revolution could explode without such a party? They proceed from non sequitur to nonsense. "And without a decisive, demoralizing defeat that left the Polish working class immobilized—and a deep split in the Stalinist bureaucracy, in which one wing went over to fascism—the peasant-based church could not hope to lead a capitalist counterrevolution."

Everyone in the world except the RWG understands that the present mass social struggles in Poland are *breaking down* the repressive capacity of the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus. If ordered to suppress mass workers' strikes, the Polish army, which is serviced by Catholic chaplains, could well mutiny. And as we have previously stated, in a *power vacuum* the church, well organized and with a mass base, will be a potent force for capitalist counterrevolution. Why does the RWG think the Stalinists have just appointed a Catholic ZNAK deputy premier?

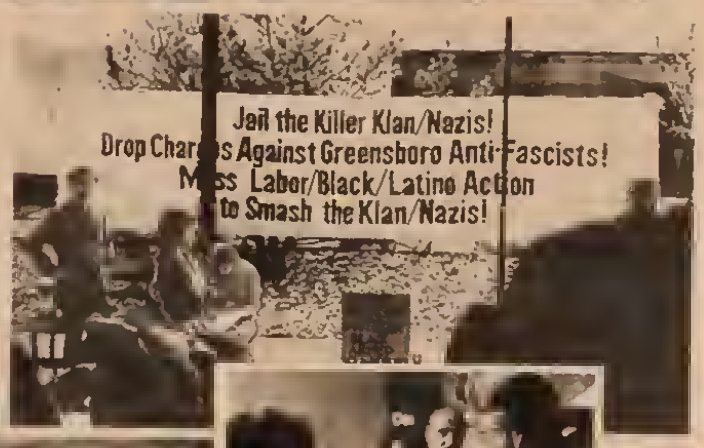
At this point the RWG resorts to the classic fallback of opportunists on the left: the workers always know what is best for them. The SL, they protest, doesn't believe "in the ability of the Polish workers to tell the difference between workers' political revolution and capitalist counterrevolution." The majority of the Polish workers would certainly oppose capitalist restoration if it were presented to them *as such*. But of course it is not and will not be. The counterrevolutionary forces in Poland appeal to the workers in the name of "democracy, national independence, religious freedom and the traditions of the Polish people."

Given the church's mass peasant base and its *present* support from a large, active section of the proletariat, a "democratic" uprising against the Stalinist regime could bring to power a clerical-nationalist party. This would be a capitalist-restorationist government, although capitalist restoration on the economic level would necessarily proceed gradually. Frustrated with the inequality and oppression fostered by the bureaucracy, and blinded by higher living standards in the advanced capitalist West, many workers could be misled into supporting such a counterrevolutionary regime. Of course, their own experience would soon teach a majority of Polish workers that capitalist rule had been restored and they would turn against the clerical-nationalist regime. But as communists we do *not* passively accept counterrevolution (and that is what the RWG's denial of this real possibility amounts to) in order to break the Polish workers from their illusions in the Catholic church. ■



Clockwise from upper right: U.C. Berkeley, Old Westbury, S.F. State, Ann Arbor and Detroit.

SL/SYL Protest Racist "Justice" in Greensboro



WV Photos

The November 17 acquittal of five Klan/Nazi assassins by an all-white jury in Greensboro, North Carolina is a warning to every black person, militant trade unionist and socialist that we are facing not just fringe groups of crazed fascist killers, but the power of the capitalist state backing them up. Racist terror and "Moral Majority" social reaction have been given the green light as the domestic counterparts to Carter/Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. And with the liberals refusing to utter a word of criticism against the Greensboro verdict, it was only the left that would initiate protests against this *incitement to racist murder.*

As soon as the acquittals were announced, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League issued calls for nationwide protest demonstrations. An SYL statement declared: "This verdict gives the fascists a *license to kill!* Only labor-centered, massive militant mobilizations can stop the KKK/Nazi scum." Hundreds of students, unionists and leftists responded to the call for action in seven cities. At Berkeley, San Francisco State, UCLA, Oberlin College, Ann Arbor, University of Illinois (Circle Campus) and the State University of New York (Old Westbury) SYL-initiated rallies demanded "Jail the Killer Klan/Nazis! Drop the Charges Against Greensboro Anti-Fascist Demonstrators! For Mass Labor/Black Action to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror! For the Right of Armed Self-Defense Against Racist Terror!

In addition, class-struggle militants in several unions, including the Communications Workers of America (CWA), National Maritime Union and United Auto Workers, called on their unions to mount protests against the racist verdict. In Chicago, a small rally by UAW Local 6 was held in the union hall; speakers warned of the Klan/Nazi threat and pointed to the local's experience in stopping racist terror with a union defense guard several years ago.

SL/SYL-initiated protests were largest in the Bay Area. Klan provocations in California have been ominously increasing, with weekly and even daily reports over the last nine months. But in April Nazis had been prevented from staging a "celebration" of Hitler's birthday in San Francisco's Civic Center by a mobilization of more than a thousand unionists, minorities and leftists. On November 20, 300-400 turned out to the University of California at Berkeley's Sproul Plaza for a united-front demonstration initiated by the SYL and endorsed by an impressive number of student groups, minority organizations and union activists. The day before, 150 attended a similar rally at San Francisco State to express their outrage.

More than 125 rallied on November 22 in Detroit's Kennedy Square, site of last November's anti-Klan rally built by the SL/SYL and militant auto workers in the wake of the Greensboro massacre. UAW Local 600's largest unit, the Dearborn Assembly Plant, officially endorsed Saturday's rally at a unit meeting just prior to the rally. Two dozen River Rouge workers attended and Rudy Nelson spoke on behalf of the DAP unit of the Auto Workers. Several carloads of students drove up from Ann Arbor to join the rally. Earlier in the week 150 had rallied at a University of Michigan demonstration called by the SYL.

Across the street from the Kennedy Square rally, six goose-stepping Hitler crazies, decked out in mock SS regalia, attempted to stage a provocation. The Communist Workers Party and a small Ann Arbor group, the RWG, fell into the trap, baiting the demonstrators to "charge" the police lines around the Nazis. This show of bravado was short-lived; after a seconds-long run-in with the cops, the CWP and RWG gave up the idea. Absurdly carrying signs saying "Down with sectarianism" while yelling "chicken shit" at the podium, the RWG was obviously more interested in getting Spartacists injured in a bash with the cops than they were in fighting fascism. In response the rally chairman, Charles Dubois of the Local 600 Rouge Militant Caucus, explained: "It's labor and blacks that have the power. We're not talking about adventurist substitutionism. When we want to do a job, we want to do it thoroughly."

Both at Berkeley and at UCLA, spokemen for the CWP addressed SYL-initiated rallies. Their presence contrasts sharply with CWP actions a year ago, when in a fit of sectarian stupidity they threatened physical violence against those (such as the Spartacist League) who protested against the Greensboro massacre. But a few months later, when the Spartacist-initiated ANCAN called for labor/black action to stop the Nazis in SF on April 19, the CWP ran to Mayor Feinstein to appeal for a ban on the fascists.

The biggest protest in the country was a Greensboro rally of 1,000, largely black North Carolina A&T students, on November 20. Outside the South, the SL/SYL-initiated protests were notably larger than those called by various opportunist left groups, including the CWP itself, which responded in an uneven and almost half-hearted way to the acquittal of the murderers who gunned down their comrades. We emphasized the need for united-front action, and in several places student unions and student government officers were among the endorsers. (In Madison, the University of Wisconsin student government called a Greensboro protest which drew 250.) In some cases, reformist groups which normally turn a cold shoulder to any form of cooperation with Trotskyists felt constrained to associate themselves with SYL protests. Thus at SF State Communist Party leader Angela Davis endorsed; PL/CAR participated and spoke in Chicago; at Berkeley, the YSA (youth group of the Socialist Workers Party) endorsed, despite their scandalous line defending a "right to free speech" for fascists.

The absence of groups such as the CP from these protests reflected the liberals' "plague on both your houses" line. In the absence of preachers and "progressive" Democrats to tail after, these reformists (for whom "anti-fascism" is usually the all-purpose excuse for everything) are nowhere to be seen. The Spartacist League, however, responded to the Greensboro verdict aggressively and with the same strategy which allowed us to successfully initiate the only mass, militant, labor/black-centered mobilization against the Klan immediately following the Greensboro massacre. To rely on the liberals is a strategy for impotence and betrayal; only the power of organized labor, pulling behind its class banner a broad mobilization of all those targeted by the fascists, can stop the race-killers in their tracks. ■

Greensboro Was Murder...

(continued from page 1)

Crow justice were not surprised. In various major cities across the country, on college campuses, even in a few union halls there were angry protests, though not the massive outcry that met other examples of racist injustice in the late 1960s or even as recently as Miami. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League took the lead in building these protests, calling for labor/black defense against fascist terror and no reliance on the racist capitalist state which systematically protected the Greensboro killers.

The Greensboro massacre and the judicial whitewash carry an ominous message: now that Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign has prepared the way for Republican reactionary Reagan and a new Cold War, blacks, labor militants and communists will be targeted at home. With the cross hairs of the Klan's M-16s trained on the communists, standing behind the white-sheeted killers trained at the Bay of Pigs and in Vietnam are the black-robed judges and the powerful apparatus of the U.S. government.

Sham Trial, Rigged Verdict

How could it happen, asked the *Washington Post* on 20 November:

> "The facts seem so simple. The Communists were shot to death; the Klan and Nazis fired at them; and almost everyone saw the terrible incident on television news. How could a jury, except one infuriated with the political views of the victims and infatuated with those of the defendants, return a verdict of not guilty?"

How indeed? Through the deliberate cooperation, conspiracy if you will, between all the principals. Months ago we documented that "prosecutor" Michael Schlosser is the cousin of Steve Schlosser, one of the KKK/Nazis' defense attorneys, whose brother Jim Schlosser, as local reporter for the *Greensboro Record*, was one of the first to label the massacre a "shootout." We have written of the mockery of the jury selection, in which the defense accepted only "people who do not have any preconceived prejudices against the Klan," i.e., no blacks. The jury was finally made up of wives of phone company managers, wives of deputy sheriffs, Vietnam vets and city employees. Jury foreman Octavio Mandulay was a Cuban exile active in the counter-revolutionary gusano "20th of May" organization.

But the state had a problem. Everybody knew what happened—they had seen deliberate murder on TV. Defense attorney Robert Cahoon remarked to a newscaster, "If the only evidence had been the motion pictures, the videotapes, that would have been probably the impression that the jury had." But the jury was given another "impression." Because the FBI came to testify that ballistics tests showed shots fired out of range of the TV videotape cameras, that could have been fired by the communists. So the handpicked, politically screened, carefully prepared jury could claim there was a "reasonable doubt" about the motives of the fascists (who drove 100 miles into town for the attack).

It was the "prosecution" which had ordered the ballistics tests from the FBI. The defense subpoenaed them and presented this as "evidence" that the communists could have had guns, could have shot them, and therefore the Klansmen/Nazis could have murdered in "self-defense." The ballistics tests merely show that there were some shots not seen on the videotape. But the prosecution refused to raise a single question, since to do so would cut the ground out from under its next case... against the CWP!

Then there was the role of government agents. Edward Dawson, "former" paid FBI informer, was in the lead vehicle that November 3; he had recruited the Klan participants and as a local police "contact" he had obtained the location of the rally staging area. Bernard Butkovich of the ATF had infiltrated the Nazi chapter and advised them on bringing guns to the CWP rally. As the *New York Times* reporter noted laconically, "Neither Mr. Dawson nor Mr. Butkovich was called by the defense or the prosecution." Who said cover-up?

And both "sides" in this phony trial worked hard to build up the flag-waving fervor of the jury. The Klan/Nazi murderers were portrayed not as racists, overzealous perhaps, but as extremists in a good cause, "fighting communism." The "prosecution" asked every juror what he thought about communists, who "stand for the opposition of everything you believe in." And the DA's incredible summary asked for a conviction only because "the communists" had predicted that the fascist killers would go free. The jury got the message. Now Schlosser says he may not prosecute another ten KKKers, and the U.S. attorney wonders if there is enough evidence for federal civil rights charges.

Cold War, Cold-Blooded Racism

The Greensboro verdict came wrapped in the American flag. Nazi leader Covington, who got 56,000 votes running for North Carolina attorney general (as a Republican) last April, hasn't missed the political significance of recent events:

> "Reagan, of course, has a lot of differences with us, but he is certainly much closer to our point of view than the past few people who've held the office of the president. So obviously the tide is moving in our direction."

Indeed, the courts let the fascist killers loose at a time of increasing racism. Busing is politically dead; Congress is now passing laws to *prevent* integration; even the 1965 Voting Rights Act, supreme achievement of the civil rights movement, is under attack. And the KKK grows bolder—from their secret terrorist training camp in the Alabama hills they threatened "race war" should the Greensboro murderers be convicted.

From the liberals who painted the attack as a "shootout" now come protestations of inability to judge. The *New York Times* (20 November) editorialized, "We cannot know whether the all-white jury that acquitted six Klansmen of the murder of five radicals ignored the available evidence." The *Washington Post* wrote it couldn't tell if the verdict was proper, the prosecution vigorous, "self-defense" a legitimate defense, "and we doubt that anyone other than those who sat through all of the trial is in a position to provide an authoritative opinion." They know, just like everyone else, but the bourgeoisie's line is "no waves" about the verdict.

Where is the liberal hand-wringing about Jim Crow justice which accompanied such racist atrocities in the '60s? This time there are not even hypocritical references to "checks and balances," the "slow but deliberate workings of the judicial system" or the possibility of appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Why? Because the victims were avowed communists and in the new Cold War climate the liberals *support* the Greensboro verdict. Perhaps the clearest expression of this disgusting liberal apology for racist murder was the following:

> "Both sides got what they wanted in the end, says Charles Wittenstein, Atlanta-based southern counsel of the Anti-Defamation League. Klansmen and Nazis can now trot out their new 'heroes' who gunned down five 'dirty commies' and went free to brag about it. The Communists, well-educated radicals who continued their college protest ways, can be expected to tout their five dead 'martyrs' as proof that there is no such thing as justice under capitalism, a recruiting aid to enlist fellow revolutionaries."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 20 November

Greensboro has become not only a milestone in the alarming rise of race terror, but also a sort of show trial for the "human rights" Cold War. From the beginning we pointed out that Carter's crusade was an attempt to morally rearm U.S. imperialism following its defeat in Vietnam. Now it has proceeded to military rearmament, a $1 trillion arms budget over the next five years, a presidential directive targeting Soviet leaders and missiles for a U.S. nuclear first strike.

And the Russians just sit there in Madrid and take all the imperialist crap about "poor little Afghanistan." Why don't the Soviet delegates put the U.S. on trial? Five leftists, union organizers, advocates of black equality are gunned down in broad daylight and the fascist murderers go free. *Nothing* the U.S. has alleged in treatment of pro-Western Soviet dissidents can compare with this "violation of human rights."

Amid uncontrollable inflation and massive layoffs, liberal Cold Warriors whipped up the "new patriotism." The failed "War on Poverty" was abandoned for a war on the public's "Vietnam syndrome" which stood in the way of new CIA/Pentagon adventures. Thus Carter and the liberals paved the way for Reagan, the obvious beneficiary of the reactionary political climate they fueled. And blacks are the obvious target of Reagan's talk about "welfare bums" and government cutbacks. From the Oval Office, the halls of Congress and the Supreme Court came a unanimous message: blacks are expendable. The message was not lost on the KKKers and Nazis, who loaded their guns and went hunting. They shot up black women in Chattanooga to "celebrate" their murders in Greensboro. Their crosses flamed from Connecticut to California.

The campaign to make the Klan "respectable" is particularly ominous for blacks, labor and leftists. The KKK went after the CWP marchers not because their tactics were adventurist and provocative but because they were black, red and active. "Don't organize or you may be murdered in 'self-defense'" is the courts' message to blacks and nonunionized workers facing Klan terror.

The media responded that the Greensboro victims deserved to be killed. "A snake and a mongoose" is how it came out in court. It was just commies who got it, said the pols and the pundits, so relax. The black misleaders were anxious to take up this theme, and the ministers of the SCLC held conclaves to discuss "ways of responding to Communist organizing efforts." But ultimately all the sophisticated attempts to win the masses of black people to the Cold War won't wash. They have palpable reason to believe that the main enemy is at home, that racism is closely tied to anti-communism. Muhammad Ali's famous Vietnam War comment, that "No Vietcong ever called me nigger," summed up a mood among black Americans that continues today.

Continuum of Racist Reaction

American blacks see the Greensboro massacre as part of a larger picture of growing racist violence. In New Orleans rampaging cops terrorized the black Algiers section and Fischer Housing Project this month, smashing in doors and gunning down four black people in their homes, hunting "suspects" in an earlier cop shooting. In addition to the day-to-day brutality of cops in the ghettos and the alarming wave of so-called "random" killings of blacks from coast to coast. In Atlanta 15 black children have disappeared since last year. Every day now, just after dawn, hundreds gather with shovels and dogs, searching for their bodies. And the killings continue like clockwork at three-and-a-half-week intervals. In Buffalo six black men have been murdered, including two cabbies whose hearts were ripped out of their chests. An ex-KKKer and Nazi, Joseph Franklin, is under arrest in Salt Lake City in connection with a series of ten sniper killings of blacks and interracial couples; he is suspected of shooting Urban League leader Vernon Jordan in Indiana last May.

The press has deliberately played down the connections between these grisly race murders, dismissing without investigation the possibility of conspiracy, and even treated seriously the ravings of a "psychic" who claims to know the Atlanta child killer is black—all in order to cool black outrage. Greensboro and the climate of rising racism will be an inspiration to every twisted psychopath in America who can now see the evidence in the papers that the objects of his sick hatred are fair game.

As the number of victims of racist terror mounts, there is an apparent continuity of reaction running from the race-hate killers through the Moral Majority to the Senate and the president. As part of the fascists' bid for acceptance as a "respectable" political force, the KKK and Nazis enlisted in both capitalist parties for the 1980 elections. Klan leader Tom Metzger won the Democratic primary and ran for Congress in Southern California, getting 35,000 votes. His biggest campaign contribution came from J.B. Stoner, head of the National States Rights Party facists, who just drew a ten-year sentence for his role in the 1958 Birmingham black church bombing. Stoner's prior electoral experience includes working for Strom Thurmond's 1948 Dixiecrat presidential campaign.

Less well publicized nationally but no

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Greensboro Was Murder...

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less ominous was fascist Gerald R. Carlson's bid for Congress in Michigan. Carlson got a third of the votes on the Republican ticket in a white working-class Detroit-area district. He campaigned to "make it illegal for Negroes to live and shop in Dearborn and Dearborn Heights." This, he says, would produce "wonderful white cities where white people are allowed to thrive without the threat of Negro crime and violence" (*Washington Post*, 15 November). In the district where Ford's giant River Rouge employs thousands of black auto workers, Carlson said that he wants to "instill more respect in Negroes [and] regulate unions."

For the first time in memory the KKK had a major party candidate for U.S. president with a platform they could embrace. And Ronald Reagan has wasted no time in convincing black America that their fears about his presidency were well justified. In one of his first political pronouncements since the election, Reagan gave his blessing to the Senate vote barring the Justice Department from seeking court-ordered busing for school desegregation. In response SCLC leader Joseph Lowery said, "We must unite and engage in mass civil disobedience against efforts to turn back the clock." But the clock has been running backwards for some time—attacks on the few gains of the civil rights movement didn't begin with Reagan's election. The black Democrats are trying to cover up the fact that by the time the Republicans take office there will be precious little left to dismantle in the way of integration legislation. Faced with racist reaction in the streets, it was the liberal Democrats who killed busing.

Reagan backer Strom Thurmond is now talking about moving on to attack the Voting Rights Act and reviving calls of "states rights" not heard since the George Wallace "backlash" campaign. A Reagan urban affairs task force indicated the Republican policy of "malign neglect" for black inner cities by urging that all federal money be cut off to cities with rent control, and to "fight" unemployment by eliminating the CETA jobs program and giving tax breaks to business. They called on Reagan to dump the food stamp program and conservative senators have backed Reagan's view that "The minimum wage has caused more misery and unemployment than anything else since the Great Depression" (*New York Times*, 18 November). Their "solution" to youth unemployment: a "sub-minimum" wage for teenagers.

Back to the '60s?

Once again we hear the same old black "leaders" talk about employing the same old methods of the defeated civil rights movement, the same pattern of betrayal and capitulation. But the civil rights movement cannot, and should not, be repeated. It is no longer a "Southern problem" that can focus on eliminating a few legal props of Jim Crow capitalism. The integration of the lunch counters having been accomplished (and not without bloodshed and struggle), the mass of blacks in Southern and Northern cities face the problem that the civil rights movement never addressed: the special oppression of blacks in the depressed urban ghettos which are the center of the "black question" in America today.

There was only one way the demand for black equality could have become a force driving toward victory, and that is if the labor movement had been galvanized, throwing its social power into the struggle. But that would have opened such a breach in U.S. capitalism's mechanisms of controlling the masses that it could have revolutionary implications. So even the most liberal labor bureaucrats did nothing more than nod to the black misleaders who preached reliance on the Democratic Party, the federal government and the courts. But if the liberal civil rights movement was impotent to deal with the oppression of a black population "integrated" into the capitalist economy at the bottom, communists take the black proletariat as the source of hope for real black emancipation—and a motor force for united class struggle. As we said when protesters returned to Greensboro in February, three months after the massacre, 20 years after the Woolworth's lunch counter sit-ins:

> "But there was another road out of Greensboro, 1960. Not liberal integrationism nor black separatism but *revolutionary integrationism*—the fight for assimilation of black people into an egalitarian *socialist* society. That road is the road of the class struggle—the necessary fusion of the struggle for black freedom with the fight for proletarian revolution."
>
> —*WV* No. 248, 25 January

Today the fascist groups exist as little terror gangs on the very fringes of the far right racist milieu. But this milieu is fertile ground for Klan and Nazi recruiting. In a deep crisis of capitalism the fascists can make their bid to grow into a mass movement to smash the organizations of the working class and oppressed minorities. In this process blacks are made the scapegoats for the failure of capitalism. Thus the *New York Times* editorial on the Greensboro verdict ends with the view of "responsible" capitalists who know they will need the fascists some day as the shock troops of terror against blacks and the unions:

> "This [Greensboro] is not, then, a problem only for blacks. The resentments and conflicts that accompany the quest for equality are particularly intense in a period of economic retrenchment. All American communities need to be alert to the stirrings of agitators and the need for trustworthy justice."

Like the "good Americans" in the court at Greensboro?

For blacks, leftists and unionists the question is starkly posed: *the KKK and Nazis must be stopped.* Those who say it will be the cops and courts who will "ban the Klan," let them look to Greensboro. Those who say small bands of leftists must throw themselves before the KKK/Nazis when they are backed up by the armed might of the state, let them look to Greensboro. And for those most treacherous of fools who call for "free speech" for the fascist murderers—who, like the Socialist Workers Party, even debate the Klan—let them look to Greensboro. It must be clear that it will require the mass mobilization of the power of labor and blacks to smash the fascists. Only through the final victory of the proletariat over the capitalist class, by achieving a revolutionary workers government, can the fascist threat be swept away at last. ■

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Turkey...

(continued from page 7)

prison. Now after several years of often heroic working-class struggles the Turkish proletariat remains disoriented and without revolutionary leadership. The fact that the coup was met with little resistance from the workers—and was even welcomed by many Turks—is a stinging condemnation of the Turkish left today.

Virtually without exception ostensibly revolutionary tendencies in Turkey capitulated to the illusions of "progressives" in the once-discredited Republican People's Party. From the Stalinist TKP right through to the fake-Trotskyist groupings (three of them!) affiliated to the United Secretariat, they have extended political support (unabashed or "critical") to this *bourgeois* party, even when an Ecevit government presided over the reactionary-chauvinist invasion of Cyprus and condoned the permanent military occupation of Kurdish regions. The pro-Moscow Communist Party went so far as to assist the RPP in purging other leftists from the DISK, only to be rewarded by a purge of its own supporters at the hands of the RPP.

On the other hand, not a few Turkish pseudo-leftists (particularly the shameless Maoists) have more or less openly *supported* the military putsch in Turkey, as imperialist spokesmen including the *Wall Street Journal* (15 September) gleefully reported. In West Germany the most scandalous example of this treachery was the line of the Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschlands (KBW), which recently lost several hundred members in a split, with both sides (accurately) accusing the other of "defense of the fatherland." After admitting that the coup "accommodates the interests of the Western imperialists," these bootlickers for the Turkish generals go on:

> "In this respect their measures coincide with the interests of the Turkish nation on one point: in suppressing terrorist activities...coming both from the far right and partisans of the Soviet Union as well as left-opportunist forces, and in fending off attempts at aggression and infiltration by the Soviet Union."
>
> —*Kommunistische Volkszeitung*, 13 October

Thus these "defenders of the fatherland," who are among the last remaining glorifiers of Pol Pot's reign of death in Cambodia, demonstrate that Maoism today means support for NATO-imperialist reaction down the line.

In fact, any supporters of theirs in Turkey could soon face execution by the same generals the KBW hails. As for the terrorism, we would point out that in addition to murderous fascist assaults on the left, leftist blows against the ultra-rightist assassins and communal terror, there is also *gangster violence endemic in the Turkish left.* And the Maoists are at least as guilty as their pro-Moscow fellow Stalinists in such criminal actions which prepared the way for the military coup, by preventing a united-front proletarian offensive to smash the bands of fascist killers. It was this same fatal sectarianism that Stalin himself ordered in Germany, the suicidal line of "social-fascism," which together with social-democratic refusal to break from the "moderate" bourgeoisie (including Hindenburg!), led to Hitler's unopposed march to power.

Leninism Today Means Trotskyism

The development of a "Leninist" wing of the TKP (effectively a separate party grouped around the newspaper *Iscenin Sesi* and the magazine *Turkey Today*, published in Britain) undoubtedly reflects indignation among a layer of Turkish leftists at such unremitting groveling before the phony "People's Party." But the TKP "Leninists" have yet to break with the class-collaborationist politics of Stalinism, as evidenced by their talk about "progressive" generals and adherence to a "two-stage" schema for Turkey (dubbed an "advanced people's democratic revolution"). A post-coup statement by the "Coordinating Committee of the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey" projects an "anti-fascist" popular front embracing the "bourgeois liberal forces" as well as elements of the "command structure of the army" which has been "subordinated to the junta."

Sowing such illusions in resistance by capitalist forces and presumed left-wing officers is just as lethal as the capitulation by the TKP before Ecevit and the RPP "left wing" before the coup. The only road to sweep away the bonapartist junta and wipe out fascist terrorists is that of workers revolution. But the "Leninists" lack the political compass to lead them on this path: with treacherous popular-front terminology taken straight out of Dimitrov and guided by eclectic impressionism, they first claimed that the pre-coup situation in Turkey was "revolutionary," then described the junta as "fascist." And yet such a sharp turn was accomplished without a spark of resistance.

Nor have the TKP "Leninists" generalized their leftist impulses into a consistent international program. Where do they stand on Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" in Iran, for instance? They correctly recognize a Kurdish right to self-determination in Turkey—what about for Iranian Kurds? In Turkey the left is beset by fascist forces allied with Islamic clerical reaction, but in Iran they hail the mullahs as "anti-imperialist" because the ayatollah is currently aligned against the U.S. Recognizing that Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was directed against imperialist-aided Islamic counterrevolution, the TKP "Leninists" speak only of "the uneasy situation in Iran" (*Turkey Today*, May-June 1980). How do they explain the Iranian pro-Moscow Tudeh Party's support for Khomeini? While the TKP "Leninists" have evidently begun to realize that they cannot avoid the question of the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary foreign policy from Stalin on, their eclectic criticisms have not touched the crux of the matter: the historic struggle between Stalin and Trotsky, between class collaboration justified by the anti-Leninist theory of "socialism in one country" and the Trotskyist program for the international extension of the proletarian revolution.

Serious Turkish would-be revolutionaries must study the lessons of Stalinist betrayal. While the Maoists hail the generals who would jail (and hang) them, while the bulk of the Turkish left tails after Ecevit's impotent bourgeois liberals, only the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution*, of independent *proletarian* leadership, shows the road out of the Turkish impasse. Particularly given the immediate repressive situation in Turkey, international labor solidarity can play a vital role in defending the Turkish workers, leftists and Kurds now under the generals' guns. It can play a vital role in forging bonds of internationalist solidarity through the many thousands of militant leftist Turkish workers in West Germany and elsewhere in Europe. If they can be broken from Stalinism in all its varieties—whether pro-Moscow, pro-Peking or the more eclectic guerrillaist brands—they can play a crucial role in forging the nucleus of the revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard party in Turkey.

- Free all class-war victims of military repression! Down with martial law!
- Hot cargo all military goods to Turkey!
- Down with NATO! No NATO/U.S. bases in Turkey or Greece! Defend the Soviet Union!
- For the right of self-determination for the Kurdish nation!
- Down with the military dictatorship—For a workers and peasants government in Turkey!
- No more popular fronts! Forward to a Trotskyist party in Turkey, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International! ■

Labor Party...

(continued from page 16)

Carter's secretary of labor, were invited speakers at the IAM convention. Winpisinger assured everybody that "It is critical that we save our Democratic Congress," and as a non-threatening anti-Carter gesture, he came out for the irrelevant eco-freak Barry Commoner in the November presidential race. It was an all-too-familiar bureaucratic pressure tactic on the Democratic Party.

The Making of a Myth

But the fake "left" which hangs out in the bureaucrats' waiting rooms cannot sell Kennedy openly (except for unabashed Democratic "socialists" like Harrington). So they have invented Winpisinger's "labor party." To hear the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party tell it, Wimpy's mythical "labor party" is the hottest thing to hit the trade unions since the mass strikes and founding of the CIO in the thirties. In a two-page spread in the 24 October *Militant* the SWP wrote that the IAM's "refusal to carry water for Carter in 1980 represents a departure from the course set by the union bureaucracy over more than four decades."

The CP's Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), which publishes *Labor Today* (a fairly good barometer of the CP's *real* policies in the trade unions), ran both an interview with Winpisinger and a front-page editorial commenting on the IAM resolution:

> "This was an historic moment, comparable to a certain day in 1935 when John L. Lewis heralded the birth of the CIO ...history will surely record that 1980 was the year when a great political force—independent of the parties of big business and led by labor—began to get itself together."

The *Labor Today* editorial was proud to announce that it was keeping in step with Winpisinger and the IAM by not supporting any presidential candidate (so much for the CP's Hall/Davis campaign). And the *Militant* claimed that the IAM resolution "marks a big step forward for the labor party discussion that has been spreading in the union movement."

In reality, these pseudo-socialists have resorted to wholesale myth-making to replace their dried-up "mass movements." The IAM convention passes a "some day maybe" resolution to investigate interest in possibly forming some kind of vague "pro-labor" party, and the fake-left reformists fall all over themselves in the rush to proclaim a giant step forward! Funny no one else noticed it, though.

From Gompers to Wimpy "Socialism"

The IAM is an old craft union going back to the 19th century, with an overlay of industrial unionism picked up in the 1930s and later, particularly in the aircraft industry. It has never been a politically vital union, although its 980,000 members carry a lot of economic weight. So Winpisinger's "socialist" rhetoric has been rightly regarded as one man's harmless hobby in a conglomerate union, tolerated because fundamentally he pursues the same class collaboration as the rest of the labor fakers. In DSOC Winpisinger shares company with such Democratic Party stalwarts and pillars of American union bureaucracy as UAW president and Chrysler board member Douglas Fraser, and no-strike Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME. The parallel course of Fraser and Winpisinger—gross class collaboration combined with social-democratic rhetoric—has no doubt encouraged the recent talk of merging the UAW and the IAM.

Winpisinger has always been part of the AFL-CIO mainstream, with only a veneer of Sunday "socialism." The *Wall Street Journal* (28 November 1979) quotes him as calling himself a "seat-of-the-pants socialist" who advocates such things as nationalization of the oil companies. His tough-guy iconoclastic style has no doubt given him some appeal as well as gotten him into trouble. When asked by the *Village Voice* a while back what Carter could do to redeem himself, Winpisinger replied, "Die"; and he referred to John Connally as a "bigot—the wrong guy in that car in Dallas got killed." But as one company negotiator remarked to the *Journal*:

> "If there ever came a day when Wimpy's actions matched his rhetoric we're in trouble. You sit through a Winpisinger speech and you think the revolution is at hand. Next day you sit down to bargain with the Machinists and they're as pragmatic as ever."

William Winpisinger rose through the ranks of the IAM to the top without making any known waves. He is no insurgent. Fred Gaboury, editor of *Labor Today*, writes glowingly about how democratic the IAM convention was—no goons, no gag rules, etc. (When Gaboury talks about workers democracy it's kind of touching, considering that he led a CP goon squad at TUAD's recent national conference to prohibit the distribution of leaflets calling for defending picket lines!) But Winpisinger gave a revealing interview to the *Guardian* (20 February) which shows him in a rather different light. When they asked the IAM chief about Ed Sadlowski, Winpisinger pounded his fist on the table and said he supported the *incumbent* USWA leadership, but not because of their politics—he just doesn't like troublemakers! About Teamsters for a Democratic Union, another reformist union opposition, he said, "They asked me to back them, but I ask myself: Hell, what's to stop a bunch like that from coming in here and doing the same thing?"

So "Wimpy" was "democratic" at the convention—there was no serious opposition! But he can crack the whip when he wants to, especially against the left. A couple of years ago the union expelled a supporter of Progressive Labor and went to the length of fighting the case to the Supreme Court. Winpisinger also vetoed a proposal passed by a San Francisco Bay Area local in 1978 which would have made stewards and members of the local bargaining committee elected rather than appointed posts. So much for workers democracy!

The SWP does the same whitewash job as the CP. The *Militant* makes Winpisinger out to be a big radical on civil rights and the woman question. That's kind of funny, because up until not too long ago the IAM was a real hardened craft union that *excluded* blacks and women. Now with all the federal laws on the books the union has a civil rights department, but Winpisinger isn't exactly the biggest battler against racism and sexism. When the *Guardian* asked him why the IAM Exec Board is all white and male, he defended it staunchly:

> "We don't have a single woman who's worked her way up through the ranks the way those white males have...the Blacks and Hispanics have got to work their way up just like everybody else."

On a narrow trade-union level, Winpisinger's policies do not differ a whit from the mainline AFL-CIO bureaucracy. For instance, he thinks the coal miners "have too little respect for law and order." When one of the delegates at the IAM convention called for sitdowns against plant closings, the proposal quickly died. His position on plant closings is the same as Lane Kirkland's and Doug Fraser's—he's for impotent federal laws to "outlaw" plant closings. So much for independent working-class action!

The SWP's and CP's kowtowing before pro-Kennedy bureaucrats like Winpisinger say a lot more about their real position than occasional denunciations of the Democratic Party. The CP in fact regularly supports liberal Democrats like Ron Dellums and considers the labor party demand too radical—hence they're for a "people's party." The SWP calls for a labor party, to be sure, but one that would make Britain's reformist Labourites sometimes look like flaming reds in comparison. In practical terms, the SWP strategy boils down to supporting pro-Democratic bureaucrats like Arnold Miller or Winpisinger.

Toward a Workers Party

For communists, Trotskyists, the labor party slogan is intended as a tactic to break the workers from the bourgeois parties, as a step to working-class political independence. It is not a call for a second-class reformist party but a means to explain to the mass of the proletariat the need for a revolutionary struggle for power, for a workers government. Today the workers are tied to the Democrats and Republicans by their own misleaders like Kirkland/Fraser/Winpisinger who also shackle the unions' economic struggles against the bourgeoisie. Such "labor lieutenants of capital" have no intention of forging a party of the working class; at most they may engage in a little verbal pressure when the "choice" offered by the capitalist parties is obviously no choice at all for labor. To call on such *labor traitors* to form a labor party is the worst electoral blindness.

In the 1978 coal strike, for instance, when the mine workers engaged in mass picketing to fight scabs, while union leader Arnold Miller openly sided with Democratic president Carter who invoked the Democratic-approved Taft-Hartley law to end the strike, many miners began to question the union's ties to the Democratic Party. The bureaucrats' control defeated that bitterly fought strike, and two years later it delivered the miners' votes to the same Jimmy Carter. The reformists—CP, SWP, DSOC, etc.—talk of a labor party led by people like Arnold Miller and Winpisinger, who think that the miners "have too little respect for law and order." Marxists call for a workers party that would lead the miners' struggles forward to victory.

In different circumstances a leftward-moving bureaucrat at the head of a powerful rank-and-file upsurge could break from the bourgeois parties. This possibility existed in the mid-1930s with John L. Lewis and the CIO, and the Trotskyists called for the formation of a labor party on the basis of the mushrooming industrial unions. But they also argued for a revolutionary program, warning that if a bureaucratic labor party were formed simply as an anti-communist ploy, it must be opposed. And as a new imperialist war approached, Trotsky realized that the pro-Roosevelt CIO leaders would be swept up in national chauvinism: "The support of the progressives is not stable. It is found at the top of the union rather than as a rank and file current. Now with the war we will have these progressives against us" ("Discussions with Trotsky," 12-15 June 1940).

It is entirely possible today that the Winpisingers with their anti-Sovietism and American chauvinism (such as over Iran) can become part of the executors of an attempted anti-red purge in the labor movement. So while the SWP and CP blindly tail along, the Spartacist League reiterates the need for revolutionary program and struggle: Oust the bureaucrats! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 16)

International bureaucracy that has presided over the disastrous erosion of the union's power.

What Is the Rank and File Coalition?

Flotte was the BA whose policies were responsible for the defeat of the 137-day Pfizer strike last winter. While posturing as a fighter, it was he who enforced the court-imposed restrictions on the number of pickets, thus allowing scab production to go on unimpeded. Flotte refused to implement a motion by the union's own executive board for union-wide action to hot-cargo the struck Pfizer goods. Another Coalition leader, prominent *PW* supporter and former GEB member Franklin Alexander, helped to sell the 1979 Master Contract which paved the way for the present attack on working conditions and grievance procedure. Local 6 members are now paying the price for what he called "the best contract ever"!

While the Militant Caucus was fighting to organize mass pickets to save the Pfizer strike, "Trend" supporters in the Coalition were organizing a fund-raising disco dance as a substitute for strike support with muscle. Meanwhile *PW* supporters, including executive board member Victoria Mercado, were instrumental in sabotaging official support from Local 6 for the successful mobilization of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis that stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco last April. Militant Caucus members campaigned heavily on their activities in building that demonstration and put it forward as the strategy for labor to defeat the Nazis and Klan. The increased electoral support for the Caucus reflects the appeal of this strategy to many ILWU members.

This election marks a nearly complete turnover (eight out of nine) in the West Bay GEB posts. Several members of the "Rank and File Coalition" have been elected to the GEB, and the membership will have the chance very soon to find out how rotten it is. The job of the Militant Caucus now is to consolidate their gains and extend their membership base. Key to this task is proving to the membership that halfway measures won't work, and it will take an uncompromising fight on the program of the Militant Caucus to defend the membership's interests. The Caucus must build an authoritative new leadership to replace the bureaucrats and the left-pressure groups that support them. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Much Ado About Wimpy

Social Democrats' Labor Party Hoax

Merkle

Kennedy "socialist" William Winpisinger

Just as the New Deal liberal-labor-black coalition in the Democratic Party is crumbling, in rush the forgotten social democrats attempting to revive this mainstay of American capitalist politics. A conference of Second International leaders in Washington in early December will bring in such European stars as Brandt, Palme and Mitterrand to put a little wind in the sails of their U.S. colleague Michael Harrington, leader of the obscure Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC)—and to shine up the images of some fading Democratic liberals like Senator Ted Kennedy and Congressman Ron Dellums.

The lead-off speaker in the confab will be one William "Wimpy" Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) and a vice-chairman of DSOC. There has been a lot of comment in the press lately about "Wimpy." The American social-democratic clearinghouse, *In These Times*, called his speech to the recent IAM convention possibly "the most openly socialist address by a major union president to the members in over half a century." Last year the *Wall Street Journal* called him the "*enfant terrible* of American labor" and "labor's big lip." Now both the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have gone bananas over "third party" talk by Winpisinger and the Machinists. So what's the furor about? Is something big afoot in American labor?

Kennedy's Rump

ACT I: Madison Square Garden, August 14. When pro-Kennedy forces were defeated at last August's Democratic convention, discontent was rife among the liberals. Seizing on this mood, Winpisinger staged a dramatic walkout shortly before Jimmy Carter's acceptance speech, followed by 100-plus IAM delegates and supporters of Michael Harrington's Democratic Agenda. While some of the left press claimed he had "bolted" the party, the Machinists chief was sporting a "Kennedy in '84" button, thus making it clear that he was walking out on Carter and not the Democratic Party.

ACT II: Next month at the IAM convention in Cincinnati. The CP's *Daily World* (5 September) headlines, "IAM Will Back Move for Labor Party." The SWP's *Militant* (19 September) publishes a two-page spread on "IAM Calls for Discussions on Forming Labor Party." A major American union was breaking with the Democrats to form a labor party? That would be news. But it just ain't so. Actually, Winpisinger beat back one local's attempt to call for immediate creation of a labor party. Instead, the convention simply decided not to endorse any presidential candidate in November and passed a vaguely worded resolution threatening to:

> "...join with other progressive and liberal groups in our society to determine the extent to which grass roots support might be developed for an independent pro-labor party dedicated to the principles of social democracy."

Kennedy could easily live with that, and in fact Kennedy and Ray Marshall,

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ILWU Local Elects Militant

OAKLAND—Five Militant Caucus (MC) candidates in the November 13 elections in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 greatly increased their vote totals over past elections in the East Bay Division and made a big breakthrough in the West Bay in their first electoral campaign there.

Jackie Clark, a Militant Caucus member and house steward at Heublein, won a seat on the General Executive Board, placing sixth out of nine West Bay GEB slots with 484 votes. Mike Kasian, another first-time candidate in the West Bay Division, got 377 votes, placing 13th in a field of 18 candidates. As we go to press, the local Balloting Committee is refusing to certify the results and there may be new elections in the West Bay. Clark and Kasian intend to run again if new elections are called.

In the East Bay GEB elections, Militant Caucus candidate and hiring hall steward Pete Woolston got 350 votes, nearly doubling the total he got in the last election two years ago, and Jack Dow got 250 votes, an increase of over a third over his last electoral showing. It should be noted that these vote totals exceeded those of many winners on the GEB in past elections. The greater voter turnout in this election reflects rising dissatisfaction with the state of affairs under the present pro-capitalist bureaucracy.

WV Photo

ILWU class-struggle candidates Jack Dow, Mike Kasian, Jackie Clark

MC member and house grievance committee member Pete Farruggio got 187 votes for Business Agent (BA), a hotly contested full-time union post and key position for defense on the job. This is a most respectable showing for a class-struggle oppositionist and probably an accurate index of the hard support in the East Bay for the class-struggle policies of the Caucus.

Workers are looking for answers for the current employer rampage flowing from recession conditions. Workers and stewards are being fired under new "attendance rules" and speed-up orders. Tim Chapman, a Militant Caucus member and house steward at Kaiser, was set up and fired when ordered to run a two-man machine singlehandedly. The union sends these cases to outside "binding" arbitration. So far three companies have gone to court to overturn these "binding" decisions in those cases where the decision is to rehire the fired worker. The union's grievance procedure is being gutted by such practices. The ILWU must restore a real grievance procedure to fight these company attacks: the right to work stoppages to settle grievances on the spot with no reprisals!

A new electoral bloc has sprung up posing as an alternative to the do-nothing Herman/Eickman bureaucracy. The "Rank and File Coalition" is a mutually parasitic relationship between East Bay Business Agent Roberto Flotte and most of the fake-radicals in the local, including supporters of the *Peoples World* (the Communist Party's West Coast newspaper) and the Silherite/critical Maoist "Trend." The fake-radicals are riding the coattails of a popular vote-getter, and Flotte is getting the services of a crew that is lending credence to his "militant" veneer. *PW* supporters are also trying to disappear their long-time previous service to the officials of the Local/

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 270 — 12 December 1980

Mourners of assassinated Archbishop Romero massacred at the Cathedral, San Salvador, Spring 1980. Chauvel/Sygma

Reagan Gives the Green Light

Bloody Junta Terror in Central America

DECEMBER 9—The tiny Central American country of El Salvador, not even a name on the map to most Americans, was forced upon public consciousness following the rape and murder of three U.S. nuns and a Catholic lay worker by a rightist death squad December 2. Somewhere between 9,000 and 12,000 Salvadorean workers, peasants and leftists have been assassinated by right-wing and army terror so far this year. This vicious campaign of white terror was portrayed as a shootout between extreme left and extreme right! They even gunned down the archbishop as he was celebrating mass in the San Salvador cathedral. They also assassinated the entire top leadership of the left-wing opposition in November. Not until last week did Washington and the U.S. show even a note of outrage, but these were *American nuns*.

"This time they won't get away with it. They just won't," fumed American ambassador Robert White, whose job has been precisely to let the U.S.-backed military rulers get away with mass murder. What imperialist cynicism! Twice an hour, round-the-clock, the junta's execution squads dump another corpse along the roadsides. But this massive, daily crime goes unprotested by the U.S. government which preaches "human rights" at the Soviet Union while arming one of the most bloody murder machines in the world. A letter to the *New York Times* (8 December) noted:

> "Thus, 5 to 10 mutilated bodies in Guatemala and 25 to 50 in El Salvador *per day* are given only a small fraction of the coverage accorded, say, the tribulations of Andrei Sakharov (untortured and still alive)...."

But horror stories about ravished nuns are a favorite theme of the bourgeois yellow press, and a lame-duck Democratic administration in Washington was anxious to salvage its tarnished "human rights" image. So Carter froze $25 million in military and economic aid until a U.S. delegation investigates the brutal murders.

A week earlier the Salvadorean junta's gangs of killers had kidnapped, tortured and murdered the leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), a popular front embracing virtually every political tendency in the country from dissident Christian Democrats to Castroite ex-guerrillas.

Despite the imperialist hypocrisy of the belated media outrage, it is useful that public attention has been focused on Central America just as Ronald Reagan and his right-wing advisers have given military butchers the high sign to unleash even more massive torture and executions in the name of hemispheric anti-Communism. But the Salvadorean masses need not meekly accept a bloodbath. By a revolutionary mobilization of the workers and peasants throughout Central America, backed by working-class solidarity actions in the rest of the hemisphere, particularly the U.S., the anti-communist butchers and their imperialist masters can be stopped!

Reagan's Dominos of Death

Despite the president-elect's strident Cold War rhetoric accusing the Carter administration of being soft on the Russians, the global balance of nuclear power may deter him from immediately launching an imperialist nuclear World War III against the Soviets. But Reagan's Panama Canal speeches and other

continued on page 10

The Sinister General Haig

Here comes the Reagan team. Watch out!

Liberals like to take solace in the conventional wisdom that the "awesome responsibilities" of the office of president have a sobering effect on even the most way-out types, but rational men ought not to bank on it. Soothing voices may say that Reagan's style is merely to be "chairman of the board." But even if he does try to run the government as if it were the Chamber of Commerce, look at "the board." Consider the proposal of General Alexander Haig for Secretary of State or perhaps Defense. A prospect, we are told, that is a concession to the "moderates."

General Haig: ex-NATO commander, ex-deputy to Henry Kissinger, ex-Nixon chief of staff, ex-Watergate plumbing contractor, ex-terror bomber of Southeast Asia, and present contestant for power. By all reliable accounts, Haig is a colorless, mean-minded bureaucrat who will either lick your boot or kick you with his, depending on his perception of immediate advantage.

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Bossu/Sygma

Vietnam war criminal looks forward to Reagan years.

British Troops Out of Northern Ireland!

Smash H-Block!

As we go to press, Irish Republican prisoners in the British Maze/Long Kesh compound near Belfast are into the sixth week of their hunger strike, with several now reported near death. Three women in the Armagh prison also went on hunger strike December 1, joining seven men in the H-Block of Long Kesh who have held out against their arrogant British jailers since October 27 demanding political prisoner status. International protests continue against the murderous treatment of the strikers by their British jailers, who have been ordered by bloody-minded British prime minister Margaret Thatcher not to force-feed the starving prisoners. On December 6, 500 protested at the British consulate in New York, while in London members of the Spartacist League/Britain marched in thousands-strong protests with a banner demanding "Smash Britain's Torture Camps! Troops Out Now!"

Over 400 men and women in Long Kesh and Armagh have been "on the blanket"—refusing to wear prison uniforms—at various times, many for over four years, since March 1976 when the British began treating them as common criminals by abolishing their "Special Category" status. The British claim that the nearly naked prisoners have brought their miserable state upon themselves, viciously slandering their desperate protest. But the long battle for status as political prisoners by the tortured and harassed prisoners is a searing indictment of British imperialism in Northern Ireland.

Ever since the introduction of British troops into Northern Ireland in 1969, the British state has ruthlessly enforced police/army terror, overwhelmingly against the impoverished Catholic population. When the mass roundup policy of internment ended, the British simply switched to "Diplock courts" (named after Lord Diplock, who recommended them) in which judges convict suspected IRA Provos or other nationalists simply on the basis of "confessions." Amnesty International and even the European Court of Justice have condemned these kangaroo courts and the extorted confessions as violations of "human rights."

In Ulster today the oppressed Catholic population exists in dire poverty, discriminated against by the dominant Protestant majority and the British state. Socialists defend Republican militants against imperialist repression and Protestant Loyalist terror attacks. But as Marxists, we condemn the *criminal* random terrorism practiced by both sides, such as the criminal bombing of pubs and innocent families by the Provisional IRA. And in the sectarian conflict which has wracked Northern Ireland in the past decade, we oppose Green nationalism as well as the Orange, for if successful it can only result in reversing the current terms of oppression in Northern Ireland.

There is no possibility of justice for either the oppressed Catholic or Protestant working people of Ulster within the capitalist framework. From day one of their occupation, the British troops' presence has only had the effect of perpetuating the unjust status quo, thereby prolonging the agony of Northern Ireland. Our fight is for socialist revolution throughout the British Isles. The continued presence of the British only postpones that day of reckoning. Not Green against Orange, but class against class! Smash H-Block! British troops out now! ■

Spartacist Britain

Spartacist contingent protests Northern Ireland torture-jails, London, November 15.

TLD Demonstrates Against Immigration Ban

"Let the Jews into West Berlin!"

Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union are now officially banned from settling in West Berlin. Before Hitler, 175,000 Jews lived in the German capital. Today there are at most 7,000 in the Western sector—and now they're saying there are too many Jews in West Berlin again! This hateful policy awakens fearful, not-so-old memories of the Nazi Holocaust, in which six million Jews, 20 million Soviet citizens, and hundreds of thousands of Communists and Socialists were slaughtered. And the West Berlin ban can only feed into anti-Semitic, fascist terror, which has already claimed victims in the October bombing of a Paris synagogue and in the bloodbaths of Munich and Bologna.

The despicable immigration measure is part and parcel of Bonn's policy of reversing the influx of foreign workers (Yugoslavian, Turkish, etc.) which the stagnant West German economy no longer needs. Grotesquely, even prominent Jewish leaders have approved the ban. "We have taken more than our share," said Heinz Galinski, a Jewish leader in West Berlin (*New York Times*, 25 September). What upsets these community leaders is that many of the immigrants aren't religious, or don't fit into "our culture," and simply want the secular benefits of living in the highly subsidized "show window" of the West." The Zionists, too, prefer that all Jews go to Israel, which wants the bodies to stake out its own *Lebensraum*.

Still, "It takes a lot of chutzpah to ban Jews from West Berlin!" as our comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) said in a leaflet protesting the ban. The TLD was in fact the only left group in West Berlin to protest this atrocity. Participating in an annual memorial march to the victims of Nazi terror on November 8, the TLD raised its demands "Down with the Immigration Ban on Jews in West Berlin!" "Smash the Nazis Through Mobilizing the Proletariat!" and "Nu Freedom for Mass Murderer Rudolf Hess!" The TLD's sharp intervention embarrassed march sponsors like Berlin's SPD mayor Stobbe and Jewish community leaders who support the ban, but gained widespread sympathy from participants. As the TLD leaflet pointed out:

"Nobody should be surprised that Jews do not wish to be sent to the super-ghetto Israel. This immigration ban plays into the hands of anti-Semitism and race hate. Down with the immigration ban on Jews! Full citizenship rights for all foreign workers!... Zionism oppresses the Palestinians in Israel and protects itself from the Eastern European Jews in West Berlin! Only a proletarian class answer can defend the rights of all minorities and successfully put an end to fascism."

Spartakist

German Trotskyists in anti-Nazi demonstration, West Berlin, November 8.

CP Votes Against Ontario Labor Anti-Klan Demo

TORONTO—Only a week after the Greensboro fascist murderers got off scot-free, an Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) convention here overwhelmingly passed a motion, submitted by Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Local 1 in late November demanding that the OFL "call upon its affiliates, the NDP and other socialist groups, other trade union organizations, all minority groups and all defenders of democratic rights to immediately initiate an anti Klan campaign, culminating in a massive demonstration to drive the K.K.K. out of Ontario."

But ironically some Stalinist fake-leftists *opposed* the OFL bureaucrats' call *from the right*, preferring instead to rely on the Canadian capitalist government for protection! From the OFL convention floor a supporter of the Communist Party whined that the resolutions committee had passed up a resolution calling for a government ban: "The Klan must be banned from Canada, from Ontario." Not to be outdone, Judy D'Arcy, a supporter of the Workers Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)—Canadian lapdogs of the Peking Stalinists—appealed to the government to be "evenhanded." After all, the courts "passed anti-labor legislation at the drop of a hat"—they could at least be as stringent with the Klan!

And who should have reminded these alleged "Marxists" of the class character of the bosses' government but the deeply class-collaborationist OFL tops themselves. The chairman of the resolutions committee explained that the motion was brought to the floor *precisely because it didn't call for banning the Klan*: "We think it could be dangerous to set a precedent of banning any organization; it could be us next."

After a few rounds of idiot reformism from self-proclaimed leftists—which ran the gamut from banning the Klan because it is a "terrorist organization" to "outlawing racism"—OFL Secretary-Treasurer Terry Meagher took to the mike to argue that laws have an anti-working-class bias. Who was jailed in the "anti-terrorist" round-up under the Trudeau government's imposition of the War Measures Act in 1970, Meagher queried—the left and the labor movement. He also had to remind the supporters of the fake-left that you can't "outlaw racism" or "legally" get rid of the Klan. Weren't the fascist bombings in Europe the work of "illegal organizations"?

Of course, no one should believe that the OFL leaders have discovered Marxism; it's just that they don't trust the *current* bourgeois government (as opposed to one led by, say, the NDP). While they have been upset by the mounting anti-labor legislation coming from Ottawa, the union brass have yet to *do* anything besides capitulate. But this motion calling for a labor-centered demonstration against the Klan must not be allowed to collect dust in the OFL offices. It was the example of the successful "stop the KKK/Nazis" demonstrations in the last year which inspired LCUC militants to fight for a labor/minority demonstration in Toronto. Only organized mass labor action can sweep the fascist scum off the streets—the capitalist cops and courts will let them get away with murder. Implement the OFL anti-Klan resolution—Demand mass labor action! ■

CORRECTION

In the article "RWG: Cult for Scabbing" (*WV* No. 269, 28 November) we incorrectly stated that the RWG-supported CMDUAW refused to sign the petition to fire the Klan-hooded foremen at Ford's River Rouge Complex. They signed it and then denounced the petition as a diversion even though this gathering of mass support succeeded in driving the racist bosses out of the plant. What they refused to sign was the united-front statement initiated by Rouge militants calling for union action against the Brass Knuckles Caucus, which had anonymously circulated a right-wing hate sheet threatening beating a member of their own CMDUAW.

Mao's Heirs on Both Sides of the Bench

Show Trial for Gang of Four

The colossal Peking show trial of the "Ten Evil Heads" is underway. Among the ten are Chiang Ch'ing, Mao Tse-tung's widow and leader of the notorious "Gang of Four"; Mao's former political secretary, Chen Po-ta; and four ex-generals, members of the Lin Piao group. The main purpose of this showcase trial is for the survivors of the 1960s Cultural Revolution, led by the ever resilient Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) who now holds the reins of power, to take their revenge against the Mao/Chiang/Lin faction in the bureaucracy and stabilize their bureaucratic domination. The main problem is to accomplish this without fundamentally implicating the Great Helmsman, and thus discrediting themselves. For both accuser and accused are the heirs of Mao.

There is even political life after death in Deng's China. The deceased Kang Sheng, former minister of public security and close confidante of the late chairman, has been publicly excoriated and expelled from the party. At the same time, some of the most prominent victims of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," notably former head of state Liu Shao-chi, have been posthumously rehabilitated and restored to their "rightful place" in the party. This concern with the spirits of the dead reminds one of the famous "de-Stalinization" congress of the CPSU in 1956 where an old woman delegate recounted how she had been visited in a dream by Lenin, who told her to denounce Stalin's crimes.

"We all know it is not a trial but a power struggle. If Jiang Qing [Chiang Ch'ing] had won, it would be Deng who is on trial, or worse, hauled before a mass rally," said a Chinese woman in the street to the *New York Times* correspondent. Certainly nobody can claim this is anything like a fair trial. There are no defense witnesses, only prosecution witnesses; the main prosecution witnesses are those who have turned state's evidence after many years imprisonment; the witnesses read set-piece speeches; and the main business of the "defense" lawyer is plea-bargaining. Even Fox Butterfield, one of the most credulous journalists of our time, admits: "The trial so far seems more an act of vengeance by the victims of the Cultural Revolution than a careful attempt to trace responsibility for the persecutions and dislocations of the period" (*New York Times*, 6 December).

The four principal charges against the "Ten" are: framing and persecuting party and state leaders in a plot to seize power; persecuting and suppressing large numbers of cadres and ordinary citizens; plotting to assassinate Mao as part of a "counterrevolutionary" attempted coup d'état in 1971; and plotting an armed rebellion in Shanghai in 1976 to seize power following Mao's death. The "Gang" are accused of ordering the murder of 34,274 people, and the persecution and torture of some 700,000 others. And the indictment contains lurid accounts of the alleged plot to kill Mao: schemes to strafe his personal train, backed by infantrymen, armed with bazookas and flame throwers, who then dispose of the train in a deep gorge by blasting a railroad bridge to pieces.

Predictably, most of the defendants have confessed. But the two most prominent, Chiang and fellow "Gang" member Chang Chun-chiao, have refused to admit the charges (Chang has refused to say a word). Under the new penal code, confession is now no longer necessary to establish guilt. But confession (extracted in pre-Communist China by the liberal use of torture) played such an important part in traditional Chinese jurisprudence that a defendant's refusal to admit his/her alleged crimes raises doubts in the minds of the population as to their guilt. Thus Chiang and Chang's recalcitrance is clearly a black eye for Deng and his colleagues.

1980: Chiang Ch'ing and some other "Evil Heads" in the dock.

1967: Maoist Red Guards humiliate party cadre.

A Stalinist show trial? Yes. There is, nonetheless, an important difference with the most famous Moscow show trials in the 1930s. Under Stalin's gun were Old Bolsheviks with a genuine revolutionary past—Nikolai Bukharin, Gregory Zinoviev, Karl Radek and others—accused of fantastic crimes they did not commit. Whether or not they are guilty of the specific charges against them, the Mao clique are first-class Stalinist criminals. They are directly responsible for the blood of thousands if not millions of innocent people during the Cultural Revolution frenzy of 1966-68. Among these were old Communist Party cadre who had played honorable and heroic roles in the Chinese Revolution. The old guerrilla chief Ho Lung and the commander of the Chinese army in the Korean War, Peng Teh-huai, were reportedly done to death by the Red Guards in slow and brutal ways.

But their Dengist judges have no cleaner hands than the fallen Gang of Four. How many innocent workers, peasants and intellectuals were victimized under the Liu-Deng regime of the early 1960s, a regime not exactly known for its liberalism and respect for legality? And what of the Chinese Trotskyists jailed in 1953 and kept in prison ever since? Here all of the squalid and murderous cliques/factions of Chinese Stalinism could unite in suppressing genuine proletarian revolutionaries. Perhaps Deng's greatest crime against socialism was in early 1979 when he sent thousands of young Chinese workers and peasants to kill their class brothers in Vietnam, a war undertaken in collusion with U.S. imperialism.

Haunted by the Cultural Revolution

It is really the Cultural Revolution that is on trial. The indictment abandons the previous characterization of the "GPCR" as a movement worthy in its original intentions that later went very wrong. Now it is presented as from the very beginning a conspiracy by "leftist" radicals to seize power from the wiser veteran leaders. But what of Mao? Marshal Peng, for instance, first incurred the Chairman's wrath for denouncing the economically disastrous Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s.

The present ruling Chinese bureaucrats cannot repudiate the cult of Mao altogether without calling into question their own legitimacy. So they are forced to present Mao as so incompetent or senile in the last eleven years of his life that he let China be dominated by a gang of scheming and venal "ultraleftists." Nonsense! Everyone in China who was politically aware at the time understands that Mao was the prime mover of the Cultural Revolution, from Lin Piao's palace coup in mid-1966 through the anarchistic violence of 1967 to the termination of the Red Guards in August 1968. Reportedly one of the reasons the trial was so long delayed was the fear that Chiang would defend herself by stating that she had only carried out her husband's direct instructions.

In the late 1960s most of the Western left viewed the Mao-led Cultural Revolution as a bonafide anti-bureaucratic mass uprising, accepting its official description as establishing a "Paris Commune-like state." But to think that the deified leader of Chinese Stalinism and his hatchet man, army commander-in-chief Lin Piao, could lead the working class against the bureaucracy is equivalent to assigning to Stalin and Beria, or Brezhnev and Yuri Andropov, the leadership of the proletarian political revolution in the Soviet Union. As we wrote at the time:

> "The Cultural Revolution was, in its origins and essence, a faction fight between two wings of the Chinese bureaucracy. It is now clear that there were no substantive differences between the two tendencies and that the argument that Liu Shao-chi represented a 'rightist,' or 'pro-Soviet,' or 'pro-capitalist' tendency was without foundation. It was in 1959 as a result of being saddled with the consequences of the Great Leap that Mao lost the chairmanship of the government to Liu and was allowed to hold only the largely honorific title of Party Chairman. The Cultural Revolution was Mao's successful recapturing of the Chinese state and Army, which incidentally included the destruction of the CCP [Chinese Communist Party] by the Red Guard youth."
>
> —"Chinese Menshevism," *Spartacist* No. 15-16, April-May 1970

The Cultural Revolution was essentially a giant Stalinist purge, which got

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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In the Trenches for Khomeini

SWP Curses Fred Halliday

When Ayatollah Khomeini came to power by overthrowing the butcher shah two years ago, virtually the entire left in Iran and internationally hailed his clerical-reactionary regime as "progressive" or even "revolutionary." But as his fanatical followers massacred Kurdish villages, smashed strikes by Arab oil workers, bloodied the left and stoned to death so-called "sinners," even some of the more enthusiastic partisans of the "Islamic Revolution" began belatedly to criticize the mullahs' dictatorship. However, when the long-simmering blood feud between Iran and Iraq erupted in war two months ago, anti-Khomeini leftists such as the majority Fedayeen once again made common cause with the Persian-chauvinist clerics, volunteering to serve as loyal "soldiers of Islam" in the *jihad* against the "infidel" Ba'athist colonels' regime in Baghdad.

This capitulation to the reactionary groundswell of "national unity" has had its repercussions among the European "far left" too. Adapting to the shifting mood among the Iranian Fedayeen, the Mandelite wing of the United Secretariat had begun to discreetly distance itself from Khomeini. But when the Abadan oil fields started burning, the Mandelites too were quick to join the chorus calling for "defense of the Iranian revolution." One exception to this slide into vicarious social chauvinism by yesterday's halfhearted critics of Khomeini has been the well-known British journalist Fred Halliday, a member of the *New Left Review* editorial board on generally chummy terms with the Mandelites. An eclectic radical, Halliday at least has the all-too-rare virtue of honestly reporting what has been happening in the Middle East.

Simply on the basis of the empirical evidence, Halliday recognizes that the Iran/Iraq war isn't in the interests of the working people or oppressed minorities on either side. In an article that appeared in the 8-14 October issue of the American social-democratic weekly *In These Times*, Halliday states:

> "Bereft as it is of the remotest legitimacy, this war—the product of the nationalist follies of both governments—will cause immense damage to the people of the region. It has almost ruined the economies of both countries. It will fan the flames of racial hatred and prejudice for many years to come. It will force both governments, who vaunt their independence so much, to rely on foreign assistance, and it directly increases the possibility of direct intervention by other powers."

Halliday's article provoked a furious response from the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who've been among the most shameless and craven apologists for "the imam." The SWP's *Intercontinental Press* of 17 November carries a three-page (!) polemic against Halliday by David Frankel. Evidently the SWP was piqued when Halliday bluntly said the emperor (or imam) has no clothes. Leaving aside the grotesque insults ("If Halliday had one-fifth the political judgment of Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini...") and slanders ("He does not have a word to say about the continuing imperialist threats against Iran, including threats from his own government"), Frankel's polemic boils down to the claim that U.S. imperialism is attacking "the most important people's revolution in the Middle East in this century" through Iraq.

Iraq a tool of the U.S.? Just who does Frankel think he's kidding! Iraq has been a military client of the USSR ever since Ba'athist leader Ahmad Hasan Bakr took power in a 1968 coup. Although relations between Baghdad and Moscow have become strained recently—the Baghdad colonels brought the boot down on the mass-based Iraqi Communist Party in 1978 and criticized the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, while Moscow is still trying to sweet talk the Iranians and has just signed a "friendship treaty" with Baghdad's rival Ba'athist regime in Syria—Saddam Hussein is certainly not Washington's man, yet. When he needed military aid to press the war with Iran, Hussein sent his envoys to the USSR, not to the U.S.

Khomeini's troops halted in downtown Teheran. The SWP joins in.

Sipa

And what about the "sweeping anti-imperialist measures" Frankel claims Khomeini has taken? The SWP to the contrary, demagogic rhetoric (calling America the "Great Satan"), diversionist diplomacy (the U.S. embassy seizure) and endless mass rallies chanting "god is great" do not an "anti-imperialist revolution" make. Using these empty criteria, one could make the case that Iraq is more "anti-imperialist" than Iran. After all, the Ba'athists still claim to be "scientific socialists," denounce U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism, pose as the most "rejectionist" of all on the Palestinian question, and long ago booted out American diplomatic and military personnel (during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war).

> **Moscow has armed and diplomatically backed the Ba'athists despite their fierce repression of the Iraqi Comminist Party, which historically has been the strongest working-class party in the Middle East. When a section of the Hashemite officer corps led the popular unrising of 1958 that overthrew King Faisal and brought the bourgeois-nationalist general Kassem to power the CP grew by leaps and hnunds. But, wedded to the Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution," the CP used its mass following simply to pressure Kassem and engage in maneuvers within the military command and government bureaucracy. In a debacle prefiguring the Indonesian coup of 1965, the CP was vulnerable and unprepared when the Iraqi generals struck. They were told to surrender by their mentors in the Kremlin, who agreed to liquidate what could have been a successful proletarian bid for power in Iraq as the price of admission to Eisenhower's Camp David "peaceful coexistence" confab.**
>
> **Tragically, the CP repeated this disastrous policy under the Ba'athists. When the Ba'athists came to power, the Iraqi CP threw its support behind the regime, in return getting positions in the "National Front" government in 1973. But after five years of toeing the line, the CP again had become enough of a threat that the regime struck, executing 21 party members accused of forming clandestine cells in the army, and jailing a reported 15,000.**

Equally absurd is Frankel's babble about "Washington's responsibility for inciting the war" against Iran. Angling for a hostage deal with the Iranians, the last thing the Carter administration wanted was war in this already unstable, volatile region. Seeing Iran first and foremost as a strategic bulwark against the USSR, the Carter administration has consistently warned against the "disintegration" of the country—which is why early on the CIA funneled weapons to Khomeini for use against the Kurdish guerrillas. Once the Iran/Iraq war was on, however, U.S. imperialism took a clear tilt *toward Teheran*. While the U.S. suspended delivery of six turbine engines made for Iraqi warships, it offered to "unfreeze" the $400 million in weapons and badly needed spare parts previously purchased by Iran, if a hostage deal could be arranged.

At bottom, the SWP's line—and the deeds of its "fraternal cothinkers" in Iran—is that of the treacherous Social Democrats at the time of the outbreak of WW I: who was the "aggressor," which imperialist power was manipulating which Balkan conflict, which capitalist country had "revolutionary traditions" that had to be defended, etc. Bourgeois patriotism took the place of proletarian internationalism. Of course, the Iran/Iraq conflict is a regionally limited war between backward bourgeois states, and not the inter-imperialist world war of 1914-18. But a social-chauvinist is a social-chauvinist, in Iran or Iraq no less than in Germany or France.

Forced here to abandon even the facade of Trotskyism, the SWP takes over classless Stalinist terminology and dubs Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" a "people's revolution." But even if Iran were in the throes of a radical bourgeois-democratic revolution (which it decidedly is not), Leninists would still take a *revolutionary defeatist* position toward both sides. In Russia between the February and October revolutions there were authentic soviets, an emerging dual-power situation, a popular-front regime and a Bolshevik party struggling for political hegemony over the working class. *Even then*, Lenin maintained his revolutionary defeatist position, denouncing the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries who lined up behind their "own" bourgeoisie by calling for defensism.

War can poison the class struggle with national chauvinism, or it can be the mother of revolution. As the Iraqi military dictatorship and the highly unstable clerical regime in Iran exhaust one another in combat, as the national minorities on both sides grow more rebellious, as the working class is ground down and decimated, a prerevolutionary situation can arise in the region. But what is lacking are Trotskyist parties rooted in the proletariats of Iraq and Iran guided by the internationalist perspective of permanent revolution. The task facing revolutionists today in Iran and Iraq is to swim against the stream, struggling to turn the nationalist war into a civil war that will sweep away the mullahs and the bonapartist colonels and lead to the establishment of a socialist federation of the Middle East. ■

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Interview with Israel Shahak

Religious Fanaticism and Zionist Terror

Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, was interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* on November 12 during his recent four-city tour of the U.S. Born in Warsaw in 1933 and a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, he immigrated to Palestine in 1945. Shahak's opposition to Zionism has been strongly shaped by the parallels between Zionism and the anti-Semitism and fascism he experienced firsthand as a Jewish youth in East Europe.

These parallels have been accentuated by the coming to power in Israel of Irgun terrorist Menachem Begin and the accompanying growth of a Jewish clerical-fascist movement closely associated with his government, the Gush Emunim. Zionist fascism has become a significant political force at the same time the Israeli economy has experienced its severest crisis: inflation is officially at a *170 percent* annual rate and workers have experienced an unprecedented 14 percent fall in real income in the first six months of this year. This "tribute" to the effectiveness of Friedmanite "free market" policies has generated a mass of spontaneous strikes and even "bread riots" from Israel's combative if politically backward working class.

For Friedman's economic policies to be completely implemented, this working class must be crushed by an Israeli Pinochet. Shahak states in the interview that the possibility of a military coup is now taken seriously in Israel, especially when Begin meets his almost inevitable defeat in the upcoming elections. At the same time morale in the armed forces outside of the elite units is so low that sabotage and enlisted men shooting officers have become common.

As if providing dramatic and atrocious confirmation of Shahak's indictment of Zionism, on 17 and 18 November Israeli soldiers in the Occupied Territories fired live ammunition into crowds of Palestinian students protesting the closing of Bir Zeit University during that campus' Palestine Week. The *Washington Post* ran a disapproving editorial entitled "Shooting Teenagers." And even a U.S. State Department spokesman tut-tutted: "The use of potentially lethal force to disperse unarmed demonstrators can lead to grave and far reaching consequences." As if the Zionist regime hadn't been using such terror tactics for years.

Shahak points out that the armed forces are not the only or even the main form of Zionist anti-Arab terror. In the tradition of Begin's Irgun, any chauvinist-minded Jew can intimidate, beat up or even shoot any West Bank Arab with almost total impunity. The most vicious and sinister are American Zionists who visit Israel for only a few weeks or months but who volunteer for temporary duty in anti-Arab vigilante squads.

Shahak also describes the exploitation of Jewish religious obscurantism in the service of Zionist chauvinism. But he is not a vicarious nationalist who believes that the plight of the oppressed is alleviated by disguising their oppression, including their ideological oppression. Thus he discusses as well the role of Islam as a sectarian and reactionary force among Palestinian Arabs both in Israel and the West Bank.

• • • • •

WV Photo

Israel Shahak: Israeli civil libertarian, defender of Palestinian rights.

WV: One of the questions you wanted to address was the question of religious fanaticism, so why don't we start with that. We have pointed in our press to the reactionary role of Islamic forces in Iran, where they became a mass movement, in relationship with Khomeini's rise to power. It is also true that behind the coming to power of Begin were forces of fanatical orthodox Judaism. So perhaps you could say something about the role that these forces are playing now in the state of Israel as well as in the Occupied Territories.

Shahak: Thank you. First of all, in short about the forces of Islamic fanaticism in the Occupied Territories of Israel, and then I will speak more extensively about the forces of Jewish fanaticism.

Well, actually since you mentioned Khomeini, the supporters of Khomeini in the Occupied Territories in Israel among the Palestinians are not religious fanatics but are so-called "progressives." This is because of the differences, of course, between Sunni and Shi'ite Islam. The religious fanatics among the Palestinians are opposed to Khomeini. They are mobilizing Sunni Islam, and the nature is different in Israel from the Occupied Territories. In the Occupied Territories they are from the most conservative, pro-Jordanian, but not only pro-Jordanian, strata of the population.

In Israel itself the situation is more serious because of the absence of more direct and immediate forms of persecution. There, Muslim fanaticism is relatively much greater. It has conquered, I would say, 20 to 25 percent of the population—quite considerable. They are much bolder in physically attacking their opponents. Of all their opponents they physically attack Rakah supporters (the Israeli Communist Party), they attack individual Palestinians, they attack Jewish visitors. What is very important and very interesting is that in Israel they have a direct alliance, recognized by many people, with the Israeli security police. This is carried out directly by the Israeli government, which imports imams for them from Egypt and gives them privileges—financial support and so on.

I don't know how it will develop. I think that they have more or less reached the summit of their influence, they have grown in the last two years. But still they are becoming more aggressive and their alliance with the police is becoming more open. In the many smaller villages, they are literally ruling with the help of day-to-day terror. Literally they are beating up people who are known not to fast during Ramadan—as happened during the last Ramadan—and even in their present size this can become dangerous.

WV: A substantial portion of the Palestinian population is Christian. How do they view this development? And secondly, how does the PLO—insofar as it is able to manifest itself, I realize it is illegal both in the Occupied Territories and Israel proper—deal with the problem, especially in relationship to their demand for a *secular* Palestine.

Shahak: Again we have to divide it between the Occupied Territories and Israel. The Christian sentiment of the Palestinian population is very important in the Occupied Territories because it is concentrated. Ramallah and Bethlehem are Christian towns and so are several villages. In Israel itself the number of Christian villages is relatively very small. The Christian population is divided between several towns, in none of which they have a majority. Nazareth has a very substantial Muslim majority by now, so it is completely different.

In the Occupied Territories when the Muslim fanatics were beaten by the direct help of the PLO, when about a year ago they tried to hinder Christian/Muslim/Palestinian cooperation, they sent their agitators to all kinds of Palestinian meetings and even to illegal demonstrations shouting, "Christians Out!" "Let No Christians Speak!" "Palestinians are a Muslim People!" and so on. There was both a very strong popular and PLO reaction. Except in Gaza where Israel employs a paid troop of several hundred fanatics which are connected with the Egyptian Islamic Brotherhood, and supported directly by Sadat and the Israelis—a powerful combination. This is the town of Gaza, not the Gaza Strip. They were beaten in the Occupied Territories.

In Israel itself there are no concentrations where the Christian population is dominant. There are, however, not only villages but whole areas where there are no Christians at all. Those are the areas where this type of Muslim reaction has taken place. I think in those areas the Muslim fanatics are building Sadat, or alternatively, the Islamic Egyptian Brotherhood as an alternative to the PLO. They are going so far as to say that Yassir Arafat is not a Palestinian, but sometimes they say that he is a Syrian, sometimes he's Egyptian and so on. I have heard unsupported rumors that they are even saying that he is a Jew and so on. Fanaticism has now no limits.

You know, of course, this type of slander from very many historical parallels, and their alliance with the Israeli secret police is based on opposition to the PLO. They oppose the PLO because of its secularism. So they will say that [PFLP leader] George Habash is a Christian and so on. I accept all your correct criticisms about Khomeini from the beginning, but you must say that they are worse than Khomeini; they have opposed Khomeini because he allowed non-Muslims to be elected to the Iranian Majlis. So this shows you

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Italian CP Knifes Fiat Strike

"Every strike enriches the experience of the entire working class. If the strike is successful it shows them what a strong force working-class unity is, and impels others to make use of their comrades' success. If it is not successful, it gives rise to discussions about the causes of the failure and to search for better methods of struggle."
—V.I. Lenin, "Draft and Explanation of a Programme for the Social-Democratic Party" (1895)

MILANO—The most important strike of a single company in the entire post-war period in Italy ended on October 17 in a stinging defeat for the 150,000 workers of FIAT. But the workers were not defeated by a stronger enemy, nor because of passivity or lack of militancy on their part. For 35 days they had carried forward an all-out strike, completely stopping production in the most important plants of the FIAT group. This working-class combativity was all the more significant since in Italy, unlike in other European countries and the United States, there are no strike funds to compensate for the loss of wages due to strikes. The causes of this defeat are to be found instead in the treachery of the bureaucratic labor tops, and the lack of a powerful organized revolutionary opposition in the unions.

At issue was the capitalists' assertion of a right to lay off "excess" workers. Earlier, in July, the "center-left" government of Christian Democratic prime minister Cossiga had attempted to gut the sliding scale of wages, a national escalator clause which has kept the pay of *unionized* workers roughly equal to inflation in recent years. Both moves are part of a Europe-wide bourgeois austerity drive to place the cost of the capitalist economic crisis on the backs of the workers. In Italy this meant a direct attack on the conquests of the "Hot Autumn" of 1969 when the bosses conceded some of the most far-reaching trade-union demands in order to cut short a mushrooming pre-revolutionary situation that was spreading down the peninsula from the huge FIAT works in Torino. Now the employers have managed to take back some of these gains won through hard struggle, and the consequences of this defeat will be felt by workers throughout West Europe.

Marx Not Wojtyla

The reformist bureaucrats have consistently indicated their willingness to "understand the problems" of FIAT and Italian capitalism. CGIL union leader Lucio Lama expressed the need to "make the workers fully comprehend the gravity of this crisis" (interview in *Panorama*, 24 November). Underlying this strike is the financial crisis of the automobile division of FIAT, which lost $116 million in 1979 on total sales of $8.5 billion. Probably errors in management were added to difficulties deriving from a shrinking share of the world auto market—FIAT is in direct competition with Japanese producers for the small- and medium-size car market—leading to a situation of "excess capacity." But at the root of the problem is the anarchy inherent in the capitalist mode of production, in which the productive forces must periodically be cut back (destroyed) when their saturation in a given sector has become greater than the market's capacity to absorb their products. FIAT boss Agnelli felt it in his disappearing profits and resolved to make the workers pay.

In the period from June to September, the company put on temporary layoff (*cassa integrazione*) 78,000 of the 114,000 workers in its automotive division for a week at a time. But then FIAT asked the government in Rome for a substantial part of the $2 billion in subsidies scheduled for the auto industry; otherwise, it would permanently lay off 12 percent of its labor force. The tug-of-war between government, unions and company brought no results and on

Strike rally at FIAT headquarters, September 25. WV Photo

23,000 Unionists Purged–Gains of Hot Autumn '69 Defeated

September 10 FIAT headquarters in Corso Marconi sent out 14,469 layoff notices, setting off the most important labor struggle of the last decade. When the government fell in the midst of the strike, Agnelli suddenly retracted the firings, but proceeded instead to put 23,000 workers on "temporary (technical) layoff"...for 18 months.

The reaction of FIAT workers was immediate and combative. On September 11, when the union leaderships declared a three-hour work stoppage the ranks turned it into a total strike. A week later 20,000 workers jammed into an assembly of the mammoth Mirafiori works in Torino to cheer their leaders' call for a one-day national metal workers strike and general strike in the Piemonte region. Workers throughout Italy understood that their own future was at stake in this crucial battle, and demonstrations of solidarity multiplied. The one-day strikes on September 25 were a success as more than 80,000 from all over northern Italy gathered in the auto capital. Sections of the four columns converged on the main square chanting, *"Potere Operaio! Potere Operaio!"* (Workers Power) and singing *"Bandiera Rossa"* (Red Flag) with their fists raised. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia was there, too, and our comrades were met with shouts of *"Bravi!"* (good job) for their bulletin headline, "Afghanistan: Victory to the Red Army!"

There has been a lot of comment in the press (and among pseudo-Trotskyists here) equating Torino and Gdansk, but from the beginning the FIAT workers took their distance from the Polish strikes. Where the gates of the Baltic shipyards were adorned with portraits of the madonna and Pope Wojtyla, here the strikers hung pictures of Karl Marx at the Mirafiori entrance. (In the course of the struggle, these were flanked by other portraits of Engels, Lenin, Gramsci and even Che Guevara.) The militancy was not just verbal and graphic, moreover. When the trade-union federation of the CGIL/CISL/UIL called a national "general strike" (of four hours) in support of the FIAT workers on October 10, in the midst of a cabinet crisis in Rome, more than ten million workers took part. Yet a week later the FIAT strike had collapsed, the victim of union and party leaders who tremble at the first threat by the bourgeoisie.

"A Victory for the Bosses"

The bosses' warning was a back-to-work march of 10,000-plus in Torino October 14. It was of course arranged by Agnelli, who paid the marchers a day's wages, and most were either foremen or white-collar employees. Nevertheless, it was trumpeted as the first large anti-union demonstration in Italy since World War II, and certainly drew some thousands of workers demoralized by a strike that appeared to be dragging on aimlessly. The blame for such a dangerous development must be laid at the doorstep of the reformist bureaucrats. They refused to organize mass picketing, which could have effectively sealed off the plants *and company offices* by mobilizing the ranks; nothing was ever done to *occupy* the factories, turning the struggle into a powerful sit-down strike with FIAT's expensive equipment held hostage; they refused to organize against the company's back-to-work march, and the "solidarity" actions were simply pressure tactics rather than widening the struggle. The reason was simple: the labor skates were afraid that such militant actions might "get out of hand"; they were not prepared to win the strike and so at the first opportunity they called it off.

Despite their Socialist (PSI) and even Communist (PCI) labels, the workers' misleaders accept the bosses' "need for profitability" and simply want to have a piece of the action, even when this means "participating" in the firing of tens of thousands of workers. And so two days later they capitulated miserably, agreeing to FIAT's order putting 23,000 workers on "temporary layoff"—for *34 months*, until mid-1983! This sellout was so shameful that the French CP, after talking about union control over "a certain reduction in the workforce" (layoffs!), adds in a parenthesis: "The union's position can only be understood strictly in the context of FIAT and Italy" (*L'Humanité*, 17 October). Significantly, the list of workers laid off (with 80 percent of their salary paid by the state) contains many of the Communist Party supporters at FIAT, and almost all the militants of groups to the left of the PCI, not to mention a particularly high percentage of women. The defeat of the strike was thus sealed with a massive anti-red purge in the plants aimed at breaking the back of the unions and factory councils.

To get workers who had defended the picket lines for 35 days to swallow this catastrophic sell-out agreement, the union bureaucracy brought its biggest guns into the field. Nevertheless, according to figures published in the PCI's *l'Unità* (17 October), the accord was rejected in second-shift meetings by majorities of 55 to 90 percent in various plants, while in the first shift it was approved by a "majority" including foremen and scabbing white-collar employees. On the first day, the bureaucrats prevented a FIAT delegates meeting from taking a formal vote to reject the deal. Some union tops tried to

sell the pact outside plant gates, and barely escaped. CGIL chief Lucio Lama, a PCIer, and the social-democratic UIL leader Giorgio Benvenuto were threatened, while Pierre Carnitti, head of the Christian Democratic CISL, was kicked and beaten with fists and umbrellas outside Mirafiori, and two cars in which he tried to escape were damaged (*Corriere della Sera*, 17 October).

The Italian and international bourgeois press, of course, cheered the conclusion of the strike, a considerable victory for the Agnellis, and also judged it a defeat for the PCI which had thrown its weight into the balance. "Victory for the bosses," wrote the conservative British *Economist* (25 October), while the American *Business Week* (3 November) commented that "the spectacular labor agreement at Fiat on Oct. 17 could put all Italian industry firmly back in the hands of management after a decade of rising union power, continuous strikes, and near industrial chaos." That all depends on the lessons drawn from this defeat by the advanced layers of the Italian working class. What is certain is that for the first time since 1969, Italian employers can in fact impose unemployment on tens of thousands of workers. And they will surely try to follow the FIAT example.

Crisis of Leadership

The sellout resulted from the lack of a program to win the strike on the part of the unions and the PCI. And this was evident to the bosses from Day 1 of the clash. *Business Week* noted, "There are signs that Fiat may win the current bout, or at least force a compromise. Union leaders, worried about the company's precarious financial state and the deepening Italian recession, did not stonewall...." Instead they put forward proposals such as rotating layoffs, which FIAT had put forward last year! Meanwhile, over the last year and a half management at Corso Marconi has been gearing up to deliver a real blow against the union.

After the conclusion of the metal workers' contract battle in June 1979, that October FIAT fired 61 of the most combative militants, who were known for their leading role in labor struggles. The unions and the PCI criminally stood aside, saying the victimized workers were nothing but "wreckers" and "extremists" (only one of those fired belonged to the Communist Party). While unenthusiastically calling a protest strike (which a quarter of the workforce followed nonetheless), the bureaucracy tried to wash its hands of the whole affair, claiming "the ranks won't go along in this struggle." Yet in the plants things were getting tougher on the workers, accused of wholesale "absenteeism." This year alone dozens have been fired as "individual cases of absenteeism" while the union did nothing.

In the course of the campaign of repression that has been going on since April 1979, many hundreds of left-wing militants have ended up in jail, accused of being terrorists, "aiding and abetting" or simply being friends and relatives of other prisoners. In this context a number of FIAT workers were arrested, and one killed, on suspicion of membership in the Red Brigades or some other guerrilla group. This allowed the bosses to make the equation "militant worker equals terrorist." And of course the unions didn't lift a finger, except to attack "terrorism." While Trotskyists politically oppose the impotent individual terrorism of the Red Brigades et al.—a petty-bourgeois program which despairs of mobilizing the proletariat—we defend them against the repression of the bloody imperialist state. In contrast, the phony Communists of the PCI and the union tops have made one of their main tasks defending the bourgeoisie against the attacks of left-wing terrorists.

Meanwhile, they join Agnelli and Cossiga in forcing "austerity" on the working class. The official policy of the unions over the past few years has been the so-called "EUR line," a program of "social peace" outlined by Lama in his notorious interview with *La Repubblica*:

> "...the union proposes to the workers a policy of sacrifices, not marginal but substantial ones.... Let's remember that the companies, when it's certified that they're in crisis, have the right to lay off."

In 1977, when the policy of "national unity" (a popular front without ministerial portfolios) was at its height, PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer himself proclaimed that "austerity is an opportunity for renewal, for transforming Italy"! This criminal attack on the gains of the workers movement was, felt Berlinguer, the necessary price for enticing the perennially ruling Christian Democrats into a "historic compromise" with the Communists, agreeing to share some of their ministerial portfolios and government patronage. Such treachery did not bear fruit, however, and so today the PCI places itself at the head of the workers' protest. "We will fight with you to the bitter end: not one layoff," declared Berlinguer to the FIAT workers. But simultaneously the PCI tried to put a brake on militancy.

This was made clear over the issue of occupying the factories, a crucial tactic that was discussed by factory council delegates in Torino from the first day of the strike. Speaking to a workers assembly outside Mirafiori's Gate 5, Berlinguer even took up this demand: "If the negotiations don't succeed, it will be necessary to think of tougher methods of struggle, including [plant] occupations." But aside from this playing with matches, the PCI tops sprayed water on the fires, doing everything in their power, both before and after Berlinguer's demagogic speech, to *prevent* the occupation of any FIAT plant. And in this they were joined by the union leaderships, from the CGIL/CISL/UIL federation to Bruno Trentin's FLM and even the Torino FLM, widely viewed as the Rock of Gibraltar of the "trade-union left."

A Program for Victory

The inability to answer Agnelli's frontal attack on the gains of the workers movement revealed again the glaring crisis of revolutionary leadership. A Trotskyist party would have demanded that factory occupations be organized from the beginning of the struggle, when combativity was at a peak. Production in all FIAT plants should have been stopped, not only in the automotive division but also in steel and airplane plants. Torino metal workers should have been brought out in an unlimited strike, to be then extended to all other categories of workers in the auto capital and to all metal workers throughout the country. And in case that were not enough to bring this clan of high-handed bosses to their knees, the Trotskyists would call upon the Italian labor movement to gird for a general strike—not the one-day (or one-hour) gestures of protest so beloved by the reformists, but a genuine all-out mobilization of the power of the FIAT workers and the rest of the proletariat for a showdown with a class enemy out for blood.

Strong workers defense guards should have been constituted, moreover, to nip in the bud any provocation by the fascists and the armed gangs of the bourgeois state attempting to break the strike. But who could lead this struggle? Certainly not the sell-out union bureaucrats nor their left-opportunist camp followers. Nor could the task of negotiating with the bosses' representatives be left in their hands: the bargaining should have been conducted not in Rome but in Torino, under the scrutiny of the strikers. What was needed was an elected national strike committee, the members of which would be responsible to workers strike assemblies. Thus the since-bureaucratized and cumbersome "workers councils" (in the Mirafiori "*consiglione*" there are 800 delegates), established in 1969, could be reinvigorated or replaced, leading to soviet-type bodies of direct proletarian democracy.

In These Times

Enrico Berlinguer

Agnelli's attack was directed against the "factory council unions" (*sindicati dei consigli*), as the synthesis of the conquests made by the Italian working class in the great struggles of the "Hot Autumn." To defend these gains it is necessary to return to the level of struggle of '69 *and surpass it*. The "factory council union" is a hybrid fruit of the relationship of forces between the workers and the bureaucrats, the lieutenants of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement. But such a compromise solution is unstable because in the era of imperialist decay there is no room for reformist unionism. As Trotsky wrote:

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (August 1940)

If all the forces of the Italian proletariat had been brought into the struggle, FIAT would have given in quickly, perhaps even before a real nationwide general strike occurred. But a ringing defeat of the auto giant, the bellwether of Italian capitalism, by a working class sure of its power could have led to a pre-revolutionary situation. Certainly that is what worried the bureaucrats, who will try to preserve capitalist rule by every means. Nevertheless, even in the absence of an authoritative revolutionary leadership, a Trotskyist nucleus with roots in FIAT would have sought to defend and extend the workers' gains, organizing on the basis of the Transitional Program not a vague "trade-union left" but a genuine class-struggle opposition, one that could eventually overcome the reformists by drawing the lessons of their betrayals.

A Revolutionary Opposition?

Where to look for such a revolutionary opposition to the Lamas and Berlinguers? In the past a whole gamut of left groups have made their presence

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WV Photo

Milano, October 10: Workers demonstrate in support of Fiat strike.

Fiat Strike...

(continued from page 7)

felt at FIAT, including sizable organizations to the left of the PCI. But over the period 1969-75, there were significant changes in the political map at FIAT, most notably the disappearance of Lotta Continua, the centrist group which at various points embodied a combative mood among the metal workers rank and file. The total bankruptcy of the spontaneist line, the LC's inability to break with the Mao/Stalinist politics of the popular front, its vacillations over participating in elections of delegates to the factory councils—all this contributed to dissipating a great potential force, demoralizing thousands of militants who had hoped to find in the LC an alternative to the class-collaborationist line of the PCI.

Within the Communist Party attention has been drawn to a loose group of militants termed the "Afghans" because of their support for the Soviet intervention against imperialist-backed Muslim reactionaries in Afghanistan, in contrast to the official Eurocommunist line of alignment with the warmongering anti-Soviet campaign of NATO and the U.S. In the battle over the sliding scale of wages in July, these militants put up a hard fight, particularly in Genova and Milano, against the government's attempt to slash wages *with the approval of the unions*. But with PCI tops interested in making a little political hay out of worker unrest against the "Cossiga 2" cabinet, the "Afghan" dissidents only fed into Berlinguer's attempt to upstage the increasingly unpopular union leaders (result: the so-called Lama trial, in which the head of the CGIL was called on the carpet at a meeting of the PCI leadership last summer).

During the FIAT strike the Communist misleaders were responding to pressure from their own militants threatened with firings, and in turn trying to use the struggle as a pressure device on the government, to show that "Italy is ungovernable without the participation of the PCI." Sure enough, the day after Berlinguer's tough-talking speech at Mirafiori, the government fell. What the PCI did *not* do was try to win the strike. A genuine Trotskyist party would seek to take advantage of this contradictory position to drive a wedge between the Stalinist/Togliattiist leaders' defeatist reformism and the Communist ranks' will to fight. At FIAT an organization *was* present which lays claim to the mantle of Trotskyism—the Lega Communista Rivoluzionaria (LCR), part of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) which falsely goes under the name of the Fourth International. But the LCR failed to present a program countering the bureaucrats' betrayals; instead it replaced revolutionary clarity with opportunist tailism.

At strike assemblies the LCR was allowed to speak as one of the recognized political parties, and its posters were prominent around the Italian auto capital. What these pseudo-Trotskyists told the FIAT workers, however, was to support the "very clear positions" of the Torino FLM leaders (*Bandiera Rossa*, 5 October). And what were these? To "continue the mobilization and maintain the forms and levels of struggle of the last few days." Coming just after the national metal workers demonstration and Berlinguer's grandstand play at Mirafiori, with the strikers' militancy still going strong, it is hardly surprising that the local bureaucrats vowed to "maintain the level of struggle." But was this static policy a program for victory? The catastrophic results speak for themselves. After the fact, to be sure, *Bandiera Rossa* (16 November) criticizes a "whimpering document" signed by 25 representatives of the Torino "trade-union left," charging that it simply repeats "the political line that brought the politically unprepared workers to the confrontation and that it is at the origins of the sudden defeat." Whatever happened to those "very clear positions" and "positive decisions that are being supported and upheld" only a few weeks earlier?

On the trade-union level, the core of the LCR's agitation was a fetishistic call for "35 hours work for 40 hours pay." This transforms the Trotskyist transitional slogan of a sliding scale of wages and hours into a mere reformist demand. Just how does the call for a 35-hour week unalterably lead to "one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat"? It doesn't, and it wouldn't even provide sufficient additional jobs to cover FIAT's layoff of one-fifth of its workforce. In fact, this demand was raised by the European social democracy and even the West German metal workers union during the elections for the Strasbourg "parliament" last year. Thus for the USec, the slogan of a 35-hour week is a way of making common cause with the reformist bureaucracy. At the political level, this tailism was embodied in the LCR's constant call for "PCI-PSI unity" and a "PCI-PSI government." Again, this is a parliamentary-reformist caricature of the Bolshevik-Leninist revolutionary slogan of a workers government.

At times like the autumn of 1969—in the beginnings of a pre-revolutionary situation, with embryonic dual power appearing in northern factories—it would have been possible for revolutionaries to raise the call for a PCI-PSI-PSIUP-trade union government based on and responsible to the factory councils, to carry out the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. Such a call would make clear that concretizing the workers government slogan means demanding that the present leaders of the working class break with parliamentarism and govern on the basis of organs of proletarian power. Thus it can be a key tactical lever for the Trotskyists in splitting the bourgeois workers parties on a class axis, between the proletarian base seeking socialist revolution and the pro-capitalist tops. But raising the slogan of a "PCI-PSI government" in conditions of normal functioning of the bourgeois parliamentary regime is simply capitulating to illusions in the Stalinists and social democrats—and what's worse, discrediting Trotskyism in the eyes of advanced workers. Moreover, at a time when the reformists themselves are talking of a "left government," the LCR's slogan, if realized, would simply be the antechamber to a popular front.

Occasionally criticizing the LCR from the left, the much smaller Gruppo Bolscevico-Leninista (GBL) engaged in some phony "mass work" during the FIAT strike of the kind that for centrists usually takes the place of hard Bolshevik programmatic struggle. In a leaflet distributed during the four-hour "general strike" of October 10, the GBL did not once mention the LCR, widely seen as "the Trotskyists" around Torino, *nor even the Communist Party* (or any other political organization). The main demand of this workerist outfit was "nationalization of FIAT without compensation under workers control." This slogan is just a left cover for classic social-democratic schemes to prop up decaying capitalism at the workers' expense. The GBL, it seems, would like the Italian proletariat to have its own version of British Leyland: speed-up and layoffs! Not to mention the fact that it would take nothing short of proletarian revolution to expropriate this bastion of Italian private capital.

For a Trotskyist Party!

Following this bitter defeat—which some of the union leaders are nonetheless trying to claim was a "reasonable basis" for settlement—the workers must prepare themselves for the coming struggles, both at FIAT and throughout the country. The sellout union misleaders and their PCI partners in crime are claiming that the real "rank and file" is represented by the march of foremen and scabs, that what is necessary is a "new EUR" in which the working class makes even larger sacrifices for the bosses' profits. But while a battle has been lost due to defeatism and sabotage, the war is not over. Any attempts to purge leftists and militants from the unions must be rejected; factory councils must continue to include the laid-off workers. All attempts to replace union meetings by pseudo-democratic referenda (mail ballots) must be opposed. Class-struggle militants must fight for a genuine sliding scale of wages to replace the present "contingenza" swindle; and for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to provide employment for all—layoffs must be stopped by national strike action.

The real answer is not passivity and sacrifice but to group the most conscious and combative militants around a program of consistent class struggle, the Trotskyist transitional program for proletarian revolution. In the aftermath of this defeat, the Italian proletariat will doubtless be confronted by a host of aspiring union bureaucrats seeking to oust the discredited bigwigs most directly responsible for the FIAT debacle. Many will be local Metal Workers leaders known for their discontent over the EUR line; among them there will be officials who played honorable and militant roles during the struggle. But unless these new would-be leaders come to grips with the *political* lessons of the class battles of recent years, unless they break completely with all forms of class collaboration (whether "historic compromise" or "left unity"), they too will necessarily succumb to the powerful pressure exerted by the capitalists and their labor flunkies.

The combativity repeatedly displayed by the Italian working class over the last dozen years has not yielded a leadership to match this quality. Nor will more militant struggle alone produce such a leadership. It is the task of the Trotskyists to win the most advanced workers to a class-struggle program that breaks through the limits imposed by the reformist misleaders, the bosses and the capitalist state. Only a revolutionary proletarian dictatorship, a workers government, can bring Italy out of its present state of economic and political chaos. For an Italian October, prepared by a Trotskyist party armed with the Bolshevik-Leninist program, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International! This is the goal to which the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, has pledged its struggle. ■

Gang of Four Stalinists...

(continued from page 3)

out of hand and eventually backfired. We will not go into its domestic effects other than to state that it set the Chinese economy and educational system back at least a decade. In foreign policy the Cultural Revolution helped lay the basis for China's alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union which Mao and Chou En-lai made in 1972. All the ideological garbage of the "GPCR"—"capitalist roadism," "the red bourgeoisie," "the bourgeoisie inside the party"—had as one of its central purposes the claim that Brezhnev's Russia had become a "capitalist-imperialist" superpower, one becoming more dangerous than the U.S.

During the Vietnamese liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Red Guards obstructed arms shipments from the Soviet Union to North Vietnam. After all, they didn't want Vietnam to become a "colony" of "Soviet social-imperialism." Hanoi actually had to officially protest this outrageous action by the Chinese "Cultural Revolutionaries." In this the Red Guards were just anticipating the policy of their leaders. It was the Mao/Lin Piao regime which first referred to Brezhnev's USSR as "fascist," especially over the Kremlin's 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia to suppress the liberalizing Prague Spring.

The imperialist bourgeoisie, as usual, were sharper about the nature of Chinese Stalinism than the impressionistic New Left, which looked on Mao's China as a left alternative to the long-since stodgy Soviet Union. The capitalists understood that when a Stalinist regime calls another government "fascist," it is an opening for a bloc against the "non-fascist" presumed lesser evil. In his memoirs Henry Kissinger calls attention to the fact that:

> "The Chinese Communist Party newspaper *People's Daily* on March 17, 1969, for example, called the Czech invasion 'armed aggression and military occupation' by the 'Soviet revisionist renegade clique.' It denounced the Brezhnev Doctrine of Limited Sovereignty as an 'out-and-out fascist theory'....
>
> "There was no question that the Soviet Union was emerging as the principal Chinese foreign policy concern."
>
> —*White House Years* (1979)

In consolidating Mao's alliance with U.S. imperialism, Deng has shown himself to be a legitimate executor (no less so than Chiang Ch'ing) of the Cultural Revolution's legacy. Peking's alliance with Washington, supported by all wings of the Maoist/Stalinist bureaucracy, greatly increases the danger of nuclear world war III.

Upon taking power in 1976 right after Mao died, Deng promised the Chinese people a rationalized, prosperous economy and "socialist legality." But the new regime's program of making China into a modern industrial power of the first rank by the year 2000 (expressing the Stalinist myth of "socialism in one country") is in its own way as utopian as Mao's backyard steel furnaces of the Great Leap Forward. And its talk of democratic rights for the masses is simply the Stalinist big lie. The fundamental transformation into a modern industrial society and the establishment of workers democracy require a proletarian *political* revolution against all of Mao's heirs at home and social revolutions in the imperialist centers to create a world socialist order. ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.

Our next issue will be dated January 2.

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Shahak Interview...

(continued from page 5)

that they are really in many ways a very extreme form of fanaticism and directly opposed to the PLO. I am not saying that as an advocate of the PLO but as showing you the facts of the situation.

WV: And on the question of Jewish religious reaction...?

Shahak: First of all, there is a revival of fanatical Judaism, a return not only to Jewish religion but to the more fanatical forms of Jewish religion. I believe also [this is happening] in other countries but I will speak of where I know it, in Israel. It began immediately after the '73 war. But it has grown very much in the meanwhile. I agree that it is one of the important factors that helped Begin to rise to power. But it has increased very much after he acquired power. I will only mention in passing the long-term effects, which are that Begin's Minister of Education, Mr. Zevulun Hammer, is now turning all Israeli Hebrew education on its head. Removing all the secular Hebrew elements, removing all the Hebrew modern poets who have been "infidels," like a poet called Sammi Hofsky, who used to be recognized as one of the two most important poets.

There are religious fanatics of the worst type, the followers of this Lubavitcher rabbi here in New York, who are brought to schools—not only to give so-called "religious lectures," not only to bring the lowest kinds of magical superstition. They tell little children that if your house doesn't have the correct mezzuzah or if your parents do not go to synagogue then you will have tragic incidents—you will be killed or your mother will be killed and so on. Nobody dares to contradict them. But they also incite against Arabs and against all non-Jews. Actually during those lectures, which are compulsory, he tells them that the world is divided into five parts: the inanimate, the plants, the animals, the speaking ones, and the Jews. And one shouldn't use the word "human being" because there is this quotation that there is the same distinction between the Jews and non-Jews as between the non-Jews and the animals. The non-Jews are officially designated in such lectures for children in state schools as speaking animals. So this gives you just an idea of what is going on and you feel it.

The second stage in brainwashing is the army. In the army, under General Eytan, who is chief of the general staff, religious brainwashing is being inflicted on all the soldiers by hired members of the Gush Emunim. Those people, in addition, are openly against all ideas of democracy. If they are asked in the media if the Israeli parliament will determine that for a peace solution some settlements will have to be removed, their answer is: their religion, or the law of god, or historical rights, or whatever they say, is above democracy—"We will oppose democracy by *our* weapons." They have begun already to use their weapons. They have developed a habit in the National Religious Party of attending party meetings and party conventions armed, with their automatic weapons, which was not Israeli custom until last year. All those things have caused apprehension and by now a fear, not only from people like us but by wider sections of the Israeli public.

It may be that, not for the sake of Palestinians and not for the sake of any rational or just solution, but for the sake of the continuation of Israel as it is, that the Labor Party, [if it is] allowed to come to power, will take armed action against them. In fact, the parts of the Labor Party which advocate this with the greatest intensity are some of the most hawkish parts, which want to keep the territories and to take action against the Gush Emunim because of reasons of state. Because they are openly supposed to be a state within a state. I don't know what will develop, but this danger is certainly very serious, especially because of the quite close alliance between them and some generals, including the chief of staff of the Israeli army.

One possibility, as I said, must be a crisis, and one possibility during a crisis is a fascistic takeover based on the Gush Emunim with support of parts of the army generals, and based on fanatical Jewish ideology. All fascistic takeovers have to have some ideological justifications. Until a few years ago I agreed that such ideological justification was lacking. Now you must be aware that ideological justifications are here and there is a minority group, small but coherent, which will not be afraid, if allowed, to take any course in this direction.

WV: You mentioned earlier that with the inflation now at 170 percent.... What are some of the effects of inflation on the general population? You were describing earlier starvation....

Shahak: I include both Palestinians and Jews in this. There is first of all a segment of the population, 10 to 15 percent, which is literally on the verge of starvation. And this first of all includes people who are old, people who are dependent on their pensions, welfare cases and so on. And some relatively small parts of the working class. I mean two cases. First of all, small towns which are dependent on one or two or maybe three factories. In big towns where the workers have some power, they are getting around it not so much by additional pay, but by [giving out] food. By now it is a very usual practice that management, which is in a relatively weak position, will offer every week or every month food to the workers, which is not formally part of the wages.

And another group which is in especially weak positions are the young men—among Palestinians people of the age of 18, among Jews people of the age of 21, after the army. Because one feature of Israeli social life is the rule that the worker who has worked fully one year has "tenure," like here in academic life; he cannot be thrown out, except by agreement with the workers committee. Therefore, the whole weight of unemployment falls on the people who either are 18 or are 21. This, by the way, lies behind the great extend of Jewish emigration to the United States or to other countries. People cannot obtain jobs, except in the army. And this causes quite a lot of discontent; but in fact, emigration is playing the role here of a safety valve.

WV: What does this have to do with Soviet immigration?

Shahak: Oh, almost all of them drop out in Vienna. Very small numbers of Soviet Jews are now coming to Israel. Actually, much lower than the statistics show. The official number for this year is 75 percent dropout and 25 percent who come to Israel. But even from those 25 percent, most of them leave within one year or something like this. Soviet immigration or any other Jewish immigration is practically nonexistent. This is a very important factor because if you take the psychological effect, not the real effect, I would say that the Israeli establishment feels more threatened by the emigration of Jews out of Israel than by the economic situation. I will quote to you the statement of General Dan Shomron about the Israeli Army, who says two things. First of all, that he finds in reserve units that many people do not appear on reserve because they are outside the country permanently. It is not allowed to say that they are emigrés, because the Israeli government officially denies that Jews emigrate from Israel. So it's only allowed to say that they are permanently out! That he doesn't see them. And secondly, he said something else, very serious for an Israeli general to say publicly. He said that this may be the beginning of the loss of Israeli willingness to fight a war.

WV: I notice that you also gave an interview to the *Village Voice* and in the interview it has you stating that, "So long as the situation in the Middle East remains as it is now, so long as there are states in the Middle East which may be presumed to be hostile to Israel, I quite agree and accept that Israel needs military security, which can best be achieved exactly on the Egyptian model." Was this an accurate quote?

Shahak: Yes. Because of this it began, "so long as there are states...": since I observe that in the next future, what can be established [is] some peace within

Israel Gamma-Liaison

Zionist terror on the West Bank.

states; then during some peace which you or I will accept as a temporary lesser evil, Israel will need military security. That was always my position, that in the present anything that will tend to remove Israeli occupation of the territories, especially inhabited territories, is necessary and is to be supported.

WV: I guess I don't understand the link between...

Shahak: There is occupation of the people versus military patrols or anti-tank ditches. The link is, the present occupation oppresses the people. I speak about military security.

WV: Of course the military security is going to be used to suppress the people.

Shahak: No, not this type of thing, not ditches and patrols and so on. This is completely different, as the Egyptian treaty has shown. The Egyptian treaty gives Israel the right to have patrols and ditches and very many things, but not to oppress the people of Sinai.

WV: Did you basically support that portion of the Camp David treaty that dealt with that?

Shahak: Yes, of course. Even to the extent of saying that if it will be applied on all other fronts it will be a lesser evil.

WV: Just out of curiosity, you were not defensist in the 1967 war; you were defeatist on the Israeli side. That is, you were not for Israel's victory in 1967 or in 1973, were you? What is your position now?

Shahak: Well, basically I was not for Israeli victory, but in '67 I think it was very clear. In '67 I was neither for victory nor defeat. But certainly, so long as—the key phrase—so long as there are states, I am not for Israeli defeat. I am for a situation of neither victory nor defeat, because only [in] such a victory is there an opening for popular action. But so long as there are states, I am not for defeat.

WV: Even if the defeat, as occurred say in Russia in 1905, might actually be an opening for a mass mobilization or a revolutionary upheaval?

Shahak: The situation in 1905 was completely different. From Vladivostok to Moscow it is a very great way, and it cannot be called a defeat, maybe a battle is defeated but...

WV: Yes, but the Bolsheviks were defeatist in Vladivostok as well as in Moscow.

Shahak: If it was such a sort of defeat, for such a sort of defeat I certainly am. But for entrance of the armies of the present Arab countries into Tel Aviv I certainly am not. For a defeat on the border...

WV: You realize that there's a difference between being defeatist on the Israeli side, and at the same time, holding the position of being defensist on the Arab side. As you know, our position in both the 1967 war and the 1973 war was to be defeatist on both sides.

Shahak: Yes, I know. I realize this position. But my position in this respect is different because one of the terms of your position, which I really don't accept, is that you never accept a lesser evil. Certain lesser evils like Khomeini I do not accept, but other forms of lesser evils I will accept.

WV: We think that the defeat of Israel in a military conflict with the Arab states in these two wars was a lesser evil. And that it's the responsibility, especially if there was a revolutionary workers party in Israel, to stress that. Whereas in the Arab countries it is necessary to stress that the defeat of their governments would be the lesser evil, because of the fact that the military victory of neither side would benefit the peoples of either side. Whereas defeat, military defeat, could very well open up the situation to social struggle.

Shahak: Well, a stalemate would be the best. If so, I assure you, under Israeli conditions a stalemate would open the revolutionary situation much better than anything else. But all right, I understand your position, you understand mine. ■

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Bloody Junta Terror...

(continued from page 1)

"big stick" outbursts make it plenty clear that the same can't be said about U.S. intervention in "America's backyard." Like Teddy Roosevelt, Reagan considers the Caribbean an American lake, and he intends to do some rough-riding over the region's impoverished masses. He clearly believes that if the killer colonels and genocidal generals south of the border aren't propped up pronto against the left, before you know it the International Communist Conspiracy will be riding up the Pan-American highway toward El Paso. Reagan told NBC newscaster Marvin Kalb:

> "I think we are seeing the application of the domino policy which is really worldwide and is going on from the communist bloc of nations. And I think it's time the people of the United States realize that under the domino theory, we're the last domino."
>
> —NBC News White Paper, "The Castro Connection," 3 September

So on November 4 there was a night-long spree of pistol fire in the wealthy districts of San Salvador celebrating the Republican election victory, and a couple of days later two bullet-riddled corpses were found by a road with cardboard signs reading, "With Ronald Reagan it's the end of spoiled children and guerrillas in Central America and El Salvador." When a businessmen's group sent a delegation to Washington to check signals with the new administration they were given an unambiguous go-ahead:

> "President-elect Ronald Reagan's advisers on Latin America have assured visitors from El Salvador that the new administration will increase military aid, including combat equipment, to security forces fighting leftist guerrillas."
>
> —*New York Times*, 29 November

But the escalating bloodbath cannot be blamed exclusively on Reagan, the CIA and the generals. The Salvadorean bourgeoisie has lined up solidly behind the junta (unlike Nicaragua in the last months of Somoza's rule), and Carter had repeatedly assured the junta of Washington's support. The sadistic criminals who deal out this white terror are not just crazed extremists but the enforcers of a panicky ruling class run amok, resorting to the most revolting barbarism to protect their millions extorted through decades of bloody exploitation.

U.S.: All Hands Off!—For Central American Workers Revolution!

But as popular protests in El Salvador continued to mount up to the summer, despite the thousands of dead, Washington worried that the "contamination" by Sandanista Nicaragua might spread and the U.S. prepared for more direct involvement in the region. A recently publicized "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America" by "current and former officials" of the CIA, Defense Department, State Department and the National Security Council, reports that, "Various U.S. Government agencies have taken preparatory steps to intervene militarily in El Salvador" (quoted in *New York Times*, 1 December). Among the steps are "setting up adequate supply lines and stockpiling material"; "increasing cohesion and coordination among various command structures within Salvadorean armed forces"; "establishing and/or improving communications and cooperation among armed forces and paramilitary organizations in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras." In addition, "A paramilitary strike force made up of former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard, anti-Castro Cubans, Guatemalan military personnel and mercenaries has been formed in the past year."

So the plans for direct imperialist intervention are pretty far advanced. But despite military superiority a Santo Domingo-style "peace-keeping" intervention, whether with U.S. troops directly or by means of mercenaries and the armies of neighboring dictatorships, could blow up in Reagan's face. The level of terror and resistance is such that a messy civil war could explode in Central America by desperate masses driven beyond endurance. The key to victory in such a conflict is the broadest revolutionary mobilization of the workers and peasants fighting for socialist revolution throughout the region. This could also ignite protest and unrest elsewhere in Latin America.

But that is not the policy followed by the bulk of the Salvadorean left, nor by the Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua. The petty-bourgeois radical nationalist rulers in Managua have failed to give significant material support to the left in El Salvador, seeking instead to arrange a deal with Washington support for private enterprise and détente with its neighbors. Yet this "moderation" only allows counterrevolutionaries within and without greater possibilities of "destabilizing" the economy and organizing reactionary forces to overthrow the present Sandinista regime.

In El Salvador the policy of popular frontism adopted by all the significant left organizations has meant that workers, peasants and the urban poor have been limited in their struggles to what petty-bourgeois and a few liberal bourgeois forces would agree to. This led to the failure of an attempted three-day general strike last August when the small business association pulled out. The subsequent political disorientation is behind the inability of the various guerrilla groups to mount an offensive against the rightist terror in El Salvador since the summer.

The Stalinist-reformist program of "two-stage revolution" is as suicidal here as it was in Chile where it opened the road to Pinochet; but the nationalist delusion of building "socialism in one county" is even more dangerous in this closely intertwined region of artificial states ruled by Washington's puppet dictators. Not only will there be no "socialism in one banana republic," an isolated Nicaraguan (or Salvadorean) workers state would be massively vulnerable to imperialist-sponsored counterrevolution. It is only by establishing revolutionary proletarian rule throughout the region that Central America can be freed from its imperialist chains. That perspective is the program of permanent revolution and requires the leadership of a Trotskyist party built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. No U.S. intervention—whether hypocritical "human rights" manipulation or overt military involvement! For workers revolution in Central America! ■

Haig...

(continued from page 1)

A ruthless militarist with an appetite for mass terror and little attachment for bourgeois-democratic parliamentary norms and processes. If he had more imagination he might swagger.

Haig had always been one of Reagan's top choices. But as the time to announce the cabinet closed in, even some conservative feet got colder. Two weeks ago ex-Nixon flack turned columnist William Safire pleaded for practically anybody but Haig for Secretary of State (*New York Times*, 24 November). Make him the head of the Joint Chiefs, send him back to NATO, but not on the cabinet. Safire himself knows the stench of Watergate when it gets into his nostrils and he wants to save the Republicans the embarrassment. Safire points out the possible embarrassment of "trotting out the tapes" of the Haig-Nixon consultations. (At one point Haig coaches the dim Nixon in the low art of stonewall: "You just don't recall," explains the White House chief of staff.) And enthusiasm has further dampened for those in the Reagan camp who may have thought they might sneak Haig through a confirmation hearing without remembrance of cover-ups past. Democratic Senate majority leader Robert Byrd (himself an admitted ex-KKKer) assured them that, "it would be irresponsible of the Senate if Gen. Haig's name is submitted not to take a very close look at his Watergate role" (*Washington Post*, 7 December).

Misdemeanors and Massacres

It's not only that Haig could be an embarrassment. There is cause even among other bourgeois politicians to fear his stealthy ambition. Haig arranged the firing of special prosecutor Archibald Cox, Attorney General Elliot Richardson and the others of the Saturday Night Massacre when they began sniffing too close to Watergate. As the de facto president in Nixon's final days, he performed valuable services for the entire capitalist class in mopping up the Nixon presidency while he distorted the evidence and covered up the crimes. (In his diary, Nixon praises "the iron will of Haig.") Haig, who once called Fulbright a "traitor" for his criticism of the Vietnam War, told Cox's successor Leon Jaworski that it was okay to break into Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office because it was done for "national security." With Kissinger and the FBI he wiretapped high-ranking officials in the State Department and the Department of Defense. "Whenever there is a click on my phone," writes Safire in half-jest, "I cannot help saying, 'Hi, Al'."

It is understandable why Haig scares even some certifiable reactionaries. But the real point of his Watergate record is that it expresses a criminal M.O. of secrecy and independent action without parliamentary restraint. But for what kind of independent actions? From the point of view of the working class, Haig's violations of the "Geneva convention" of bourgeois guerrilla warfare are small potatoes. Not his "Saturday Night Massacres" but his bloody massacres in Southeast Asia, in Chile are the real crimes of Haig.

The U.S.' 1969-70 dirty war in Cambodia was above all the project of Haig. He issued the command to exclude the State Department from all knowledge of the invasion. And it was when the extent of that war began to be leaked out of State and Defense that Haig went to wiretaps and his black bags. But the war in Cambodia was no secret to the peasants of that tragic land. Between March 1969 and August 1973, the U.S. bombers dropped 539,129 tons of bombs on a population of only 7,000,000, creating 600,000 casualties and 3,390,000 refugees—a devastation from which that people was unable to recover (*Southeast Asia Chronicle*, December 1977).

Haig also urged the decision to bomb Haiphong Harbor and proposed the infamous Christmas bombings in 1972. So it is that Haig is not so much a Watergate criminal as a war criminal. It is the connection between his appetite for mass military terror on a holocaustal scale and his bonapartist methods which gives his political personality its special quality. When Haig okayed the COINTELPRO "Huston Plan," he knew it was just a domestic reflex for the war.

Haig was a conspirator for imperialism not only in Southeast Asia, but worldwide. He was one of the overseers of the infamous "Track II" campaign of assassination and terror in Chile, which unsuccessfully worked to bring about a military coup in 1970 to prevent the Allende government from taking office. Again, it was a secret CIA operation. According to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (20 November 1975): "The Agency was to take this action without coordination with the Departments of State or Defense and without the U.S. ambassador in Chile.... In practice, the Agency was to report, both for informational and approval purposes, to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs, Henry Kissinger, or his deputy [Alexander Haig]." All of the bloody business of Track II in Chile will probably never be known. But the assassination of Chilean army commander in chief, General René Schneider, who opposed the coup, is well documented. He was gunned down on October 22, 1970.

Others in the Nixon-Kissinger crew are tainted by their détente policies in the eyes of the Reaganites. But not Haig. He always had the main enemy of American imperialism in his sights. A premature opponent of SALT II, he took over the NATO command in 1974, saying he was alarmed to find that "there was very little concern about the nature and character of the relentless growth of Soviet and Warsaw Pact military power." Haig seized upon the neutron bomb as one answer to Soviet tank superiority. Alexander is a nuclear first-striker whose time has come.

Haig, Nixon and the Reagan Years

A most revealing angle of vision of the political life of the incoming administration is offered by the presentation of Alexander Haig as the "moderate" candidate for Secretary of State. The certified pure Reaganite candidate for the job is Senator John Tower of Texas. But the Republicans figure they need him more in the Senate.

The Reagan "transition team" is the most unashamed big business heyday in government since Eisenhower appointed GM's Charles Wilson Secretary of Defense under the slogan, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country." Now with Gen. Haig as president of the corporation with the third largest number of defense contracts, perhaps the slogan should be, "What's good for United Technologies is good for the country." The corporations have simply bought the "transition." The oil companies will take over the regulation of oil prices. Boeing has sent their men in to take over the aeronautics board.

Southern California may understand that San Clemente is back in office, but there are important differences between Nixon's administration and Reagan's. Nixon was personally more nutty and insecure. He surrounded himself with banal Madison Avenue yes men. But the Reagan administration is further to the right in a social sense. This group of reactionary ideologues is even more removed from social reality and world politics than the Nixon gang.

Most of the Reagan ideologues have never met an actual Russian. For them the Russians exist as caricatures of anti-Communist mythology, images of personified evil culled from Hoover's *Masters of Deceit* and 1950s Cold War movies. This kind of all-round ideological shift to the right means that at bottom the government will be a bunch of true believers quite capable of starting World War III against the Russians without believing they had done it.

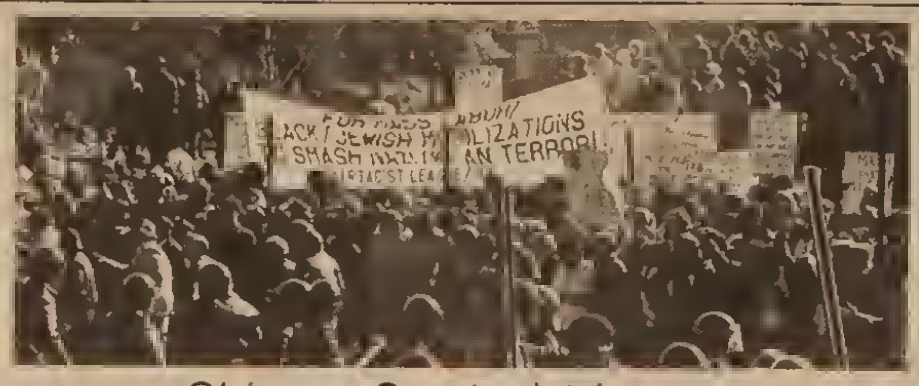
John Tower may be the ultra-conservative Reaganite, but, he is a parliamentarian. Haig is more sinister, a military bonapartist awaiting his chance. He didn't get it under Nixon because the delusional bonapartist appetites of the Watergate president couldn't be realized in the America of the Vietnam syndrome. Now things have gone rather further in his direction, but American society is still too stable and staid for Haig's liking. Haig has talked in the past about running for election to the presidency once or twice, but the role doesn't suit him. He is one who would clearly hope to ride to power, preferably, to borrow liberal journalist Anthony Lewis' image, as the "secretary on horseback." ■

Oakland CWA Condemns Killer Klan Acquittal

At the November 18 meeting of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9415 in Oakland, California members voted overwhelmingly for a motion protesting the acquittal of the Greensboro KKK/Nazi assassins and calling for labor action. Condemning the racist court action as "a green light to these Nazi/Klan terrorists for further murderous attacks on the labor movement in this country," the motion calls on the Alameda Central Labor Council to "organize a mass labor/black/Latino demonstration to protest this racist travesty of justice." It also makes the demand to "Jail the killer Klansmen/Nazis—Drop all charges against the anti-Klan protesters."

The next day, Militant Action Caucus (MAC) members in San Francisco Local 9410 found a good reception for a similar motion demanding working-class protest against the KKK/Nazi murderers being let loose on the streets to kill again. Local president Jim Imerzel bureaucratically adjourned the 9410 meeting when MAC challenged his refusal to put the motion to a vote. According to a Caucus spokesman, Imerzel referred to the all-white jury's refusal to convict in spite of videotaped proof as "this *so-called* miscarriage of justice." This disgusting apology for racist Jim Crow justice is a new low, even for Imerzel, who has sought to equate the labor, leftist and black victims in the Greensboro massacre with their fascist murderers.

But the MAC's class-struggle program for fighting fascism has struck a responsive chord in the ranks. In recent elections for a plant department executive board spot, MAC candidate Kathy Ikegami received almost 20 percent of the vote (112 out of 600) in her first campaign for that post, while Imerzel's all-out campaign for Ernie King scrounged up barely one-quarter of the total votes. (The election was won by Bob Carreras, with 25 percent of the vote, not because he offers a strategy to defend CWA members from Ma Bell, but only because he has not yet had to take official responsibility for the union's retreats.) In the CWA, only the Militant Action Caucus has put forward a program of powerful labor action to stop the KKK/Nazi nightriders and the capitalist wage- and job-cutting offensive. ■



Chicago Spartacist League

Film and Discussion

Labor Must Smash Fascist Threat!

Film: Night And Fog by Alain Resnais

Discussion Panel:

Bill Hampton, brother of murdered Black Panther Party member Fred Hampton

Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee, organizer, Detroit labor/black anti-Klan rally, Nov 10, 1979

Hazen Griffin, president Local 372 SEIU

Sam Hunt, USWA Local 1010

Friday, December 19
7:30 P.M.

Blackstone Hotel (Gold Room)
Michigan and Balbo

For more information call: (312) 427-0003

Contra Costa...

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elderly occupants. The shots reportedly came from a camper van which the police admitted was registered to the "grand cyclops" of the local KKK. But after a three-month "investigation," the DA has just announced there is "insufficient evidence to prosecute." And on August 23, when the NAACP held a demonstration against police brutality in Richmond, they were harassed by Klansmen in full KKK regalia under police protection.

No Reliance on the Cops—Build Labor/Minority Defense Guards!

The response of union officials has predictably been routine and ineffective since the bureaucrats refuse to mobilize the membership to stop the racist attacks. The president of ATU Local 192 announced a $10,000 reward "for information leading to the arrest and conviction of...," etc. But with the police denying Klan involvement, that offer has gone unanswered. ILWU Locals 6 and 10 officials met with the sheriff's office December 3 and issued a bulletin to the membership advising:

> "The union suggests that our members living in Contra Costa County form community watch groups and call the Sheriff's Department so they can send someone from their Accident Prevention Department to assist you...."

The ILWU leaders are merely trying to wash their hands of the whole matter, by creating the dangerous illusion that the police will provide protection. Yet these same cops absolve the Klan terrorists of guilt!

At two community meetings this week, 150 people heard Contra Costa police officials at the podium portray the attacks as isolated acts of youthful vandalism. The mood of the black residents was bitter. Several in the audience testified that they had turned license numbers over to the police, and even caught one attacker brandishing a two-by-four, but the authorities refused to do anything. Speakers demanded to know if it will take a death before the attacks are taken as more than pranks, and the three victimized families stalked out of the hall furious.

At a previous meeting people hooted NAACP leaders who urged residents not to arm themselves in self-defense. "Why not!" vociferously demanded more than a dozen members of the audience. Meanwhile self-styled "peaceful" patrols of small numbers of "leftists" calling themselves the East Bay Organizing Committee have tried to substitute themselves for real mass defense guards, while actually hoping to pressure the police into action. In an incident on December 5, a pickup truck twice attempted to run one of these patrols off the road, and the volunteers could only try calling the cops for help. The next day, three women "watchers" outside the Presley home were threatened and followed as they sought to find a telephone. "We didn't think it would be anything serious to be there," they told reporters. "We didn't think anybody doing the guarding would be harassed." What did these pacifists think they were doing there, then?

As Spartacist supporter Diana Coleman, recent candidate for SF Board of Supervisors, said on a KGO-TV news report of a December 6 demonstration against the racist Greensboro acquittal of fascist killers, "We can't rely on the cops, courts, the Justice Department or the Democratic Party to fight against the Klan and Nazis.... What's needed here is workers defense guards based on the trade unions." Bay Area labor has the numbers and social power to put a stop to these vicious attacks. The ILWU and ATU, whose members have been attacked in their homes, have a special responsibility to take the lead in organizing round-the-clock defense. This is not only an elementary duty in defense of black working people; the defense of the entire labor movement is at stake. ■

"Black Party"...

(continued from page 12)

elections a genuinely independent black party growing out of mass struggle and fighting for black rights against the twin capitalist parties. The Black Panther Party of Lowndes County, Alabama in 1964-65 was an example of where Marxists could intervene through the tactic of critical support to present an independent working-class-centered perspective. But that was light years away from the National Black Political Assembly and its offspring, the "National Black Independent Party."

If there is one thing that is clear about this shadowy "NBIP," it is that this is *not* a break with the Democrats. Nor, given its constituent parts, could it be. Peppered by reporters at a November 22 press conference, Ron Daniels blurted out: "We're not saying every black Democrat must leave the Democratic Party." In an interview with *WV* he was even more explicit as to the eight-year history of the NDPA:

> "We tried to lean towards progressive elements in the Democratic Party, such as Conyers and Ron Dellums. We have in the past and *will always* have close working relations with them. We think it would be a mistake not to work with those people as they try to exploit the contradictions in the Democratic Party." [our emphasis]

The other figures around the "new black party" are no less close to "progressive" Democrats. For some time now Daughtry in NYC has been trying to put together a bloc between the more maverick "community control" Democrats like Al Vann in Brooklyn and establishment black Democrats like former Manhattan borough president Percy Sutton, former New York deputy mayor Basil Patterson and Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel. The large Philadelphia delegation at the conference included a number of people involved with the anti-Rizzo recall campaign and dissident black Democrat Charles Bowser, who ran as a candidate of the "independent" Philadelphia Party. So while most of the BEOs (black elected officials) still in office didn't show up for the conference, they are by no means out of the picture.

And what have the Dellums, Conyers, Hatchers, Rangels as well as the smaller-fry black Democrats brought to the impoverished American ghettos? Jimmy ("Ethnic Purity") Carter, who paved the road to Reagan reaction with his policies of "malign neglect" which are shared by the rest of his racist, capitalist party. Many blacks have looked to the Democrats in the past as friends of minorities or at least a "lesser evil." But it was the liberal Democrats who voted down busing, not Reagan; a Democratic Congress which dismantled the poverty programs.

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racism!

The only real answer to black oppression is a revolutionary, united working-class struggle against all the bourgeois politicians. Otherwise, as the out-of-power Democrats use cheap demagogy (like Carter's threatened veto of anti-busing bills) and dust off their old New Deal/Great Society rhetoric, blacks will once again be sucked in to this phony "people's party" of the racist American ruling class.

While the Philadelphia conference didn't and couldn't do anything about anything, some of the "NBIP" types are capable of a little "activism," channeling black anger into isolated ghetto-based struggles. Last fall, for example, with the announced closing of Sydenham Hospital in Harlem, 2,000 people were mobilized for militant action: sit-ins, street action, picketing, clashes with the cops. But the whole direction was to pressure some capitalist politician to deliver crumbs. Racist NYC mayor Koch, knowing the ghetto-based protesters had little social power which could threaten him, at first told them they could sit in forever. When things died down, he dragged the sit-in leaders out. And in the end he quietly closed the hospital down.

Yet American blacks do not have to endlessly suffer such defeats. They are not a hopelessly isolated minority facing a monolithic racist society. Black people are not only segregated at the bottom of American society, they are also integrated into strategic sections of the industrial working class in whose hands lies the economic and social power to shatter this racist capitalist system. The mass black struggles of the 1960s were defeated in large measure because of the failure of the labor movement, under the misleadership of pro-capitalist bureaucrats, to take up the cause of black equality. But the economic austerity and war drive of the Reagan years may well throw black and white workers into struggle to defend their common interests against the capitalists.

Key to winning these struggles would be the rise of an integrated workers party that would fight to link the ghetto masses to the power of organized labor, that would fight for labor/black defense against Klan/Nazi terrorism, that would fight for massive welfare increases and a sliding scale of wages and hours to create millions of new jobs—a party that would fight for a workers government. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building a working-class revolutionary party with the only program that leads not only to survival but to genuine emancipation—the Trotskyist program of black liberation through socialist revolution. Blacks will be in the forefront of the American socialist revolution, or there will be no revolution and Reagan reaction will head toward "equal opportunity" nuclear barbarism for all. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Brokers for the Democrats

"Black Party" Hoax: No Answer to Reagan Racism

Ronald Reagan as president: in every ghetto in the U.S., on the shop floor and the college campus, black people got the news and it's bad. Racism rides more often now in white sheets with burning crosses and smoking shotguns. Blacks see not only this rising racist terror at the fringe, but also the threat of more open racist policies by the government which strike at the heart of the ghetto. Most blacks understand the election victory of the preferred candidate of the KKK better than the Urban League's Vernon Jordan, who said that they should "give Reagan a chance." The fears of black America are so clear that even *Newsweek* caught them in an article, "Worry Time for Blacks," noting that minorities fear "this year's election will wash away many of their social gains."

There is the desperately felt need to fight Reagan racism. The official black leadership has led nothing since they led the mass black struggle for equality in the 1960s to defeat. After a decade with no significant mass black struggle in the face of increasing racist attacks there is no black movement, no black leadership. Now blacks are being officially declared expendable in a time of deepening economic crisis for American capitalism. Black people are disorganized and vulnerable. And with the Reagan victory, they feel increasingly isolated and politically under siege.

Seeking to cash in on this post-election mood among blacks, a disparate group of black politicos has attempted to rush into the obvious vacuum of black leadership. At a conference in Philadelphia on November 21-23, attended by some 1,300 people and, of course, cheered on by the reformist left, they declared themselves the new "National Black Independent Political Party." Not surprisingly, the organizers are pork-barrel politicians with no pork, black "unelected officials" and ghetto community hustlers—camp followers in the unfought "war on poverty." Directly hit by the cut-off of welfare programs, black studies programs, etc., which Reagan is threatening, they would like to use their "black party" to get more clout than they have had lately as dutiful Democrats.

Kwame Brathwaite

"National Black Party" meeting in Philadelphia. Blacks need class-struggle politics not squabbling to pressure the Democrats.

The "black party" organizers call for a return to the tactics of the early '60s, to put blacks on the streets again. But such tactics achieved their largely token gains only because the government to some degree welcomed the pressure to dump Jim Crow laws. And when the civil rights movement of King and SNCC went North, coming up against the root cause of black oppression—de facto segregated housing, schools and jobs, mass unemployment and poverty—then pressure tactics were worthless. What is needed now, as then, is the policy of class struggle, not pressuring "friends" in the government, but mobilizing the social power of the labor movement and blacks to fight in their own interest.

Turf Squabbling and Red-Baiting

There were two main blocs at the Philadelphia conference, one the leadership grouping from the National Black Political Assembly (NBPA), the other some New York-centered Pan Africanists, backed up by Rev. Herbert Daughtry's Black United Front operation. This would-be founding conference was unable to agree on any program whatsoever as it broke down into a battle over influence in the leadership of a non-existent group, and ended by calling for yet another "founding conference" next summer. In the end the squabbles were covered over by electing an interim organizing committee which, trying to conciliate the diverse political blocs, excluded Ron Daniels, the main NBPA leader for the past half decade.

One of the few things the wrangling black politicos could agree on was red-baiting. Just to get matters straight from the get-go, conference organizer Zoharah Simmons warned against "disrupters." Daniels then spelled it out in his keynote address:

> "Oh, I know some of you are going to try and come here and make this a revolutionary vanguard party. It's not a revolutionary vanguard party. I want my mother to be in it and she may not be able to deal with all the narrow constraints of the isms yet...to study Mao, Marx, Lenin's politics."

The left groups turned a deaf ear to this slimy anti-communism...except for the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which *supported* it. After applauding anti-communist speakers, SWP leader Andrew Pulley called for voting in a loyalty clause which could be used to exclude leftists!

The conference leaders' red-baiting did not prevent the reformist left from hailing it. Far from it. Communist Workers Party leader Nelson Johnson (unsuccessfully) campaigned for a seat in the leadership of this politically undefined "black party." And the SWP went all out in praise of it, running a banner front-page headline, "1,500 Blacks Launch Independent Party" in the 5 December *Militant*, and a two-page spread of speeches from the conference the next week. For the SWP this is nothing new. In the late '60s they supported Carl Stokes running for mayor of Cleveland on the one occasion when he ran "independent" from the Democrats. In 1972 they hailed the "Black Agenda" written under the aegis of Democrat Richard Hatcher, mayor of Gary, Indiana, and the Congressional Black Caucus.

Tied to the Democrats

There are times when a revolutionary vanguard could critically support in

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Bay Area Unions: Stop Klan Terror in Contra Costa!

OAKLAND—Ku Klux Klan nightriders shooting into black homes, threatening trade unionists. Black protesters harassed by robed Klansmen in broad daylight with the help of local cops. These aren't scenes from the Deep South or even Orange County, but from Contra Costa County in the historic labor and Democratic bastion of the Bay Area. The fascists have kept their heads down in the San Francisco Bay Area since the militant union struggles of the 1930s. But the setbacks suffered by northern California labor in recent years, increased KKK activity (such as the Metzger campaign in San Diego) and the rightward shift signaled by Reagan's election have noticeably changed the political climate. It is the urgent duty of Bay Area unions, linked with minority organizations, to mobilize an effective defense and stop the racist terror attacks.

"They're Not Running Me Out"

Fifty-year-old ILWU member Roosevelt Presley, a black resident in predominantly white El Sobrante, found a note together with a KKK hood taped to his family car: "If you don't leave we will force you. Leave Nigger. We will kill you." Then his home was repeatedly vandalized, and at 1:30 a.m. on November 20 a shotgun blasted his front door. Contra Costa County sheriff Richard Rainey commented to the press, "There is nothing at this time to indicate this is Klan activity." With his wife expecting a second child, Presley vowed, "I'm not running anywhere. They're not running me out," and he is looking to his union for help.

Over the past two months, black families in suburban Tara Hills have had their windows broken, tires slashed, lawns torched and children chased with tire irons after receiving KKK-signed threats. On November 22, Otis and Geraldine Ireland, both black AC Transit bus drivers and members of the Amalgamated Transit Union, had their living room wall caved in when a car was deliberately rammed through it. A day earlier, a black resident in Pinole found a cross burned into his lawn.

These are just some of the most recent incidents. Earlier, on July 26, shots were fired into a predominantly black Rodeo housing project, narrowly missing two

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SUBJECT INDEX

Workers Vanguard—11 January to 12 December 1980 (Issues Nos. 247-270)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1980, beginning with issue No. 247 (11 January) and ending with issue No. 270 (12 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Stop the Nazis!, #254, 18 Apr. (12, 11)

  means the headline of the article, Issue No. 254, 18 April 1980, pages 12 and 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon. Thus:

  AFGHANISTAN—See **U.S.: International Relations; Woman Question.**

  means that articles on Afghanistan can be found by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategory **International Relations**, and by going to the subject head **WOMAN QUESTION.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Specific defense cases (e.g. Philip Agee) will be found under **CIVIL LIBERTIES.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

  C: Correction
  L: Letter
  R: Review
  S: Series
  Sup: Supplement

Abortion—See **Woman Question.**

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